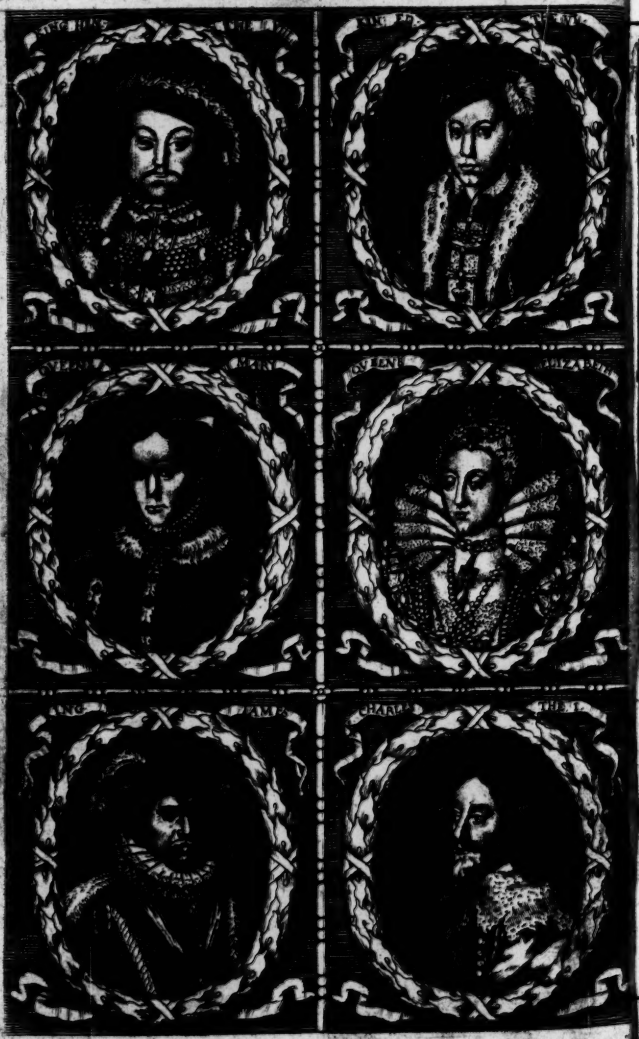
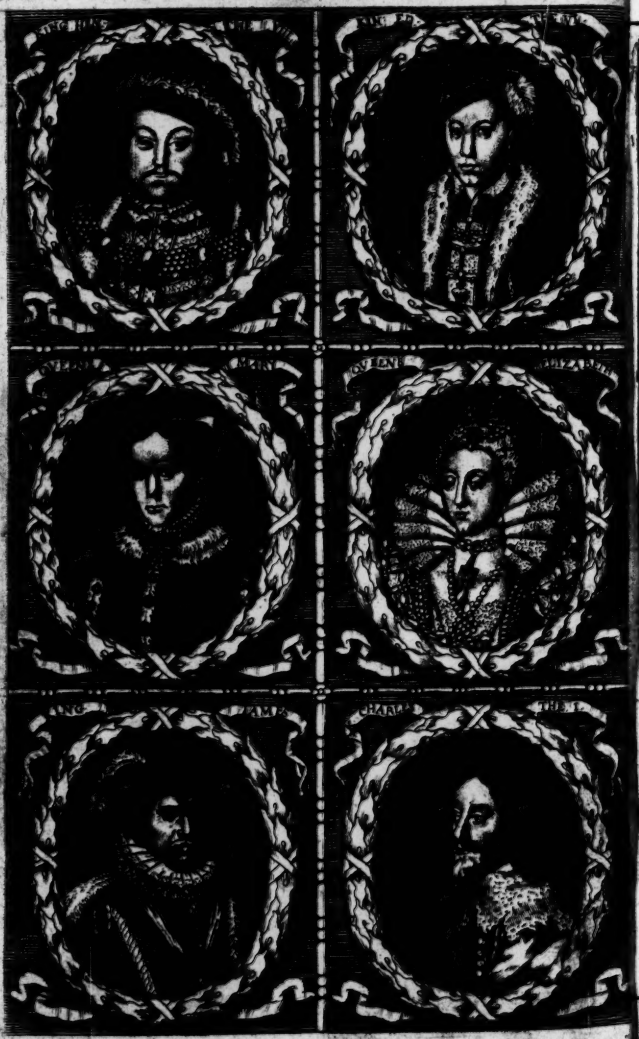




THE STATES-MEN And FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND Since the Reformation

Their PRUDENCE and POLICIES, SUCCESSES and MISCARRIAGES, ADVANCEMENTS and FALLS;

During the Reigns of

King HENRY VIII. King EDWARD VI. Queen MARY. Queen ELIZABETH King JAMES. King CHARLES I.

LONDON:
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TO

The HOPE of *ENGLAND*,

Its

Young Gentry,

Is most humbly dedicated

The HONOUR of it,

Its

Ancient States-men:

A Renowned Auncestry

TO

An Honourable Posterity.

Whitehall.

BY permission and Licence of the Right Honourable Mr Secretary *Morice*. this book may be printed and published.

Jo: Cook.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,



Or bestowing some vacant *hours* (*by that* excellent Personages direction, *to whom I am* equally *obliged for my* Employment *and my* Leasure) *in an attempt* so *agreeable to the Lord* Verulam's *judgement*, *which may be seen in the* next page; *and* so pursuant *of Sir* Robert Naunton's *designe*, *which may be traced in the* following Book; *Another person's abilities*

might have gained applause, *and my weakness may* deserve *an excuse, notwithstanding* my years, (*if yet any man be too* young *to* read *and* observe) *or my* profession (*if yet a Divine should not* (*as times go*) *be as well read in* Men, *as* Books:) *Especially since I gratifie no man's* fondness, *writing not a* Panegyrick, *but an* History: *Nor pleasure any persons* malice; *designing* Observations, *rather than* Invectives: *Nor tyre any man's* patience; *setting downe rather the remarkes of mens publick capacities, than the minute passages of their* private *lives: but innocently discourse the most choice instances our* ENGLISH *Histories afford for the three great Qualifications of men* (1. *Nobleness in behaviour*: 2. *Dexterity in business*; *and* 3. *Wisdome in Government*) *among which are twenty eight Secre-*

taries

taries of State, eight Chancellours, eighteen Lord-Treaſurers, ſixteen Chamberlains, who entertain Gentlemen with Obſervations becoming their Extraction, and their hopes, touching,

1. *The riſe of States-men.*
2. *The beginning of Families.*
3. *The method of Greatneſſe.*
4. *The conduct of Courtiers.*
5. *The miſcarriages of Favourites, and what-ever may make them either* wiſe *or* wary.

The Chancellour of France *had a Picture, that to a common eye ſhewed many little heads, and they were his* Anceſtors; *but to the more curious repreſented onely one great* one, *and that was his* own.

It's intended that this Book ſhould to the vulgar *Reader* expreſſe *ſeveral particulars*, i. e. *all this laſt Ages* Heroes; *but to every Gentleman it*

should intimate onely one, *and that is* himself.

It's easily imaginable how unconcerned I am in the fate of this Book, either in the History, *or the Observation; since I have been so faithful in the first, that is not* my *own, but the* Historians; *and so* careful *in the second, that they are not mine, but the* Histories.

DAVID LLOYD.

THE

The Lord Bacon's *Judgement of a Work of this nature.*

HIstory, which may be called juſt and perfect Hiſtory, is of three kinds, according to the object it propoundeth, or pretendeth to repreſent; for it either repreſenteth a Time, a Perſon, or an Action. The firſt we call Chronicles, the ſecond Lives, and the third Narrations, or Relations.

Of theſe; although the firſt be the moſt compleat and abſolute kind of Hiſtory, and hath moſt eſtimation and glory; yet the ſecond excelleth it in profit & uſe; & the third in verity and ſincerity. For hiſtory of Times repreſenteth the magnitude of Actions, and the publick faces or deportments of perſons, and paſſeth over in ſilence the ſmaller paſſages and motions of Men and Matters.

But ſuch being the workmanſhip of God, as he doth hang the greateſt weight upon the ſmalleſt wyars, *Maxima è minimis ſuſpendens*; it comes therefore to paſs, that ſuch Hiſtories do rather ſet forth the pomp of buſineſs, than the true and inward reſorts thereof. But Lives, if they be well written, propoun-

propounding to themselves a person to [illegible] ptefent; in whom actions both greater a[illegible] ſmaller, publick and private, have a com[illegible] mixture, muſt of neceſſity contain a mo[illegible] true, native, and lively repreſentation.

I do much admire that theſe times hav[illegible] ſo little eſteemed the vertues of the Times, a[illegible] that the writing of *Lives* ſhould be no mo[illegible] frequent. For although there be not man[illegible] Soveraign Princes, or abſolute Command[illegible] ers, and that *States* are moſt collected int[illegible] Monarchies; yet are there many worth[illegible] perſonages that deſerve better then diſper[illegible] ſed Report, or barren Elogies: For herein [illegible] the invention of one of the late Poets is pro[illegible] per, and doth well inrich the ancient fiction. For he feigneth, that at the end of the thread or web of every mans Life, there was a little Medal containing the perſon's name; and that *Time* waiteth upon the Sheers, and as ſoon as the Thread was cut, caught the Medals and carried them to the River *Lethe*; and about the bank there were many Birds flying up and down, that would get the Medals, and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the River. Onely there were a few Swans, which if they got a Name, would carry it to a Temple where it was conſecrate.

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THE STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND IN The Reign of King *Henry* the VIII.

Observations on the Life of Cardinal WOLSEY.

CArdinal *Wolsey* was not so great in his Fortune, as he was mean in his Original: his honest and industrious Parents helped him to a good Constitution, and a great Spirit, (two hopeful steps to Greatnesse;) and his Ambition gave the opportunity to encrease it: he was as pregnant at *Ipswich*-School, as he

Henry 8. was promiſing in *Canterbury*-Colledge; where his Induſtry & parts advanced him to a command over Noble-men in the Earl of *Dorſet's* Family, as a School-maſter; as his Policy had promoted him to an Imperiouſneſſe over Kings in the quality of States-man. *The firſt ſtep to Greatneſſe in a Scholar, is Relation to a Nobleman:* The beſt Education for the Court, is in the Palace: Nature made him *capable*, the School and Univerſity made him a *Scholar*; but his Noble Employment made him a *Man:* At *Oxford* he read Books, at my Lord's he read Men, and obſerved Things: His Patrons two Parſonages beſtowed upon him, was not ſo great a Favour as the excellent Principles inſtilled into him; he being not more careful to inſtruct the young Men, then their Father was to tutor him: his Bounty makes him rich, and his Recommendation potent: His Intereſt went far, his Money farther. Biſhop *Fox* was Secretary to K. *Henry* the ſeventh, and he to Biſhop *Fox*; the One was not a greater Favourite of the King's, then the other was his; as one that brought him a Head capacious of all Obſervations, and a Spirit above all Difficulties: Others managed the Affairs of *England*, *Wolſey* underſtood its Intereſt: His Correſpondence was good abroad; his Obſervations cloſe, deep, and continued at home: He improved what he knew, and bought what he knew not. He could make any thing he read or heard his own, and could improve any thing that was his own to the uttermoſt.

No ſooner was he *in* with the Biſhop of *Winchester*, but the Biſhop was *out* with the Earl of *Surrey*, to whom he muſt have ſtooped, as he did unto

unto Nature and Age, had not he raised his Servant equal to himself in the Kings Favour, and above *Howard*: He was forbid by the Canon, Heirs of his Body; he was enjoyned by his Prudence to make an Heir of his Favour, equally to support and comfort his old Age, and maintain his Interest. Children in point of Policy, as in point of Nature, are a Blessing, and as Arrows in the hand of a mighty man; and happy is that old Courtier that hath his Quiver full of them, *he shall not be ashamed when he speaks with his enemies in the gate.* The old man commends *Wolsey* to *Henry* the Seventh for one fit to serve a King, and command Others: Forreign Employment is the Statesmans first School; to *France* therefore he is sent, to poise his English Gravity with French Debonairness: A well-poised Quickness is the excellent temper. From Forreign Employment under an Old King, he is called home to some Domestick Services under the Young One: He as quickly found the length of *His* Foot, as he fitted him with an easie Shoo; the King followed his Pleasures, and the Cardinal enjoyeth *His* Power: The One pursued his Sports while *Youth*, the other his Business while *Time* served him: (*Give me to Day, and take thou to Morrow, is both the Courtier and the Christian's Language:*) The Favourite took in the Council-Table Debates and other State-affairs in the Mass and whole Bulk of them by Day, and the King had the Quintessence of them extracted, and the sum of them represented to him at Night: All State-Business was disposed of by him, and most Church-Preferments bestowed upon him; the Bishopricks of *Henry* 8.

Henry 8. *Durham*, *Winchester* and *York* were in his possession, and all other Promotions in his Gift: He was installed in the Kingdom (during King *Henry*'s youthfulness) and had the Church in *Commendam*: His great Services indeed could not be managed without a great Revenue, nor his greater Power supported, but by an able Purse, which may buy off Expedients as readily as his Greatness may command them.

Two Corrivals he had, *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*: *Brandon* he despised, as rather besides, saith my Author, then against him; he being the Kings Companion in Pleasure, and *Wolsey* his Counsellour in Policy; the Duke great with young *Henry*, the Bishop with the King: *Buckingham* he feared, as popular; and undermined, as proud: (that Tower must fall, whose Foundation is hollow) *Buckingham* was high in Birth, Honour and Estate; *Wolsey* higher in Prudence, whose Malice did the brave Duke much mischief, and his own Folly more: (Vain-glory (writes *a* my Friend) ever lieth at an open guard, and gives much advantage of play to her Enemies:) A deboyst King is jealous, and a weak Nobleman ambitious. In fine, he is attainted of High Treason, (though rather Corrival to the King in his Cloaths then his Crown, in his Vanities then his Authority:) but a cunning Upstart quickly blows off a young Noblemans Cap and Feather, and his Head too, when it stands in his way.

a Tho. Ful. *Holy State*. p. 251.

His power against *Buckingham* was his Shield against all others: One Defence well managed, one Adversary throughly suppressed, is a Security

at

at Court, where two men ſeldom fall the ſame way. *Henry* 8.

Many envied the Archbiſhop, the Cardinal, the Legate *de latere*, the Lord Chancellour; but all *feared* the Favourite: moſt were diſcontented, but none durſt ſhake their Heads, leſt they fell off with *Buckingham*'s: the Biſhops diſpleaſure was more fatal then the Kings, whoſe wrath was *violent*, but not *laſting*; as the Others anger was of leſs fury, but more malice: his Power was great, and his Juſtice equal; for he was too proud to be bribed, and too powerful to be over-born. But *England* was too narrow a Theatre for this great Spirit, and he aſpires to *Rome*; and having been theſe many years Pope of this other world, would have been of that beyond the waters: his leap was great from *York* to *Rome*, and his riſe as good: *Charles* the Fifth was his Client, and his Maſters Servant; the Cardinals were his Penſioners; and when they failed (as he is no Fox whoſe Den hath but one hole, and he no Stateſman who when one way is ſtopped, cuts not out another) he falls off from the German Emperour to the French King; where, if he could not carry his own Deſign, he would hinder the Emperours; (and Revenge is an Advancement) (ſo great was he, that his Friendſhip balanced *Europe*, over-awed Emperours, threatned Kings, and was fatal to Queens) if he cannot be Pope of *Rome*, he will ſhew he is as good as King of *England*; for finding that the King wanted a meet Yoak-Fellow for his Bed, and a lawful Heir-Male to his Crown, and obſerving Queen *Katharines* Age above her Husbands, and her Gravity above her

Henry 8. Age, being more Pious then Pleasant, a better Woman then Wife, and a better Wife for any Prince then King *Henry*; he promotes a Divorce (upon some Scruples intimated by the Spaniard some years before in a Treaty about the Princesse *Mary*'s Marriage, which others had forgot, but the Cardinal laid up) between the King and Queen: but that was not all; but knowing that King *Henry* could not have a Wife to his minde, until he had a Pope of his own chusing, he would help him to a young Wife, but he must raise him to a new power; *Wolsey* must be Pope, or King *Henry* could not be divorced: and to make all sure, he was no sooner to be parted from a Daughter of *Spain*, then he was to be joyned to a Princess of *France*; whose Nuptial Ring should wed King *Henry* to *Her*, and King *Francis* to *Himself*.

Missing of Power, he meditates Honour; and instead of lavishing his infinite Treasure upon airy Expectations, he bestoweth it on real Monuments, which make his Memory as Renowned as his Life. That Statesman lives to small purpose, whose Actions are as short as his Life, and his Exploits of no longer duration then his Age.

At this time, though King *Henry* bore the Sword, yet Cardinal *Wolsey* (as I am told) bore the stroke all over the Land, being Legate *à latere*, by vertue whereof he visited all Churches and Religious Houses, even the *Friers Observants* themselves, notwithstanding their stoutnesse and stubbornnes, that first opposed him. Papal and Royal Power met in him, being the Chancellour of the Land, and keeping so many Bishopricks in *Commendam*, that his yearly Income is said to equal

equal, if not to exceed the Revennes of the Crown: He gave the first blow to Religious Houses, by making one great Colledge of forty small Monasteries; to make way, as some thought, upon the Popes consent, procured by him, to the overthrow of all. *Henry* 8.

He called all Captains and Officers to an account, who bought off their own small corruption with his great one, and paid him the Penalties of their Cheats with the Gains of it; the Richest of them escaping, and the Poorest onely made exemplary. Several Courts of pretended Equity he erected; to redress the poor, that was the Colour; to inrich himself, that was the Reality: at whose constitution the Law-Courts were unfrequented, so specious was their seeming Integrity; at the last they are deserted, so manifest were their real Grievances; the people not flocking so fast after the Novelty, as they ran away from the Cheat.

What he did to reform the Courtiers, as a Favourite, he did to reform the Clergy as Legate; erecting a Court Legantine (not without danger of a *Præmunire*) wherein all Clergy were visited; the Rich in their Purses, that excused them, the Poor in their Reputation, that compounded for them. Neither did his profits arise from the Living onely, but the Dead; he engrossing the Probation of all Wills and Testaments within his own Court.

And not long after, he hath a Patent under the Great Seal of *England*, to do what he pleased in the French Court, in order to the Kings Progresse thither; as he hath likewise after, with his

Henry 8. Masters leave, under the great seal of *France*: After which honour, he was with the Kings order, by the English Subjects, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, *&c.* honoured at no lesse rate then that of a Prince; and by the Clergy (who kept close to the publick temper) with Processions, *&c.* at the same rate with a Pope. Great he was in *England*; greater in *Germany*, where all the Nobility attended him, the Great Seal of *England* was carried before him; and the Emperour observing his Commission and Honour, met him with his whole Train, and harangued it with him no less then two days. He that over-ruled Empires might well presume on Subjects; and no sooner therefore doth he return, then by his own Authority he levieth four shillings in the pound of every man that was worth fifty pound *per annum*; and when that would not do (pretending to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that he had been upon his Knees to revoke those Commissions) other Letters for a Benevolence, which lost him as much in the Countrey, as his Reformation of the Houshold did him at Court: But the King employeth him to *France*, as his Second, and takes his leave of him as his intimate Friend; 1200 Horse attended him: *Calice*, *Bullein*, *Amiens* honour him with the name of *The Peaceable Cardinal*; and the Statue of a Cardinal *Rescuing a Church and a Pope from danger*.

Cardinal *Wolsey* going over to *France* upon an extraordinary Embassy, had for his Attendance *Tonstal* Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Sands*, late Chamberlain, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Tho. More*, Sir *H. Guilford*, and 200 Horse; and was met

two

two days journey from *Paris* by King *Francis* and *Henry* 8. his mother, carrying with him 140000 *l.* though silver was but 20 *d.* an ounce, to assist that King in the War against *Charles* the fifth; and furnished with such a Plenipotentiary Commission, that he gave Law to *France* and the *Popedome*: and he comported himself with such dexterity and high wisdome, that all the Princes of *Christendom*, who had their eyes fixed upon him, admired him.

The King gave him many places, and he bestowed on him his magnificent Palaces; fitting his humour with pleasant habitations, and he suited his ambition with power and authority.

But the King broke with him at last about the divorce, being vexed with so many delays, defers, retardings, and prorogations between two Popes, *Clement* that was, and *Wolsey* that would be: yet rather eased him of his burdens, then deprived him of his preferments; continuing him Bishop of *York* and *Durham*, (when he turned him out of his Chancellourship of *England*) where he lived rather like a *Prince* then a *Priest*, providing as magnificently for his *Installation*, as a King should for his *Coronation*: which unseasonable ambition was improved by his enemies malice and the Kings jealousie to his ruine: for in the midst of his solemnities he is arrested by the Kings order, whose wrath was the *Messenger of Death*; and in his way to *London*, being distracted between hope and fear, died at *Leicester*, giving his servants large rewards, upon condition they served none but the King; and breathing out his soul in words to this purpose, *viz.* *If I had served the God of heaven as faithfully as I did*

my

Henry 8. *my Maſter on earth, he had not forſaken me in my old age, as the other hath done,* he died, ſwelling in his body as he had done in his mind. When good men die ſuddainly, it is ſaid they are poyſoned; and when the bad fall unexpectedly, as he did, it is ſaid they poyſon themſelves. He died unpitied, becauſe he had lived feared; being the great Bias of the Chriſtian world.

Too ſuddain proſperity in the beginning, undoeth us in the end: while we expect all things flowing upon us as at firſt, we remit our care, and periſh by neglecting. Every head cannot bear wine, nor every ſpirit a fortune: Succeſs eats up Circumſpection. How many a man had ended better, if he had not begun ſo well? It's the Emphaſis of miſery, to be too ſoon happy: Proſperity growing up with experience, takes a man in a firm ſettlement, inured to all events. I will ever ſuſpect the ſmooth waters for deepneſs: in my worſt eſtate I will hope, in the beſt I will fear; in all, I will be circumſpect and ſtill. Ruffling Ambition reacheth great Honours, a Sedate Humility ſupports it: the Lower the Baſis, the higher and ſtronger the Pyramide. Love, the Iſſue of Humility, guardeth the weakeſt; Hatred, the Daughter of Pride, ruines the ſtrongeſt. *Ego & Rex meus*, was good Grammar for *Wolſey* a School-maſter, but not for the Cardinal a States-man: to be humble to Superiours, is *duty*; to Equals, is *courteſie*: to Inferiours, *nobleneſs* and to all, *ſafety*; it being a vertue that for all her lowlineſs commandeth thoſe ſouls it ſtoops to. In a word, as I love Vertue, ſo I hate Vice for her inſide and her end. Cardinal *Wolſey* i

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famous for two things; that he never ſpoke a word too much, and but one too little. *Henry* 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Charles Brandon, *Duke of* Suffolk.

SIr *William Brandon* dying in King *Henry* the ſeventh's ſervice, no wonder if his ſon lived in his favour; it being as prudent to continue his Loyal ſpirit in his ſon, as it was juſt to reward it. He was as intimate with *Henry* the eighth in his pleaſures when a *childe*, as in his counſels when a *man*. There was a ſympathy between their active ſpirits, which improved the familiarity of their tender years to a firm friendſhip in their age: at a Tilting in *Paris*, to which many young Noble-men were licenſed to go, *Brandon* overcame others every day, and one day himſelf, (againſt a Gyant *Almain*) where the Lords looked not on him with more envious, then the Ladies with gracious eyes; who (ſaith my Author) darted more glances in love, then the other did ſpears in anger againſt him. He is the compleat Courtier, in whom Beauty and Valour, *Mars* and *Venus*, are joyned in one happy conſtitution, which awes and allures Beholders.

Being employed to bring over Queen *Mary*, King *Lewis* the twelfth's Relict, to her Brother, he won her to himſelf: whether his affections were ſo ambitious as to climb up to her, or hers ſo humble as to condeſcend to him, may be the ſubject of a more amorous diſcourſe: and conſidering

Henry 8. sidering with himself that matters of this nature are never sure till finished, that so Royal an opportunity happened but seldome, and that leave for such an enterprize was easier gained when it's done, then when doing; he humbly requested his Majesty to give way to that Match, which was indeed already concluded: who after some State-discontent, was quickly pleased; the Duke being no less esteemed by him for many years, then he was beloved by the people. His Genius was more Martial then Mercurial; and we hear of him oftner in the French Wars, then in the English Councils.

Being vexed with the delays at *Rome*, and the delusions at *Bridewel*, (where the Cardinals proceeded according to their instructions at *Rome*) one day he knocks on the Table in the presence of the two Cardinals, and binds it with an Oath, That it was never well in *England* since Cardinals had any thing to do therein: and from that time forward, as an active Instrument, he endeavoured the abolishing of the Popes power in *England*; against whom he was not more active in the Parliament 1534, then he was vigilant in the Committee 1535: in the one, cutting off the head; in the other, weakening the members of that Church. He made provident, yet moderate use of his Masters favours; thereby obliging others, and securing himself; being above Mercenary inclinations as much in his thoughts, as in his fortune: he was neither too near the King, lest he were weary of him; nor too far off, lest he forgot him, or thought himself neglected by him. His intermissions of attendance gave others no advantage, but

but rendred him more gracious: he neither engrossed nor confined his Masters affection. It was easie for him to rise, being descended of Noble Blood, (which is never envied for its advancement) and as easie to keep high, being well studied in his Princes disposition, whose inclination when found is half fitted; ever pleasing his Masters *Natural* humour, never his *Vicious*. Having attained a competent heighth, he chose rather to grow stronger by relation, then higher by advancements. "Some Favourites whose heels "have been tripped up by their adversaries, have "with their hands held on their Allies till they "could recover their feet again. His familiarity, and the easie access to him, made him popular: his pliant temper kept him a Favourite, until he died in the full favour of his Prince, though (as Cardinal *Pool* observed) *They who were highest in this Kings favour, had their heads neareſt danger.* He had a becoming Bluntness not unlike his Masters, which we call Free-heartedness in Courtiers; Conscience and Christian simplicity in Clergie-men; Valour in Souldiers. He died *anno* 1544. much beloved and lamented of all, for his Bounty, Humility, Valour, and all Noble Vertues since the heat of his Youth was tamed by his reduced Age: whose two sons *Henry* and *Charles* died within twelve hours one of the other, 1551. *Henry* 8.

1. A Calm Greatness is next the happiness of Heaven: Give me the man that by a fair and calm course is still rising to an higher state, yet content with his present fortune.

2. Integrity out-lasts Power, and Plainness sur-

Henry 8. ſurvives Policy: An honeſt heart keeps the head on the ſhoulders; a Noble and clear Vertue is laſting.

3. It's likeneſs that makes the True-love-knot of friendſhip: When a Prince finds another of his own diſpoſition, what is it but the ſame ſoul in a divided body? what findes he but himſelf intermutually tranſpoſed? And Nature that makes us love our ſelves, makes us with the ſame reaſon love thoſe that are like us: for this is a Friend, a more ſacred Name then a Brother.

4. He that hath a minde contentedly good, enjoyeth in it boundleſs poſſeſſions. He is great indeed, that is great in a brave ſoul.

Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem,
Jucundiſſime Martialis, hæc ſunt:
Res non porta Labore ſed relicta;
Non ingratus Ager, focus perennis,
Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta:
Viris Ingenuæ, ſalubre Corpus:
Prudens ſimplicitas, pares amici,
Convictus facilis, ſine arte Menſa;
Nox non ebria ſed ſoluta curis:
Non triſtis torus, attamen pudicus:
Somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras;
Quod ſis eſſe velis, nihilque malis;
Summum ne metuos diem nec optes.

Obſervations on Thomas Cranmer, *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

C*Ranmer* had a Noble Blood, quickning and raiſing his ſpirit, as he had an indefatigable induſtry to improve it. He was a Gentleman born in *Arſelecton* in *Nottinghamſhire*, and a Noble-man bred in *Jeſus*-Colledge in *Cambridge*. His Anceſtors were no leſs eminent at *Cranmers-hall* in *Lincolnſhire*, then he was at *Lambeth* in *Surrey*. They came in with the Conqueſt, (as one *Cranmer* a French Ambaſſadour in *Henry* the eighth's time, at the Archbiſhops Table, made it evident) and he with the Reformation. His Education was as Gentile as his Birth, onely his mild ſpirit meeting with a ſevere Maſter, his memory was weakened, and his ſpritefulneſs allayed: but the auſterity of the School was ſweetned with the exerciſes of the Country, which his Father indulged him when young, and he indulged himſelf when aged; handling his great Horſe as nimbly, his Bow and Net as dexterouſly as any man in his family. His Marriage withdrew him from the Colledge, and conſequent Church-preferment, as the Kings did him from the Church it ſelf. He whoſe marriage forbid him a Fellowſhip in *Jeſus*-Colledge, had a Lecture in *Buckingham*-houſe for his Parts and Reputation, where at once he prepared others for publick Employments, and himſelf alſo. He lived as ſoberly at the *Dolphine*-tavern with his wife,

Henry 8. wiſe, (whatever the Papiſts have ſurmized) as he did ſtudiouſly at *Buckingham*-houſe with his Scholars. His Name was ſo famous, that *Wolſey* was not more ſollicitous to tranſplant him as an Ornament to *Oxford*, then *Fiſher* was to retain him in *Cambridge*; where he was eminent for the Arts, more for Divinity, which (when as one of the three Cenſors he examined *Candidates*) he ſaid he expected not in the difficult trifles of *Lumbard*, but in the ſacred ſenſe of Scriptures, the ancient Doctrine of Fathers, the grave Canons of Councils, the ſolid Politeneſs of the Greek and Hebrew Learning; and which he lived as well as he taught, in his ſober temperance, his mild meekneſs, (ſo placable, ſo courteous, that to offend him, was the way to ingratiate with him) his diſcreet moderation, his grave reſolution equally above the frowns and ſmiles of fortune. Thus qualified, he was by a Providence commended to his Majeſty: for there being a Plague in *Cambridge*, as there was all over *England*, Dr. *Cranmer* retired to *Waltham* with two of his Pupils, the ſons of one Mr. *Creſſy*: where upon the Kings Progreſs thither, he met with his Chaplain and Almoner Dr. *Foxe*, (afterwards Biſhop of *Hereford*) who lodging with him at Mr. *Creſſy's*, diſcourſed the Kings Divorce. *Cranmer* conceived that the ſpeedieſt courſe were to prove the unlawfulneſs of the Match by Scripture; whence it would follow, that the Pope at firſt had no power to diſpenſe therewith; and that the Univerſities of *Chriſtendome* would ſooner and truer decide the caſe then the Court of *Rome*. This paſſage *Foxe* reports to the King, who well-

pleaſed

pleased thereat, professeth that *this man had the Sow by the right Ear:* Glad was the King to see him, (indeed he had a comely Person, and a pleasing Countenance;) more to hear him inlarge himself on the former Subject, That it was above the Popes power to dispence with Gods Word in the Kings Case: What he said to the King, he was sent to make it good to the Pope; whither, invested with the Arch-Deaconry of *Taunton*, he went with *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*; whose first Address to the Pope, was to present a Book of *Cranmers, proving Gods Law indispensible with by the Pope:* the Author is preferred to the great Title of *Supreme Pœnitentiary*, and the Treatise is promised a Consideration and Debate: But the Pope delaying, and according to *Cranmer's* Advice ten Universities declaring against him; the Embassador returns to *England*, and the Disputant goes to *Vienna*, where in *Osianders* House (whose Kinswoman he had married) he confirmed those that wavered; satisfied those that doubted, and won those that contradicted in King *Henry's* Cause. But he served not King *Henry* more faithfully in *Germany*, then he provided for him honourably in *England*; where the Kings Cause waited for his Assistance, and the See of *Canterbury* for his Acceptance: He was willing to promote Religion, he was unwilling (for some Formalities he scrupled) to advance himself: but after seven Weeks delay, it being as fatal to refuse King *Henry's* Favours, as to offer him Injuries, he is Archbishop in his own Defence; in which capacity, to serve the King, and salve his own Conscience, he used the Expedient of a Protes- Henry 8.

Heury 8. ſtation to this purpoſe: *In nomine*, &c. *Non eſt nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujuſmodi Juramentum & juramenta, qualiter verba in ipſis poſita ſonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquid; ratione eorundem poſt hac dicendum, faciendum aut atteſtandum, quod erit aut eſſe videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra Regem, aut Rempublicam, legeſve, aut Prærogativa ejus: & quod non intendo per hujuſmodi juramentum quovis modo me obligare quò minùs liberè loqui, conſulere, & conſentire valeam in omnibus & ſingulis Reformationem Eccleſiæ, prerogativam Coronæ, concernentibus, & ea exequi & reformare quæ in Eccleſia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur.* This Proteſtation he made three times; once at the *Charter-Houſe*, another time at the Altar, and a third time at the receiving of his *Pall*. In his place he was moderate, between the Superſtition of *Rome*, and the Phrenſies of *Munſter*. As he was chief Inſtrument in beginning the Reformation, ſo he was in continuing it: He withſtood the Six Articles, and (though the King ſent five prime Miniſters of State to comfort him) would not be ſatisfied, until he ſaw them mitigated in King *Henry*'s time, and repealed in King *Edward*'s.

Gardiner would have queſtioned him for entertaining forreign Hereticks, and promoting Domeſtick Schiſms; the Northern Rebells accuſed him for ſubverting the Church: but the King upheld him againſt both; ſuppreſſing the One, and checking the Other; and adviſing the good Man, whom he called Fool, for his meek diſpoſition, to appeal to him: Whereupon *Ruſſel* cried

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The King will never ſuffer him to be impriſoned, until you finde Him guilty of High Treaſon. He is to be pitied for his intermediate failings, but renowned for his final conſtancy. Henry 8.

The King having declared before all his Servants, that *Cranmer* was his beſt Servant, he employeth him in his beſt ſervice, the Reformation of Religion, wherein all others failed; but the King, *Cromwel* and *Brandon* backed him ſo far, that he had the Bible and the neceſſary Offices of the Church tranſlated into Engliſh: He had both Univerſities at his command: He brought the Lords Houſe and Convocation to his Lure; and was inveſted with a Power, 1. To grant Diſpenſations in all things not repugnant to Gods Law, nor the Kings ſafety: 2. To determine Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. He as charitably as politickly adviſed the King to accept of Biſhop *Fiſher*'s partial Subſcription, conſidering his Learning and Reputation. As he is King *Henry*'s Inſtrument at *Dunſtable*, to divorce him from Queen *Katharine*; ſo he is at *Lambeth*, to divorce him from *Anna Bullen*. He promoted in the Convocation all Primitive Doctrines, and condemned all new-fangled Opinions. He was ſo charitable, that he interceded with the King for his Enemies; ſo munificent, that he made the Church and his own Houſe a Refuge for Strangers; particularly for *P. Fagius*, *P. Martyr*, *Martin Buter*, &c. The King loved him for his Integrity, the People for his Moderation: He was *called* the Kings *Father*, and *was* Queen *Elizabeth*'s *Godfather*: His Piety reduced the Church, and his Policy the State: He ſpake little to others, he conferred much with himſelf: Three words of His could

Henry 8. do more then three hours discourse of Others: He would say, as *Victorinus*, *There is a time to say nothing, there is a time to say something, but there is never a time to say all things.* That King who awed all Others, feared Him. A Second to the Eternal Power, is the Wise Man uncorrupt in his Life. He was the *Executor* of *God's Will* in King *Henry's* Life-time, and the first of *His*, after his Death.

As *He* spurred King *Henry* to a Reformation, so King *Edward* did *Him*; whose Prudence was not so forward as the Others Zeal, who looked at what was Lawful, as He did at what was Convenient. He maintained the Churches Power as resolutely against Bishop *Hooper's* Scruples, notwithstanding potent Intercession; as he reformed its Corruptions against the Popes Interest, notwithstanding a general Opposition. He allowed not the least Errour in, nor the least contempt of the Church: He restored its primitive Doctrine and Discipline, left it should be an *impure Church*; he upheld them, left it should be *none*: He was one of fourteen that compiled the *Common-Prayer*: He was One of Two that set out the Homilies; and the onely man that published the *Institution of a Christian man*, and other good Books. With his Advice King *Edward* did much, and designed more: He was the chief Author of King *Edward's* Injunctions, and the first Commissioner in them: He was President of the Assembly at *Windsor*, (for Reformation) and of the Council at *London*: His Articles were strict and severe; as much grounded on the Canon of Scripture, as on the Canons of the Church: He convinced more Papists with his Reason

Reaſon and Moderation, then others by their Power: His Heart never failed him in his Life, and it was not burned at his Death. He *did* ſo much for the Proteſtant Religion in King *Henry*'s Days, that he foreſaw he ſhould *ſuffer* for it in Queen *Mary*'s: He was unwilling to wrong Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*, therefore he refuſed at firſt to ſign King *Edward*'s *Teſtament*, but Duke *Dudley*'s *Will*: He was willing to continue the Proteſtant Religion, therefore he ſigned it at laſt. It was a Biſhop that was one of the firſt that aboliſhed Popery in *England*, and one of the laſt that died for Proteſtantiſme: It was a Biſhop that maintained the Proteſtant Cauſe with Arguments while he lived, and with his Blood when he died. *Henry* 8.

Obſervations on Sir Thomas More, *Lord Chancellour of England.*

HE riſe up high, becauſe he ſtept out well: Sir *Thomas More* was half way *Chancellour*, when born to Sir *John More Chief Juſtice*: The Father's Prudence, Wit and Nobleneſſe flowed with his Blood to the Sons Veins: *Much* Honour he received *from* his Family, *more* he gave *to* it: His Mother ſaw his Face ſhining in a Dream, on her Wedding Night; and his Father ſaw his Life ſo really: A quick City-Spirit made him capable of great State-Employments.

He was ſaved by a *Miracle*, and was *One*: "For "his Nurſe riding with him over a Water, and "being in ſome danger, threw him over a Hedge,

Henry 8. "where ſhe found him not hurt, but ſweetly ſmi-
"ſling *a* upon her.

a St. Anthonies under New-Hall.

A Free-ſchool ſeaſoned his forward Childhood; and the grave, wiſe and excellent Cardinal *Mortons* Houſe his Youth: The One with Learning, to make him a Scholar; the Other with Prudence, to make him a Man: But the Diſtractions of that Houſe were not ſo proper for his promiſing Ingenuity, as the Retirements of the Univerſity; where in two years time he ſhewed what Wonders Wit and Diligence could do in Rhetorick, Logick and Philoſophy: The *b* Colledge kept him ſtrict, and his Father ſhort, ſo that (as he bleſſed God afterward) *He had neither the leiſure nor the means to be vicious*: The Cardinal ſaid he would be *Great*, and his excellent Genius ſaid he would be *Humble*: The Lord Chancellour would give place *to*, and ask bleſſing *of* the Lord Chief Juſtice: The Father being not more happy in his Son, then the Son in his Father. At 17 *his wit* was eminent for his Epigrams: His *Antilucian* Oration commended by all men but *Brixius*, for pure, genuine and flowing: At 18 his wiſdom in overcoming his Antagoniſt *Brixius* with kindneſs, and Himſelf with Mortifications. His faſtings were *frequent*, his watchings on the hard ground *revere*; his Hair-cloath even in his Chancellourſhip *courſe*, his exerciſes among the *Carthuſians* in the *Charterhouſe* for four years *auſtere*; his deſign for the *Franciſcan* Hood, and a Prieſthood with his Friend *Lilly*, *ſolemn*; His prayers *uninterrupted*: When the King ſent for him once at Maſs, he anſwered, That *when he had done with God, he would wait on his Majeſty*: He imitated *Picus Mirandula's* Life, and *writ* it: He

b Chriſt-Church.

heard

heard Dr. *Collet* his Confeſſours Sermons, and followed his life; whoſe experience was his counſel, whoſe converſation was his life. He could not away with the good Sermon of a bad man: *Collet* was his Father; *Linacre*, *Lilly*, *Grocine*, were his Friends. He learned more by prayer, then he did by ſtudy: his Poems were acute, his Speeches pure and copious, his Latine elegant; yet his head was knotty and Logical: his Diet was temperate, his Apparel plain, his Nature tractable and condeſcending (though very diſcerning) to the meaneſt mens counſel; his Vertues ſolid, not boaſted. In a word, the foundation of his Life was as low as the building was to be high. *Henry* 8.

He married himſelf to *a* Vertue, and not to an Eſtate: he likes a younger ſiſter, yet out of civility he embraceth the elder. Happy he was in his modeſt Wives, happier in his hopeful Children. His Government of his Family was exact, enjoyning all his Children to *take Vertue for their meat, and Play for their ſawce.* His proficiency in the *b* Law was admirable, his Practice ſucceſsful, his Judgement ſolid, his Integrity eminent; his Determinations in the Sheriffs Court, his Activity for the Stilyard, his Practice in the Courts of Juſtice, raiſed him to a place in Parliament: where he was ſo good a Patriot, that he diſpleaſed King *Henry* the ſeventh; and ſo wiſe a man, that he awed King *Henry* the eighth: the one by *Foxe* demands one Subſidie and three Fifteens, and the *beardleſs Boy* (as the Courtiers called Sir *Thomas*) diſappointed him; the other made a motion by *Wolſey*, which he overthrew, ſo that the Cardinal wiſhed him at *Rome*.

a *He married Mr. Colts daughter of New-Hall.*

b *whereby he was double Reader.*

He retires to his ſtudies to avoid *Henry* the ſe-

Henry 8. venth's diſpleaſure, and improves them to gain his ſons favour, who by his Cardinal invited him to Court, and employed him abroad to *France* to recover his debts; to *Flanders*, to confirm the peace. Employments he avoided a while, to keep his City-intereſt: and in caſe of controverſie with the King, to prevent their jealouſie: his buſineſs was ſo urgent, that you would think he had no leaſure; and his writings ſo exact, that you would think he had no buſineſs. Not a minute of his time eſcaped employment. His Hiſtory of *Richard* the third is faithful, his *Utopia* is judicious and elegant, his *c* Lectures at St. *Laurence* were learned and pious.

c On St. Aug. de Civit. Dei.

His Popularity in Parliament commended him to his Majeſty: his ſtrong Arguments for the Popeſhip in Star-chamber, brought him to him againſt his modeſt inclination, as much as againſt *Wolſey's* intereſt. His ability ſet him on the Council-table, his integrity placed him in the Exchequer: His *d* Services promoted him to the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, his Dexterity and Prudence made him the Kings boſome-friend, and his familiar all his ſpare hours; whoſe Queſtions in every Art and Science were not more uſeful, then Sir *Thomas* his Anſwers were ſatisfactory. His advice was his Majeſties and his Queens Oracles in Counſel; his diſcourſe was their recreation at Table. He was not more delightful to the King at Court, then he was ſerviceable to him in appeaſing tumults, *&c.* in the City. He was the Kings Favourite at *White-hall*, and the Peoples Darling at *Weſtminſter*, where he was Speaker as well with the unanimous conſent of the one, as with the approbation of the other: and between both, impartial, equally careful of Prerogative and Privi-

d He was made Chancellour of that Dutchy.

Priviledges; neither awed from right by power, nor flattered with popularity. He declined Forreign ſervices with as much Dexterity as he managed Domeſtick ones. He ſerved the [illegible] faithfully, but truſted him not, as one that enjoyed and ſuſpected Fortune, ſaying, *If his Head could win King* Henry *a Caſtle in Wales, it would off.* *Henry 8.*

The King and Kingdome truſted him, *who e was e queen Katherine ſaid ſo.* *at one ſound Counſellour the King had.* The Cardinal told him he was the verieſt Fool in the Councell: he replied, *God be thanked my Maſter hath but one fool there.*

His Honour was ſet off by a grave condeſcention, and a grave humility. Did he argue? he was very moderate, civil and modeſt. Did he reprove? he was pitiful, grave and prudent. Was he with the King at the Univerſity? he was ready and eloquent. Was he abroad? he heard the Lectures attentively, and diſputed *f* accurately. To his Friend, as Dr. *Tunſtal*, none more faithful: to learned men, as *Eraſmus*, none more civil: to devout men, ſuch as Biſhop *Fiſher*, none more firm: to hopeful men, ſuch as *Powle*, there was none more encouraging: to painful men, ſuch as *Grocinus, Linacer, Crocus, Lupſet, Lilly, Cocklee, Budlera, Dorpin, Bewald, Luſcar, Grannould, Vines, Groclenius, Buſſidian, Ægidius, Rhenanus*, none more familiar, conſtant or liberal: in his conſcience, none more ſatisfied and ſedate: in his diſcourſe, none more innocent and pleaſant: in his heart, none more devout and ſincere.

f A fellow at Bruges *would undertake to anſwer any queſtion: Sir* Thomas *put up this, whether* Averia capta in Wiſternamia ſint irreplegiabilia, *to that* Thraſoes *great amazement.*

His meditations were frequent; his retirements to a Chappel built of purpoſe, dayly; his Prayers conſtant and zealous; his converſation with his Wives, loving and debonnair, taking them off their

cares

Henry 8. cares to reading and muſick. His Servants were al-
ways employed either in his, or Gods ſervice, ſuf-
fering them not by idleneſs to be at leiſure for ſin,
nor by wanton converſe to be tempted to it. Hi
Table-talk after the Chapter was pleaſing and uſe
ful, his counſels uſeful, his converſe exemplary,
his family-inſtructions to bear afflictions patiently,
to withſtand temptations reſolvedly, to mind hea-
venly matters devoutly, to go plainly and ſoberly,
to recreate themſelves moderately and vertuouſly,
were effectual. There went a bleſſing along with
all his Servants, and happineſs with his whole Fa-
mily.

His Apophthegms were grounded on experience
and judgement. He would ſay, 1. *He was not al-
ways merry that laughed.* 2. *The world is undone
by looking on things at diſtance.* 3. *To aim at Ho-
nour here, is to ſet up a Court of Arms over a Priſon-
gate.* 4. *If I would employ my Goods well, I may be
contented to looſe them; if ill, I ſhould be glad.* 5. *He
that is covetous when he is old, is as a Thief that ſteals
when he is going to the Gallows.* 6. *Bags of Gold to
as when Saints, will be but as a bag of pebble-ſtones
when men.* 7. *The greateſt puniſhment in the world
were to have our wiſhes.* 8. *Puſillanimity is a great
temptation.* 9. *Affliction undoes many; Pleaſure moſt.*
10. *We go to Hell with more pain then we might go to
Heaven with.* Of Hereſie he ſaid, *Like as before a
great ſtorm the Sea ſwelleth, and hath unwonted mo-
tions without any wind ſtirring; ſo may we ſee here
many of our Engliſh-men, which a few years ago could
not endure to hear the name of an Heretick or Schiſma-
tick, now to be contented both to ſuffer them, and to
praiſe them ſomewhat, yea, to learn by little and lit-
tle,*

ble, as much as they can be ſuffered, to finde fault, and to tax willingly the Church, the Clergy, and the Ceremonies. 11. *The more of any thing elſe we have, but Riches, the more good we are.* 12. *Who would not ſend his Alms to heaven? who would not ſend his Eſtate whither he is to be baniſhed?* 13. *Some men hate* Hypocriſie, *and love* Impudence. 14. When any detracted others at his Table, he ſaid, *Let any man think as he pleaſeth, I like this room well.* 15. *It's eaſier to to* prevent, *then* redreſs. Henry 8

Indeed throughout his Works he argueth ſharply, he reaſoneth profoundly, he urgeth aptly, ſtateth exactly, expreſſeth himſelf elegantly, and diſcourſeth learnedly. He would rather convince, then puniſh; yet he would rather puniſh then indulge them: his Epitaph beſpeaking him grievous to Hereticks, Thieves and Murtherers.

When King *Henry* ſcrupled his firſt marriage, Sir *Thomas* told him, *That neither he nor my Lord of* Durham *were ſo fit to adviſe him in that caſe, as St.* Auguſtine, *St.* Jerome, *and the other Fathers.* His advice was ſo unſeaſonable, that it oppoſed the King; yet ſo grave and honeſt, that it pleaſed him. His Experience and Prudence had a fore-ſight next door to Prophecy; and from the unquiet times of King *Henry*, did he gueſs the ruine of King *Charles*. He converted many with his Arguments, more with his Prayers, which workt wonders of reformation on the erroneous, as they did of recovery on the weak. He wiſhed three things to *Chriſtendome:* 1. An Univerſal Peace: 2. An Uniform Religion: 3. A Reformation rather of Lives then Religion. He never asked any thing of his Majeſty but Employment, and never took any thing more acceptable

then

Henry 8. then Service. His Alms were liberal to his Neighbours, and good works numerous *g* towards God. He would take no Fees from the Poor, and but moderate ones from the Rich. All *London* was obliged to him for his Counsel at home, and all *England* for his Peace at *Cambray*, where he out-did expectation.

g He built a Chappel at Chelsey, *and hired an Almshouse there.*

The King raised him to the Chancellourship, but not to his own opinion: he professed he would serve his Majesty, but he *must* obey his God: he would keep the Kings *conscience* and his *own*. His Wisdome and Parts advanced him, his Innocence and Integrity ruined him: his Wit pleased the King, but his Resolution crossed him. *Wolsey* was not so proud and reserved, as Sir *Thomas* was open and free to the meanest: his minde was not so dazled with honour, but he could foresee his fall. When his sons complained how little they gained under him, *I will do justice* (said he) *for your sakes to any man, and I will leave you a blessing*; decreeing one day against his own son that would not hear reason. First, he offered the Judges the Reformation of Grievances; and when they refused, he did it himself. — No *Subpœna* was granted but what he *h* saw, no Order but what he perused: nothing passed from him towards the subject, but what became a good Magistrate; nothing towards his Master, but what became a faithful servant. Neither King nor Queen could corrupt, neither could the whole Church in Convocation fasten any thing upon him. To one who told him of his Detractors, he said, *Would you have me punish those by whom I reap more benefit then by all you my friends?* Perfect Patience is the Companion of true Perfection.

h With the cause attested by the Attorney, in token whereof when one Tubbe *brought him a* Subpœna *to subscribe, finding it frivolous, he writ under it a tale of a tub.*

But

But he managed not his truſt with more in- *Henry* 8.
tegrity and dexterity, then he left it with honour; leaving not one cauſe undecided in the *Chancery*: foreſeeing that he could not at once content his Majeſty and his own heart. His Servants upon his fall he diſpoſed of as well as his children; and his Children he taught to live ſoberly in a great Eſtate, and nobly in a mean one. He never put an Heretick to death when Chancellour, neither would he ſuffer Hereſies to live when a private man. When my Lord *Cromwel* came to him in his retirement, he adviſed him to tell the King what he ought, not what he can do; *ſo ſhall you ſhew your ſelf a true and faithful ſervant, and a right worthy Counſellour: for if a Lyon knew his own ſtrength, hard were it for any man to rule him.* The King feared him when he could not gain him, and therefore he was ſiſted in his former carriage and preſent temper, which continued conſtant to his duty, and even under his changes. He was open-hearted to all that came, yet ſo wary in his diſcourſe with the Maid of *Kent*, that his enemies confeſſed he deſerved rather honour then a check for that matter. When the Duke of *Norfolk* told him, *that the wrath of a Prince is death*; he ſaid, *Nay, if that be all, you muſt die to morrow, and I to day.* He behaved himſelf at all Examinations at once wiſely and honeſtly. When Archbiſhop *Cranmer* told him, *he muſt obey the King which was certain, rather then follow his conſcience which was uncertain*; he replyed, *It's as certain that I muſt not obey the King in evil, as that I muſt follow my conſcience in good.* When the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* told him, *his conſcience ſhould yeild to the wiſdome of the Kingdome*, he ſaid, *He would not conform his conſci-*

ence

Henry 8. *ence to* one Kingdome, *but to the* whole Church. He underwent his sufferings with as much cheerfulnes as his preferment; pleasing himself with his misfortunes, and enjoying his misery; resolving to obey God rather then man, to leave others to their own consciences; to close with the Catholick Church rather then the Church of *England*, and to submit to general Councils rather then to Parliaments.

Mr. *Rich* put to him this Question, *Whether if the Parliament made a Law that he were Pope, would he not submit to it?* and he replyed, *If the Parliament made another that God should not be God, would you obey it?* Though he could not own the Kings Supremacy, yet he would not meddle with it either in his Writings or discourse; shewing himself at once a civil man, a good Christian, and a noble Confessour. His soul was well setled; his stature was mean, but well proportioned; his complexion phlegmatique; his countenance amiable and cheerful; his voice plain and distinct; and his temper sound and healthful.

Herbert. *WHo is the honest man?*
He that doth still and strongly good pursue,
To God, his Neighbour and Himself most true:
Whom neither force nor fawning can
Unpin or wrench from giving all their due.

Whose honesty is not
So loose and easie, that a ruffling winde
Can blow away, or glitt'ring look it blinde:
Who rides his sure and even trot
While the world now rides by, now lags behinde.

Who,

Who, when great trials come,
Nor ſeeks, nor ſhuns them; but doth calmly ſtay,
Till he the Thing and the Example weigh:
All being brought into a ſum,
What Place or Perſon calls for, he doth pay.

Whom none can work, or woee
To uſe in any thing a trick or ſleight;
For above all things he abhors deceit:
His words and works and faſhion too
All of a piece, and all are clear and ſtraight.

Who never melts or thaws
At cloſe tentations: when the day is done,
His goodneſs ſets not, but in dark can run:
The Sun to others writeth Laws,
And is their vertue; Vertue is his Sun.

Who, when he is to treat
With ſick Folks, Women, thoſe whom paſſions ſway,
Allows for that, and keeps his conſtant way;
Whom others faults do not defeat,
But though men fail him, yet his part doth play.

Whom nothing can procure,
When the wide world runs Bias, from his will
To writhe his limbs, and ſhare, not mend the ill.
This is the Mark-man, ſafe and ſure,
Who ſtill is right, and prays to be ſo ſtill.

Obſerva-

Observations on the Life of Thomas Cromwel *Earl of* Essex.

PUtney saw his Cradle in a Cottage, and *England* saw his Coffin in a Ditch: His Original was mean, his End meaner: A suddain height in an unsettled time ruined him: A moderate and leasurely Greatness is safe. His Blood ran *low*, but *pure*, ennobling the veins it flowed in with a Spirit that was to raise a Family, and *Deserve* that Honour that others *Inherit*. His honest Parents conveyed him a strong Constitution that could support stronger Parts: The poor man's good Temper is an Inheritance, and the Rich his Effeminacie his Disease.

A private School civilized his Parts; Travel and Employment improved them: His Necessity when at home, made him a *Soldier* abroad; and his Observations abroad made him a *Man* at Home. The Experience of Travel enlarged his Soul, and the Hardship of War knitted and consolidated it. His *hard Fortune* at *Cambray* was the occasion of his *good One* in *England*; and had he *not* been undone, he *had been undone*: For his promising look commended him to *Frescobald* the Merchant for Relief, and to Cardinal *Wolsey* for Service; in whose private Service of *Secretary* for his Embassie in *France*, he prepared himself for that more public of *Secretary* of *State* in *England*. Great Scholar he was none, (the Latine Testament gotten by heart being his Master-piece) nor studied Lawyer: never admit

admitted to the Innes of Court; nor experienced Souldier, though Neceſſity caſt Him upon it, when the Duke of *Burbon* beſieged *Rome*; nor Courtier (till bred up in Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Court:) yet that of the Lawyer in him ſo helped the Scholar, that of the Souldier the Lawyer, that of the Courtier the Souldier, and that of the Traveller all the reſt; being no Stranger to *Germany*, well acquainted with *France*, moſt familiar with *Italy*; ſo that the reſult of all together made him for Endowments eminent, not to ſay admirable. His Apprehenſion was quick and clear; his Judgement methodical and ſolid; his Memory ſtrong and rational; his Tongue fluent and pertinent; his Preſence ſtately and obliging; his Heart large and noble; his Temper patient and cautious; his Way induſtrious and indefatigable; his Correſpondence well laid, and conſtant; his Converſe inſinuating and cloſe: None more *dexterous* to finde out, none more *reſerved* to keep a Secret. He was equal (ſaith my Author) to the French Politicians, when under his Maſter; he over-reached them when alone; doing more in one month with his ſubtle Head, then the other in twelve months with his ſtately Train: The King of *France* would have *penſioned* up his parts, but the Vice-Roy of *England* advanced them. His Maſter brought him firſt to ſerve his Country in Parliament (that great School of Experience) and then his King at Court; where defending his Maſters great actions, he made it evident he could perform greater: ſuch was his Wit, ſuch his Eloquence, that they who hated the Client, admired the Advocate: And though he could not keep his Patron from falling, yet he raiſed himſelf; *Henry* 8.

Henry 8. that being the first time his Eminent Parts were observed: An advantagious starting is more then half way in the Race of Preferment: For hereupon he is first Master of the Kings Jewels, and then of what was more precious, his *Secrets*. His conscience inclined him to the Churches Reformation, his Interest complied with the Kings; he unlocked the secrets of Monasteries by his Spies, and put the King upon destroying them by his Power: The University of *Cambridge* made him Chancellour, to save it self; where though he did no great good, yet his Greatness kept others from doing harm, in an Age wherein Covetousness could quarrel a Colledge, as well as an Abbey, into superstition. He was trusted by the King with the Rolls and Records of *England*; and by the Scholars, with the Charters and Statutes of their Universities: He reforms the University, in order to the Reformation of the Church; enjoyning the study of the Scripture and the Tongues, instead of School-Divinity and Barbarism; recommending *Aristotle*, *Agricola*, *Melanchon*, to their reading; and the Doctrine which is in Spirit and in Truth to their Faith: and razing the Popes Bulls, to make way for the Kings Favour.

He was an eminent Minister of State, and chief Governour of the Church; proceeding in Convocation very discreetly, modelling the Church-Laws very prudently and moderately: looking into Monastical Abuses very narrowly and industriously; mawling Religious Houses, violently pulling down those Nests, that the Rooks might not return: His Master had disobliged the Pope, and he weakeneth him: It was not safe to disown his Supre-

premacy, and entertain thouſands of his Creatures. *If a Kingdom be divided againſt it ſelf, it cannot ſtand*; and if one part of the Engliſh pay their devotion to a ſupream Head at *Rome*, and another to a ſupream Governour in *England*, they muſt both fall. If the perſons might diſturb the Government, it is fit their Eſtates ſhould ſecure it; and if the Papiſts ſhould foment a War, their Lands ſhould maintain it: But *Cromwel* contrives that the Pope ſhould confirm Alienations in *Wolſey*, before he ſhould practiſe it for the King. As the King knew whom he employed, when he truſted him: ſo he knew whom he truſted, when he employed Doctor *Lee* (an able ſervant to an abler Maſter) *He* firſt decoyed Religious Men out of their Covents by the allurement of *Liberty*, and then forced them out by *Power* and *Authority*. As the Abbeys improved his Eſtate, ſo his Maſter advanced his Honour: he had one Privy Seal always to act by, and was Keeper of another: He had no ſooner attained an Earldom for himſelf, but foreſeeing the alteration of Affairs, he ſecured a Barony for his Son, not forfeitable by the Attainder of the Father: Within five years he was Maſter of the Jewel-houſe, Secretary of State, Baron, Vicar-General, Maſter of the Rolls, Knight of the Garter, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Lord High Chamberlain, and Earl of *Eſſex*: within five months he quitted place, and in five minutes loſt all. He muſt needs be envied, whoſe Birth was ſo much beneath all others, and his Preferment above them: eſpecially when the King in preferring him injured others; as, the Citizens, in managing the Jewels; the Courtiers, in undertaking State-affairs; the Lawyers, in the

Henry 8.

Henry 8. Rolls *a*; the Nobly Descended, at *b Windsor*; the Clergy, in the *c* Convocation; the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Family of the *Bourchiers*, in the great Chamberlainship and Earldom of *Essex*. But he cares not whom he displeaseth, if he can oblige his Master; whose power he advanceth in the Parliament and Synod, as he improveth his Revenue in the Office of first-Fruits, and the Court of Augmentation. His Greatness was allayed with his Goodness; and the Envy of the One, mitigated by the Liberality of the Other: He had not more Suiters at his door then Alms, (two hundred at a time:) Sir *Thomas* was a Name of Awe and Reverence to the Rich, and blessed by the Poor: That Name *d* levelled the proudest Citizens House for his conveniency, and bowed the poorest mans Knee to his Honour. He could at pleasure work upon the Lords by the Commons, and on the Commons by the Lords; as Cardinal *Wolsey* perswaded the Commons to four shillings in the pound upon the Lords president; and the Lords to as much upon the Commons: and he kept up the Cardinals way of Anticipation, that the people should be always one Subsidy beforehand: He set up the old Taxation of Knighthood at Queen *Anne*'s Coronation, and levied it.

a When Master thereof.
b When Knight of the Garter.
c When Vicar General
d Stow Sur. London.

He confirms the Kings Supremacy by a Law, and establisheth his Daughter *Elizabeth*'s Succession by an Oath, first taken by the Parliament, and then by the Kingdom; for whose support he contrives the lesser Monasteries should be first escheated, and then the greater. He was so honest, that he acquits Queen *Anne* in his Letter to the Queen; yet so much a Statesman, that he condemn'd her upon the Bench.

But

But to ſecure the Intereſt of *England*, he im- *Henry* 8.
proved its Religion; that as ſome few late Acts had diſobliged the Pope, a new frame of Chriſtianity might exclude him: The differences between Us and *Rome*, were to be widened, leſt they ſhould *cloſe*; and he judged it prudence to engage the conſcience and the eſtate in one bottom, that he might hold the One out of the tenderneſs of the Other. The Kings Supremacy cut off the Papiſts, and the Six Articles the Proteſtants: Reformation muſt be managed leaſurely, and alteration of Religion by juſt degrees; Inſtruction preceding execution, and the peoples capacity growing up with their Governours Regulation.

The times are troubleſome, but *Cromwel* calm and quiet, and watchful over Occurrences; Inſurrection giving him an advantage of a new Settlement. He takes down the Occaſions and Ornaments of Idolatry, Images, Shrines, Pilgrimages, *&c.* and then the Thing it ſelf: Take off the paint of *Rome*, and you undo her: As the Laws and Injunctions, ſo the Alliance of *England* muſt ſecure its Intereſt: A Proteſtant Queen muſt be married to the Reformed King; the Duke of *Cleve's* Siſter muſt woo the King, that *Eſſex* might have that whiſpered in the Kings Boſom abed, where he was *beſt* diſpoſed, which he inſinuated into his Ear at the Council-Table where he was *worſt*: But the King was not ſo well pleaſed with her Beauty, as *Cromwel* was with her Religion; which *Stephen Gardiner* (who hated her for her Religion, and *Cromwel* for his Greatneſs) obſerving, ſhewed the Kings looſe Affections, at once how to be rid of his Match, and, which he was as weary of, his Match-

Henry 8. Maker. The Queen is divorced (being never known by *Henry*, who diſliked her at firſt view, and kept her rather in Policy, to oblige the *German* Princes, then of pleaſure to fill his own Bed.) *Cromwel* is arreſted for preſuming to act in ſome matters of State, without the Kings privity or Commiſſion, and attainted by a procedure he had invented; dying as cunningly as he had lived, for ſome *a* ambiguous words which *Power* interpreted to his *Ruine*.

a As when one ſaid he was accuſed for diſloyalty to the King, he ſaid, He would ſtab him with his dagger if he were.

His laſt words were ſo wary, that they might become *Bellarmine* and *Luther* at once; that the Proteſtants call them his Confeſſion of Faith, and the Papiſts his old Religion: for confeſſing his Offences againſt God and the King, in his many Employments, he ſaid he died in the *Catholique Faith*: Some will ſay the Proteſtants think no great gain to have him, and the Papiſts no loſs to part with him; yet we muſt needs confeſs that he was a *Wiſe Man*, becauſe he always conſulted the Learned in the Laws about all his proceedings: He was a *Good man*, witneſs *Freſcobald*, whoſe mean Perſon he took notice of, whoſe ſmall Kindeneſs he acknowledged, whoſe Services he condeſcended to, whoſe Wants he relieved, and whoſe Debts he recovered: He was a *Noble man*, becauſe he refuſed another mans Coat of Arms who was of his Name, ſaying, *What ſhall I do with it? for he may pull it off my back at pleaſure*. In a word, He was ſo Mean before he riſe, ſo Worthy afterwards, that no Times had Raiſed but thoſe more troubleſome, none Ruined him but thoſe moſt looſe of *Henry* the VIII.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Audley.

SIr *Thomas Audley*'s Birth was Generous, his Education more: *Eſſex* bred him to that Honour which his Anceſtors loſt: His Soul ennobled his Body, and his Body graced his Soul: The one quick, ſolid, apprehenſive and judicious; the other tall and majeſtick: *King Henry loved a Man*; and here was one whoſe Auſterity was allayed with Debonairneſs, whoſe Gravity was ſweetened with Pleaſantneſs; whoſe Knowledge was as large as his Authority, whoſe Wit was equal with his Wiſdom; whoſe Memory was ſtrong, and Judgment ſolid. His fair Eſtate brought him to the Temple; his proficiency in the Law, to the Court: His *reading* upon the Statute of *Priviledges* commended him to the Kings *Service*, his *ſpeaking* for the *Prerogative* in Parliament brought him to the Kings *Favour*: Although the Liberties of the People can never be ſecured without the Prerogative of the Soveraign (who cannot do the good they would, if he wants a power to do the evil they fear;) yet his firſt Preferment was to withdraw him from Popularity, and the ſecond onely to confirm him to Soveraignty. *Noble Service* is the way to a *Royal One*: His Stewardſhip to the Dutchy of *Suffolk*, raiſed him to the Attorneyſhip of that of *Lancaſter*. But in troubleſome and deſigning times a popular Orator is a good Courtier; and leading Parts in Parliament or Convocation are great Me-

Henry 8. rits: In the black Parliament he was a Member by his own Intereſt, and a Speaker by his Majeſties Choice: Sir *Tho. More* was to ſerve the Crown in the *Lords Houſe*, and Sir *Tho. Audley* was to ſucceed him in the *Houſe* of *Commons*. When Abbey-Lands were beſtowed on the King in groſs, and returned by him to the leading Lords and Commons in the Retayl, moſt of that Parliament looked for ſhares; Sir *Thomas* for the firſt *cut*, to ſecure himſelf with the King: He was always in favour with the *Queens*, who had no leſs Intereſt in the Kings *Heart*, then the Kingdom had in his *Head*. The Age was uncertain, Intereſt not ſo; Sir *Thomas* was fixed on the One, above the alterations of the Other: underſtanding what was moſt *convenient* at a time when there was nothing *lawful*. He was well ſeen in the flexures and windings of Affairs, at the depth whereof other Heads not ſo ſteady turned giddy: He had the Arts of a Stateſman, and the cloſeneſs of a Politician: Reſerved he was, but no Diſſembler: "For if a man have that penetration of judg-"ment, as he can diſcern what things are to be laid "open, and what to be kept ſecret, and what to be "ſhewed with half ſights, and to whom and when, "(which indeed are Arts of States and Arts of "Life) to him an Habit of Diſſimulation is a hin-"derance and a poorneſs. He (as an able man) was always frank and open, but wary; knowing how to ſtop and turn within the compaſs of Equity and Honeſty. He underſtood *buſineſs* well, and *men* better; and knew King *Henry*'s Temper better then Himſelf, whom he ſurprized always to his own bent, never moving any of his ſuits to him, but when in haſte, and moſt commonly amuſing him with

with other matter until he paſſed his Requeſt. His Actions were managed for applauſe as well as ſervice: for when made Sergeant, he was the firſt of eleven; his Entertaining-Day was the laſt of ſix: The King, who paid for his Dinner, was invited to it. He watched the Circumſtances of his Actions, that they might be Taking, as well as their Iſſue, that they might be Uſeful; and contrived that the leaſt of his publick Actions ſhould come off with Reputation. He followed the moſt paſſable rather then the moſt able men living, in a time when active men were more uſeful then the vertuous. Sir *Thomas* at once gratified the preſent Humour of the King, and the conſtant Temper of the People, in ſix Bills againſt the Clergy: 1. Againſt the Extortions of their Courts. 2. The Exaction of their Corps and Mortuaries. 3. Their worldly Occupations, as Grazing, Tanning, *&c.* 4 Merchandize. 5. Their Non-Reſidencies. 6. The Pluralities of the Ignorant, and the mean Salaries of the Learned. When in ſome Debates between the Lords and Commons, Cuſtome was urged; Sir *Thomas* replied, *The uſage hath ever been for Thieves to rob at Shooters Hill, is it therefore lawful?* He brought the Clergy within a *Præmunire*, to awe them; and afterwards in their pardon, he and other Members included their own; which the knowing King would not paſs, when it was demanded as of Right; yet afterwards granted it of his own accord, when it was received as of Grace. When Sir *Thomas More* could not act with the times, Sir *Thomas Audley* could; the One being weary of the Seal, the other takes it; being made Lord Keeper in Sir *Thomas* his life-time, and Lord Chancellour after his death: owning no Opinion againſt

Henry 8.

Henry 8. againſt the Government of *England*, nor any Deſign againſt its Intereſt. The King might well truſt him with his Conſcience, when he truſted the King with *his*, owning no Doctrine but what was eſtabliſhed, ever judging the Church and State wiſer then himſelf. He was forced to *take* Q. *Anne*, but he would not *condemn* her; rather *eſcaping* then *refuſing* unwelcome Employments, wherein he muſt either diſpleaſe his Maſter or himſelf. He was *tender*, but not *wilful*; waving ſuch ſervices *dexterouſly*, wherein he muſt oppoſe his Maſter *dangerouſly*. Thoſe Inſurrections which others Rigor had raiſed, his Moderation allayed; breaking the Factions with Indulgence, which might be ſtrengthened with Oppoſition: *Cromwel* pulled down Popery with his Power, *Audley* kept it down with his Policy, enjoyning the Preachers to detect the follies of that way, which is reckoned the wiſdom of this World. He had a moderate way to ſecure the Priviledges of Parliament, by freedom from Arreſts; and the good will of the Citizens, by an Order about debts.

By theſe courſes he died as much in the Kings Favour as he lived: Patience can weather out the moſt turbulent Age, and a ſolid Judgement the moſt intricate times: The reſerved and quiet man is the moſt ſecure. Activity may raiſe a man, Wariness keep him up. If he had done nothing, he had not been ſeen; if he had done much, he had not been ſuffered. Between two extreams *Audley* could do well.

Treaſure of Arms *and* Arts, *in whom were ſet*
The Mace *and* Books, *the* Court *and* Colledge *met*,
Yet both ſo wove, that in that mingled throng
They both comply, *and* neither neither *wrong*.

But

But pois'd and temper'd, each reserv'd its seat; Henry 8.
Nor did the Learning quench, but guide the Heat.
The Courtier *was not of the* furious *strain,*
The hand that acts, *doth first consult the brain.*
Hence grew commerce betwixt Advice *and* Might,
The Scholar *did direct the* Courtier *right.*
And as our Perfumes mixt, do all conspire,
And twist their Curles above the hallowed fire,
Till in that Harmony of Sweets combin'd,
We can nor Musk *nor single* Amber *finde;*
But Gums *meet* Gums, *and their delights so crowd,*
That they create one undistinguish'd cloud:
So to thy minde these rich Ingredients prest,
And were the Mould *and* Fabrick *of thy brest.*
Learning *and* Courage *mixt, and temper'd so,*
The Stream could not decay *nor* overflow.
And in that equal *Tide, thou didst not bear*
From Courage, Rashness; *nor from* Learning, Fear.

Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wiat.

SIr *Thomas Wiat* was born at *Allington-castle* in the County of *Kent*, which afterwards he repaired with beautiful Buildings. He fell out of his Master King *Henry* the eighth his favour, about the business of Queen *Anna Bullen*, till his industry, care, discretion and innocence freed him. Very ingenious he was; or, as his Anagram tells us, he was [*A* * *Wit*] in the abstract. *Cambden* saith he was, * *Wiat.*

Eques auratus splendide doctus.

Holy

Henry 8. Holy he was and heavenly minded, and that appears by his translation of *David*'s Psalms into English Metre; and *Leland* gives him this great Commendation:

Bella suum merito jactet Florentia Dantem,
Regia Petrarchæ Carmina Roma probat,
His non inferior Patria Sermone Viatus,
Eloquii secum qui decus omne tulit.

Let Florence *fair her* Dantes *justly boast,*
And Royal Rome *her* Petrarchs *numbred feet,*
In Englisb Wiat *both of them doth coast,*
In whom all graceful Eloquence doth meet.

This Knight being sent Ambassador by King *Henry* the eighth, to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, then residing in *Spain*, before he took Shipping, died of the Pestilence in the West-Country, *Anno* 1541.

Queen *Anne*'s favour towards him, raised this man; and his faithfulness to her, ruined him: So fickle is that mans station that depends onely on humour, or holds of love and hatred! *Let my friend* (saith Malvezzi) *bring me* in, *but let my merit and service keep me* there.

Four things a man went to Dine with Sir *Thomas Wiat* for: 1. For his Generous Entertainment. 2. For his free and knowing discourse of *Spain* and *Germany*; an insight in whose interest was his Masterpiece, studied by him as well for the exigence of that present juncture, as for his own satisfaction. 3. For his quickness in observing, his civility in entertaining, his dexterity in employing, and his readiness in encouraging every mans peculiar part

nd inclinations. 4. For the notice and favour the King had for him. So ready was he to befriend worthy men, and so ready was the King to entertain his friend, that when a man was newly preferred, they said, *He had been in Sir* Thomas Wiat's *Closet.* Happy is the Prince that hath a faithful Favourite, to look him out serviceable men! and happy those useful persons, that have a familiar and honest Favourite, by whom they may have access to the Prince! a Favourite that serves not his Country so much by employing and pleasing its active members, as he secures his King, who hath no less need of Counsel in reference to *men*, then *things.* *Henry* 8.

His Wit pleased the King, and his Wisdome served him: He could not be without his Advice at the Council-table, nor without his Jests in his Presence-chamber: where yet he observed his *decorum* so exactly, that his Majesty could by no means win him one night to dancing; this being his grave resolution, *That he who thought himself a wise man in the day-time, would not be a fool at night:* otherwise one carryed himself more handsomely, none conversed more ingeniously and freely, none discoursed more facetiously or solidly; in a word, it was his peculiar happiness, that his deportment was neither too severe for King *Henry* the eighth's time, nor too loose for *Henry* the seventh's, neither all honey nor all gall, but a sweet mixture and temperament of affability and gravity, carrying an equal measure of Sir *Thomas More's* ingenuity in his head, and Sir *Thomas Cromwel's* wisdome in his heart; equally fashioned for discourse and business: in the first whereof, he was active, but not troublesome; the first, merry, but innocent.

A

Henry 8. A Jest if it hit right, may do more good then so
ber Counsels. *Archee* made King *James* sensibl
of the danger the Prince was in, in *Spain*, by tellin
him that he came to change Caps with him: *Why*
said the King. *Because thou hast sent the Prince in*
Spain, *from whence he is never like to return.* B
(said the King) *what wilt thou say when thou se*
him come back again? *Marry* (saith he) *I will ta*
off the Fools Cap which I now put upon thy head f
sending him thither, and put it on the King of Spai
for letting him return.

A Jest of Sir *Thomas Wiat's* began that Reform
tion, which the seriousness of all *Christendome* cou
not commence. King *Henry* was at a loss concer
ing the Divorce, which he no less passionately de
red, then the Pope warily delayed: *Lord*, saith h
that a man cannot repent him of his sin but by t
Popes leave! Sir *Thomus* hinted, Doctor *Cranm*
opened, and the Universities of *Europe* made t
way to Reformation.

His Majesty was another time displeased wi
Wolsey, and Sir *Thomas* ups with a story of the *C*
baiting of the Butchers Dog, which contained t
whole method of that great mans ruine.

The Pope was incensed, Christian Princes we
enraged, and the numerous Clergy discontent
and King *Henry* afraid of a Revolution: *Butler*
Rooks Nests, (that is, sell and bestow the Pa
Clergies Habitations and Lands among the Nobil
and Gentry) said Sir *Thomas*, *and they will ne*
trouble you. One day he told his Master he h
found out a Living of an hundred pounds
the year more then enough, and prayed him
bestow it on him: *Why?* said the King, *we h*

no ſuch in England. *Yes, Sir,* ſaid Sir *Thomas, the Provoſtſhip of* Eaton, *where a man hath his Diet, his Lodging, his Horſe-meat, his Servants wages, his Riding-charge, and an* 100 l. per annum *beſides.* What *Lewis* the eleventh ſaid of one Kingdome, *i.e. France*, may be true of all, That they want one thing, *i. e. Truth.* Few Kings have ſuch diſcreet Courtiers as Cardinal *Wolſey*, to look into things deeply; fewer ſo faithful Servants as Sir *Thomas Wiat*, to report things as they ſee them, honeſtly. *Henry* 8.

His Jeſts were always confined to theſe Rules:

1. He never played upon a mans unhappineſs or deformity; it being inhumane.

2. Not on Superiours: for that is ſawcie and unductiful.

3. Nor on ſerious or holy matters: for that's irreligious.

4. He had much Salt, but no Gall; often jeſting, but never jearing.

5. He obſerved times, perſons and circumſtances; knowing when to ſpeak, and knowing too when to hold his peace.

6. His apt and handſome Reparties were rather natural then affected; ſubtle and acute, prompt and eaſie, yet not careleſs; never rendring himſelf contemptible to pleaſe others.

7. Not an inſipid changing of words was his gift, but a ſmart retort of matters, which every body was better pleaſed with than himſelf.

8. He always told a ſtory well; and was as good at a neat continued diſcourſe, as at a quick ſentence; contriving it in an handſome method, cloathing it

Henry 8. it with suitable expressions, without any Parenthesis or impertinencies, and representing persons and actions so to the life, that you would think you saw what you but hear: A notable way, that argued the man of a ready apprehension, an ingenious fancy, a tenacious memory, a graceful Elocution, an exact judgment and discretion, and perfect acquaintance with things and circumstances. His phrase was clean and clear, the picture of his thoughts and language, (even in an argument) not harsh or severe, but gentle and obliging; never contradicting but with an *Under favour Sir*; always subjoyning to his adversaries discourse, what the *Dutch* do to all Ambassadors Proposals, *It may be so.*

Observations on the Life of Sir John Fineux.

SIr *John Fineux* born at *Swinkfield* in the County of *Kent*, a place bestowed on his Ancestors by a great Lord in *Kent*, called *Criol*, about the reign of King *Edward* the second. He followed the Law twenty eight years before he was made a Judge; in which Office he continued twenty eight years, and was twenty eight years of Age before he betook himself to this study: whence it necessarily follows, that he was four-score and four when he died. He was a great Benefactor to St. *Augustines* in *Canterbury*; the Prior whereof *William Mallaham* thus highly commendeth him: (good deeds deserve good words.)

Vir

Henry 8.

Vir prudentiſſimus, Genere inſignis, Juſtitia præclarus, Pietate refertus, Humanitate ſplenditus, & charitate fœcundus.

He died in 1526. and lies buried in *Chriſt-church* in *Canterbury*, having had a fair habitation in this City, and another in *Herne* in this County, where his Motto ſtill remaineth in each Window:

Miſericordias Domini cantabo in Æternum.

Nile's original is hidden, but his ſtream is famous. This Judge's Anceſtors were not ſo obſcure, as he was illuſtrious. His Device upon his Sergeants Ring was, *Suæ quiſq; fortunæ faber*; and his was always to this purpoſe, *That no man thrived but he that lived as if he were the firſt man in the world, and his father were not born before him.*

Forty years he ſaid he lived by his induſtry; Twenty by his reputation; and Ten by favour. King *Henry* the ſeventh knew not how well this Gentleman could ſerve him, until he ſaw how effectually he did oppoſe him about the Tenth Peny raiſed for the War in *Britain*, which raiſed another in *York*, where though the Rabble (that murthered *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who was to levy the Tax) had not his Countenance for their Practice, yet had they his Principle for their Rule, which was this, *Before we pay any thing, let us ſee whether we have any thing we can call our own to pay.* So able, though reſerved a Patriot, thought the wiſe King, would be an uſeful Courtier, and he that could do ſo well at the Bar, might do more at the

Henry 8. Bench. Cardinal *Morton* was againſt his advancement, as an encouragement to the Factious: (whoſe Hydra-heads grow the faſter by being taken off by Preferment, and not by an Ax) the King was for it, as the moſt probable way of weakening of them, as who when the moſt ſober and wiſe part of them draweth off, are but a rude multitude, and a rope of ſand: when a Commoner, none ſo ſtiff for the ſubjects priviledge; when a Judge, none ſo firm to the Princes Prerogative: two things however, (they fatally claſhed of late) that are ſolid felicities together, and but empty notions aſunder: for what is Prerogative but a great Name, when not exerciſed over a free people? and what is Priviledge but a fond imagination, when not ſecured under a powerful King, that may keep us from being ſlaves one to another by Anarchy, while we ſtrive to be free from his Tyranny? That People is beyond preſident free, and beyond compariſon happy, who reſtrain not their Soveraigns power to do them *harm* ſo far, as that he hath none left him to do them *good*. Careful he was of the Law; for he was a Judge: and as careful of his Soveraigns Right; for he was a Subject. No ominous claſhing between Courts in his time; nor ſetting the Kings *Conſcience* in *Chancery* againſt his Will in the *Kings Bench*. A man tells *Ariſtides*, to make him party in his cauſe, that his Adverſary had abuſed him: *I ſit not here* (ſaith that Impartial Judge) *to right you, but my ſelf*. When a notorious enemy of Judge *Fineux* had a cauſe depending before him, *It might have gone againſt you, my friend*, (ſaid he) *had you been my Enemy*.

Ten things, which are indeed ten of the moſt remarkable

markable particulars of his life, raiſed him. *Henry* 8.

1. An indefatigable induſtry, 1. In his reading, leaving behinde him 23 *Folio*'s of Notes. 2. In his practice, bequeathing 3502 Caſes he managed himſelf to his Executor.

2. A freedome of converſe, as about his buſineſs, none more cloſe; ſo in company, none more open; having ſo compleat a command of himſelf, that he knew to a minute when to indulge, and to a minute too when to reſtrain himſelf. A gay and cheerful humour, a ſprightful converſation, and cleanly manners, are an exceeding uſeful accompliſhment for every one that intends not to wind himſelf into a ſolitary retirement, or be mewed in a Cloyſter.

3. A rich and a well-contrived marriage, that at once brought him a large Eſtate, and a larger Intereſt: the ſame tie that allied him to his Wives Family, engaged him to *many*.

4. A great acquaintance with Noble Families, with whoſe dependants he got in firſt, devoting an hour a day for their company; and at laſt with themſelves, laying aſide his vacation-leiſure for their ſervice. He was Steward of 129 Mannors at once, and of Counſel to 16 Noble-men.

5. His Hoſpitality and Entertainments: None more cloſe then he abroad, none more noble at home; where many were tied to his Table, more obliged by his company and diſcourſe.

6. His care and integrity in managing, his Repute in promoting, his Reaſon and Eloquence in pleading, and his Succeſs in carrying his cauſes.

7. His eminence and activity in the two profitable Parliaments of *Henry* the ſeventh, where he had

Henry 8. the hearts and purſes of the people at his command, and the eye of his Soveraign upon his perſon. It was thought a reward adequate to the greateſt merit and adventure in the Grecian Wars, to have leave to play the Prizes at *Olympus* before Kings. It was judged the moſt ambition could be aimed at in King *Henry* the ſeventh's time, to ſhew a mans parts before his judicious and diſcerning Majeſty; then whom none underſtood Worth better, none valued it higher.

8. His Oppoſition to *Empſon* and *Dudley*'s too ſevere Proſecution of Pœnal Laws, while *Henry* the ſeventh was living; and his laying of it before him ſo faithfully, that he repented of it when he was a dying. *He is high a while, that ſerves a Princes private intereſt; he is always ſo, that is careful of his publick good.*

9. His entire Devotion to that ſacred thing called *Friendſhip*, that *Bliſs on this ſide Heaven*, made up of Peace and Love. None a worſe Enemy, none a better Friend. Choice he was in commencing, but conſtant in continuing Friends: *Many Acquaintance, but few Friends*, was his Obſervation; ſaying, *He had been undone by his Acquaintance, had he not been raiſed by his Friends.*

10. His care of time. *To day I have not reigned*, ſaid the Emperour when he had done no good: *To day I have not lived*, ſaid the Judge when he had done nothing. So much he prayed Morning, Evening, and at Noon, according to the way of thoſe times, as if he never ſtudied; ſo much he ſtudied, as if he never practiſed; ſo great his practice, as if he never converſed; and ſo free his converſe with others, as if he lived not at all to himſelf: Time

(of

(of which others are ſo prodigally expenſive) was the onely thing he could be honeſtly *covetous* of: full whereof he died, leaving this inſtruction to poſterity, *That we ſhould not complain we have little time, but that we ſpend much either in doing nothing, or in doing evil, or in doing nothing to the purpoſe.* *Henry* 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Edward Fox, *Biſhop of* Hereford.

EDward *Fox* born in *Durſley* in *Glouceſterſhire*, was firſt brought up in *Eaton*, then in *Kings Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and died Provoſt thereof. He was Almoner to King *Henry* the eighth, and was the firſt that brought Doctor *Cranmer* to the knowledge of the King, as he brought the King to the knowledge of himſelf. Being afterwards Biſhop of *Hereford*, was a great Inſtigator of the Politick and Prudential part of the Reformation, and was not leſs able, but more active then *Cranmer* himſelf: yea, ſo famous was he, that *Martin Bucer* dedicated unto him his Comment upon the Goſpel: ſo painful, that he wrote many Books, whereof that, *de Differentia utriuſq; poteſtatis*, was the chief: ſo worthy he was, that the King employed him on ſeveral Embaſſies into *France* and *Germany*. He died *May* 8. 1538.

In his firſt years, none more wild; in his his laſt, none more ſtayed. *The untoward Youth makes the able Man.* He that hath mettle to be extravagant when he *cannot* govern himſelf, hath a ſpirit to be

Henry 8. eminent when he *can*. His friends devotion to the Church, and relation to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, made him a Scholar; his own Inclination, a Politician: an Inclination that brake through all the ignoble reſtraints of pedantique ſtudies and coertions, (wherewith many a great Soul in *England*, (enjoying not the freedome of forreign parts, but tied to ſuch employments, though never ſo unſuitable, as their friends put them to) are debaſed and loſt) to an eminencie (more by obſervation and travel, then by reading and ſtudy) that made him the Wonder of the Univerſity, and the Darling of the Court. When he was called to the Pulpit, or Chair, he came off not ill; ſo prudential were his parts for Divinity! when advanced to any Office of Truſt in the Univerſity, he came off very well; ſo incomparable were his parts for Government!

His Policy was obſerved equally in the ſubject, and in the contrivance of his Sermons and diſcourſe; where though all knew he read but little, yet all ſaw that (by a Scheme and method his ſtrong head had drawn up of all Books and Diſcourſes) he commanded all Learning: his *Explications* of the Text were ſo genuine, ſo exact, as if he had ſpent his time in nothing elſe but Criticks and Commentators. His Diviſions ſo Analytical, as if he had been nothing but Logick: His Enlargements ſo copious and genuine, as if he had ſeen nothing but Fathers and Schoolmen. The curious and pertinent mixture of Moral Sentences, ſo various, as if he had been but a Humaniſt: the drift and deſigne of all, ſo cloſe, that it argued him but (what indeed he was) a pure Pate-Politician. His Parts commended him to

Car-

Cardinal *Wolſey* as his ſupport: the Cardinal brings him to his Maſter as his ſecond, and he thruſts out *Wolſey* as his Rival; but yet pretended to advance that ambitious Man more highly, that he might fall more irrecoverably. He ſets him upon his deſignes of being *Pope* in *Rome*, and thoſe make him none in *England*. He caught the Cardinal by his ſubmiſſion, as he would have done Sir *Thomas More* by his Interrogations; at which he was ſo good, that he would run up any man either to a Confeſſion or a *Præmunire*. *Fox* was his name, and Cunning his nature. He ſaid, *His Fathers money helped him to his Parſonage*, meaning his ſmall Preferments; *and his Mothers wit to his Biſhoprick*, meaning his greater. *Henry* 8.

Diſcourſing one day when Ambaſſador, of terms of Peace, he ſaid, *Honourable ones laſt long, but the diſhonourable no longer then till Kings have power to break them: the ſureſt way therefore*, ſaid he, *to Peace, is a conſtant preparedneſs for War*. Two things he would ſay muſt ſupport a Government; Gold and Iron: Gold, to reward its Friends; and Iron, to keep under its Enemies. *Themiſtocles* after a Battel fought with the Perſians, eſpying a Prize lying on the ground, *Take up theſe things*, (ſaith he to his Companion) *for thou art not* Themiſtocles. *Take the Emperours Money*, ſaid *Fox* to his Followers, (that were afraid to accept what he had refuſed) *for you are not all the King of* England's *Ambaſſadors*.

Often was this ſaying in our Biſhops mouth, before ever it was in *Philip* the ſecond's, *Time and I will challenge any two in the world*.

Portugal being revolted, the *Conde d' Olivares*

Henry 8. came smiling to King *Philip* the fourth, saying, *Sir, I pray give me* las Albricius *to hansel the good news: for now you are more absolute King of* Portugal *then ever: for the people have forfeited all their priviledges by the Rebellion, and the Nobility their Estates; and now you may confirm your old Friends with their money, and make you new ones with their estates.* When the Clergy began to ruffle with the King, *I tell you News,* said this Bishop, *we are all run into a* Præmunire: *you shall have Money enough to make your own Courtiers, and Places enough to advance your own Clergie.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Anthony St. Lieger.

WE may say of him, he was born in *Kent*, and bred in *Christendome*: for when twelve years of Age, he was sent for his Grammar-Learning with his Tutor into *France*, for his Carriage into *Italy*, for his Philosophy to *Cambridge*, for his Law to *Grays-Inne*; and for that which compleated all, the government of himself, to Court; where his Debonnairness and Freedome took with the King, as his Solidity and Wisdome with the Cardinal. His Master-piece was his Agency between King *Henry* the eighth and Queen *Anne*, during the agitation of that great business of the Divorce between the said King and his Queen *Katherine*. His Policy was seen in catching the Cardinal in that fatal word, *The King may ruine me if he please!* but that ruined him. His service was

to

to be *Cromwel's* Inſtrument in demoliſhing Abbeys, as he was the Kings. *Cæſar* was the firſt that came to undo the Commonwealth, ſober; Sir *Anthony St. Lieger* was the firſt that ſaved this Kingdome drunk: for in being abroad one night very late, and much diſtempered, he muſt needs fancy an extraordinary light in the Cardinal's Cloſet; with which Fancy he ran to the King, and although much in drink, prevailed with him ſo far, that he ſends to the Cardinal, and there findes that Junćto that threatned his Kingdome. *Henry* 8.

He was the firſt *Vice-Roy*, becauſe *Henry* the eighth was the firſt King of *Ireland*. King *Henry's* affection would promote him any where, but his own reſolution and ſpirit commended him to *Ireland*.

He was a man whom all *Ireland* could not rule; therefore (as the Jeſt goes) he ſhould rule all *England*. Three times had the Iriſh Rebels made their ſolemn ſubmiſſion to other Deputies: the fourth time now they make it to him, throwing down their Girdles, Skins and Caps. So great a man was the Lieutenant, ſo great his Maſter! No ſooner was he poſſeſſed of the Government, but he thought of Laws, thoſe Ligaments of it: The moſt rational and equitable Laws were thoſe of *England*, but too rational to be impoſed on the Brutiſh Iriſh: therefore our Knight conſidering (as he ſaith in the Preface of his Conſtitution) that they (poor ſouls) *could not reliſh thoſe exact Laws, to live or be ruled by them*, immediately enacted ſuch as agreed with their capacity, rather then ſuch were dictated by his Ability; his Wiſdome (as all mens muſt) doing what was moſt fit and convenient, rather then

what

Henry 8. what was moſt exact; what they could bear, more then what he could do: as remembring he had to do with *Faces Romuli*, rather then *Reſpublica Platonis*; a rude, rather then a reduced people. What he could, he ordained according to the incomparable Rule of the Engliſh Laws; what he could not, he eſtabliſhed according to his preſent judgement of the Iriſh capacity. He ſaw the Kingdome could never be ſubject to his Maſters power, while the Church was obedient to the Popes: therefore as he perſwaded the Nobility to ſurrender their Eſtates to his Majeſty at *London*, ſo he compelled the Clergy to make over theirs at *Dublin:* There remains but little of the firſt in his Majeſties hands, ſo honourable was he in reſtoring it; and as little in his Succeſſors, ſo religious and juſt were they in reſigning it to the ſame uſe for ſubſtance to which it was at firſt deſigned. But in vain it is to reform Laws, unleſs we reform perſons too: therefore as he ſent *Orders* to reduce the Iriſh Nobility in their ſeveral Countries, ſo he ſent for themſelves (to the reſpective Houſes built for them by his Majeſty near *Dublin*) to be civilized in the Court. *Cæſar came, ſaw*, and *overcame*; Sir *Anthony came, ſaw*, and *ſetled:* A man had thought there had not been ſo much corruption in the Romiſh Church, as to admit Children to Church-Livings, (for which Men are hardly ſufficient!) but that Sir *Anthony St. Leiger* was forced to make this Law, *That no Children ſhould be admitted to Benefices.* We had not known this ſin, had not the Law ſaid, *You ſhall not inveſt any under ſixteen years of age in Benefices.* The Clergy he found there too many, and the Nobility too few; he leſſened the number of the one to weaken the Pope,

and

and improved the other to ſtrengthen his Maſter, of whom they held not onely their Eſtates, but their Baronies too, as obliged to duty in point of Honour as well as in point of Intereſt. But in vain doth he civilize the preſent Generation, and neglect the future: as therefore he provided Cities for the Parents, ſo he erected Schools for the Children, that the one might forget their Barbariſm, and the other never know it. Three things he ſaid would ſettle a State: 1. Good God-fathers and God-mothers performing their Vows: 2. Good Houſholders overlooking their Families: 3. And good School-maſters educating Youth; this laſt, the moſt uſeful, though the moſt contemptible profeſſion. *Henry* 8.

An *Athenian* being asked what God was, ſaid, *He was neither Bow-man, nor Horſe-man, nor Pike-man, nor Foot-man, but one that knew how to command* [*all theſe.*] Sir *Anthony St. Leiger* was neither Souldier, nor Scholar, nor Stateſman, yet he underſtood the way how to diſpoſe of all theſe to his Countries ſervice, and his Maſters honour; being all of them eminently, though none of them pedantickly and formally in himſelf.

The *Athenians* (as *Anaximander* ſaid) had good Laws, but uſed them ill; our Deputy had bad Laws, but governed by good.

It was thought by many wiſe men, that the preposterous rigour and unreaſonable ſeverity which ſome men carried there before him, was not the leaſt incentive that kindled and blew up into horrid flames the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fuel in that place; where deſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions. It is

too

Henry 8. too easie to provoke a people too prone to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of their Religion, and their natural desires of Liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and prevent after-rigours: wherefore he was inclined to that charitable connivence and *Christian indulgence* which often dissipates their strength whom rougher opposition fortifieth, and puts the oppressed Parties into such Combinations as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors; who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attends all that are said to suffer for Religion or Liberty.

To conclude this: Four things Sir *Anthony St. Leiger* was eminent for:

1. That there was none more grave in Counsel then he, in the morning: none more free at Table at noon: none more active in the after-noon: none more merry at night.

2. That his Orders were made but slowly, so wary he was; but executed quickly, so resolute he was too.

3. That he contrived all his Designs so well beforehand, that in the course of affairs they were done to his hand; and he was the Deputy that made no noise.

4. That as the Souldier (finding his first admission to *Alexander* to be difficult) danced about the Court in an Antique fashion, until the strangeness of the shew made the King himself Spectator, and then throwing off his disguise, he said, *Sir, thus I first arrive at the notice of your Majesty in the fashion of a fool, but can do you service in the place of*

a wiſe man, if you pleaſe to employ me: So this Gentleman came to Court a Swaggerer, but went off a Stateſman. All Prudence is not lodged under a demure look and an auſtere carriage: There are thoſe that can be merry and wiſe; whoſe Spirit is as *lively*, as their Judgement *ſolid*. *Henry* 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Ralph Sadler.

SIr *Ralph Sadler* was born at *Hackney* in *Middleſex*, where he was Heir to a fair Inheritance, and ſervant to the Lord *Cromwel*, and by him advanced into the ſervice of King *Henry* the VIII, who made him chief Secretary of State. He was one that had much knowledge, therefore much imployed in all, but eſpecially in the Intrigues of the Scots affairs: In the Battel of *Muſcleborow* he ordered & brought up our ſcattered Troops, inviting them to fight by his own Example; and for his Valour was made *a* Knight-Banneret. Queen *Elizabeth* made him Chancellour of the Dutchy. During his laſt Embaſſie in *Scotland*, his houſe at *Standon* in *Hertfordſhire* was built by his Steward in his abſence, far greater then himſelf deſired, ſo that he never joyed therein; and died ſoon after, *Anno* 1587, in the 80 year of his Age.

a *There were two ſorts of theſe Knights, the firſt made by way of encouragement, the ſecond by way of Reward: Sir* Ralph *was of the ſecond ſort, and the laſt that ſurvived of that ſort.*

King *Henry* underſtood two things: 1. A Man: 2. A Diſh of Meat; and was ſeldom deceived in either: For a Man, none more compleat then Sir *Ralph*, who was at once a moſt exquiſite Writer, and a moſt valiant and experienced Souldier; qualifi-

Henry 8. lifications that ſeldom meet, (ſo great is the di-
ſtance between the Sword and the Pen, the Coat
of Mail and the Gown) yet divided this man and
his time; his nights being devoted to contempla-
tion, and his days to action. Little was his Body,
but great his Soul; the more vigorous, the more
contracted. Quick and clear were his thoughts,
ſpeedy and reſolute his performances. It was he
that could not endure the ſpending of that time in
deſigning one action, which might perform two;
or that delay in performing two, that might have
deſigned twenty. A great Eſtate he got honeſtly,
and ſpent nobly; knowing *that Princes honour thee
moſt, that have moſt; and the People them onely that
employ moſt:* A Prince hath more reaſon to fear
mony that is ſpent, than that which is hoorded;
becauſe it is eaſier for Subjects to oppoſe a Prince
by Applauſe then by Armies. *Reward* (ſaid Sir
Ralph when he was offered a ſum of money) *ſhould
not empty the Kings Coffers; neither ſhould Riches
be the Pay of Worth, which are meerly the Wages of
Labour:* He that gives it, embaſeth a Man; he that
takes it, vilifieth himſelf: who is ſo moſt Reward-
ded, is leaſt. Since Honour hath loſt the *Value* of
Reward, Men have loſt the *Merit* of Vertue, and
both become mercenary; Men luſting rather after
the Wealth that *buyeth*, then after the Qualities that
deſerve it.

Two things he obſerved broke Treaties; *Jea-
louſie*, when Princes are ſucceſsful; and *Fear*, when
they are unfortunate. Power that hath need of
none, makes all confederacies, either when it is *felt*,
or when it is *feared*, or when it is *envied*.

Three things *Cato* repented of: 1. *That he went*
by

by water when he might go by land. 2. *That he trusted a Woman with a secret.* 3. *That he lost Time.* Two things Sir *Ralph* relented for: 1. *That he had communicated a secret to two.* 2. *That he had lost any hour of the morning, between four a clock and ten.* Henry 8.

He learned in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, as *Cromwel*'s Instrument, what he must advise (in point of Religion) in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, as an eminent Counsellour: His Maxime being this, *That Zeal was the Duty of a private Breast, and Moderation the Interest of a publick State.* The Protestants Sir *Ralph*'s Conscience would have in the commencement of Queen *Elizabeth*, kept in hope; the Papists his Prudence would not have cast into Despair. It was a Maxime at that time in *b* another case, *That France should not presume, nor Spain be desperate.*

b *That of the Queens Marriage.*

He saw the Interest of this State altered six times, and died an honest Man: The Crown put upon four Heads, yet he continued a Faithful Subject: Religion changed, as to the publick constitution of it, five times, yet he kept the Faith.

A *Spartan* one day boasted that his Countreymen had been often buried in *Athens*; The *Athenian* replied, *But we are most of us buried at home.* So great was Sir *Ralph*'s success in the Northern Wars, that many a *Scotch man* found his Grave in *England*; so exact his conduct and wariness, that few *English men* had theirs in *Scotland*; the same ground giving them their Coffin, that did their Cradle; and their Birth that did their Death. Our Knights two incomparable Qualities were Discipline and Intelligence; the last discovered him all the Enemies advantages, and the first gave them none.

His

Henry 8. His two main designs were, 1. An *Interest* in his Prince, by *service*. 2. An Alliance with the Nobility by Marriage: upon which two Bottoms he raised himself to that pitch of Honour and Estate, that time could not *wear out*, nor any alterations *embezle*; he bequeathing to his Worshipful Posterity the blessing of Heaven upon his Integrity; the love of Mankinde for his Worth; and (as Mr. *Fuller* saith) a Pardon granted him when he attended my Lord *Cromwel* at *Rome*, for the sins of his Family for three immediate Generations, (expiring in *R. Sadler* Esquire, lately dead.) His last Negotiation was that in *Scotland*, during the trouble there about Queen *Mary*: so searching and piercing he was, that no Letter or Adviso passed whereof he had not a Copy; so civil and obliging that there was no Party that had not a Kindness for him. So grave and solid, that he was present at all counsels; so close and industrious, that his hand though unseen was in every motion of that State; and so successful, that he left the Nobility so divided that they could not design any thing upon the King; and the King so weak, that he could not cast off the Queen; and all so tottering, that they must depend on Queen *Elizabeth*.

Three things he bequeathed such as may have the honour to succed him, 1. All Letters that concerned him since of years, *filed*: 2. All Occurrences since he was capable of Observation, *registered*: 3. All Expences, since he lived of himself, *booked*. *Epaminondas* was the last *Grecian*, and *Sir Ralph Sadler* was one of the last *English men*.

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Sir William Paget.

SIr *William Paget* was born in the City of *London*, of honeſt Parents. He was ſo able and truſty a Miniſter of State, that he was privy Counſellour to four ſucceſſive Princes: He was Secretary to King *Henry* the Eighth; who employed him Embaſſador to *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* King of *France*. King *Edward* the Sixth made him Chancellour of the Dutchy, Comptroller of his Houſhold, and created him Baron of *Beaudeſert*. *Queen Mary* made him Keeper of the Privy-Seal. *Queen Elizabeth* highly reſpected him, diſpencing with his Attendance at Court, in favour to his great Age. Duke *Dudley* in the days of King *Edward*, ignominiouſly took from him the Garter of the Order, ſaying, *He was not Originally qualified for the ſame*: But this was reſtored unto him by *Queen Mary*. He died very old, *Anno* 1563. and was buried in *Lichfield*. His Education was better then his Birth, his Knowledge higher then his Education: His Parts above his Knowledge, and his Experience beyond his Parts: A general Learning furniſhed him for Travel, and Travel ſeaſoned that Learning for Employment. His Maſter-piece was an inward Obſervation of other Men, and an exact knowledge of Himſelf. His Addreſs was with ſtate, yet inſinuating: His Diſcourſe free, but weighed; his apprehenſion quick, but ſtaid: His ready and preſent mind keeping its pauſes of thoughts and expreſſions

Henry 8 pressions even with the *occasion* and the *emergency*: neither was his carriage more stiff and uncompliant, then his soul. *Gundamore* could not fit King *James* so well as Sir *William* did *Charles* the Fifth, who in a rapture once cried, *He deserved to BE a King, as well as to REPRESENT One:* and one day as he came to Court, *Yonder is the Man I can deny nothing to.*

Apollonius coming to *Vespatian*'s Gate betimes in the morning, and finding him up, said, *Surely this man will be Emperour, he is up so early.* This Statesman must needs be eminent, who was up the earliest of all the English Agents in discovering Affairs, and latest in following those Discoveries. Three sorts of Embassadors the Emperour *Charles* observed were sent him from *England*: the first was *Wolsey*, whose great Train promised much, as his great Design did nothing: The second was *Morisin*, who promised and did much: The third *Paget*, who promised nothing, and did all. What Scholars observed then of *c* three Divines that a Statesman hath set down of our three Agents: the first was words without matter; the second was matter without words; the third was words and matter. Quick and regular were his Dispatches when *Secretary*, pleasing all with his proceedings, even when he could not but displease many with his Decision. It was much none went away ever sad from *Augustus* an Emperour, it was more none was dismissed ever in discontent from Sir *William Paget* a Secretary of State. The King was not happier in his abilities to serve him, then he was in their dexterity who waited upon him: *These are my eyes,* (saith the discreet man) *these are my right hands.*

a Luther, Melanct-hon, Carolostadius.

hands. For his ſervice he would chuſe a Man before a Scholar, a *Traveller* before a *Home-bred*: *Parts* he preferred in his Office, a *Preſence* in his Chamber; *Parts* and *Preſence* in his Cloſet. *Henry* 8.

Beecher was King *Henry* the Eighth his Map of *England*, (ſo well skilled he was in our Engliſh Cuſtoms, Trade, Improvements, Situation, Intereſt and Inclination) *Paget* was his Table of *Germany*, *France*, and *Rome*, ſo exact an account could he give of their Situation, Havens, Forts, Paſſages, Proviſion, Policies, Revenue and Strength: ſecured he was, in King *Henry*'s changeable times, by his forraign Travels and Employments. Eſcape he did King *Edward*'s Reformation, by his Moderation and peaceableneſs: He complied with Queen *Mary*'s Zeal, out of conſcience; and ſubmitted to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Authority, out of Duty and Allegiance: being one of thoſe moderate men that looked upon the Proteſtants primitive Foundations of *b* Faith, Duty and Devotion, as ſafe; and on the Papiſts ſuperſtructures, as not damnable: Whoſe Life was *Grotius* and *Caſſander*'s Wiſh, An Accommodation to the Chriſtian World. Privacy is the Favourites Intereſt, and concealment his care: Sir *William* wiſhed for ſucceſs for his Maſters ſake, but diſſembled it for his own: He is *the man*, that loſeth neither his Privacy nor his Reputation. Quiet was his temper, though noble his reſolution: Troubleſome is a witty man on a ſtage, as a Monkey in a cupboard of glaſs. Placed, ſweet and compoſed is the prudent Man, like an Intelligence in the Heavens, or a god in the World. Up he went, but by juſt degrees; that if down he muſt, he might do ſo with the ſame leaſure and ſafety.

b *The Creed, The Lords Prayer, and the Commandments.*

Henry 8. When he had managed the Secrets and Negotiations of *Henry* the Eighth, with Dexterity and Faithfulneſs; the Lands of King *Edward* the Sixth, with Skill and Improvement; the Purſes of Queen *Mary* & Queen *Elizabeth*, with good Husbandry and Care: When he had lived enough to his *Countries*, to his *Soveraigns*, to his *Friends*, and the *Publique Good*; he retired to live to *Himſelf* firſt, and then to his *GOD*.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Richard Moriſin.

e *Saith Sir* Richard Baker.

f Per celebriora Anglorum Gymnaſia artes excoluit.

SIr *Richard Moriſin* born in *Eſſex* (or in *Oxfordſhire* e) was brought up *f* at *Eaton*, *Cambridge*, and *Inns of Court*. He was ſo skilful in Latine and Greek, and in the Common and Civil Law, that he was often employed Embaſſador by King *Henry* the VIII, and *Edward* the VI, unto *Charles* the Fifth Emperour, and other Princes of *Germany*; which he diſcharged with all honeſty and ability. After the death of King *Edward* the VI, he was forced to fly beyond the ſeas; and returning out of *Italy*, died at *Strasburgh*, on the 17 of *March* 1556.

Three things made a compleat man in thoſe days: 1. A publick School, where their School-fellows Genius's inſtruct much more then their School-maſters pains; where a man attains at once to *Learning*, *Prudence*, and a *Spirit*: 2. A comprehenſive inſight into Tongues and Sciences; by the firſt whereof they unlocked *Men*, and by the ſecond, *Things*: 3. Tra-

3. Travel, where they saw what they read, and made that a solid apprehension and observation, which was before but a fluid notion and a floating imagination: Our Knight was happy in all Three, but so compleat in the last, that he had the Vertues and Port of a *German*, as if he had been a Native of that place; and loathed the Vices, as if he had never seen it: Thereby he could get so far within that people, that he saw all their Intrigues; and be yet so reserved, that they could see nothing: The ablest *German* Divines guided his conscience, and the greatest Statesmen his Negotiation. He kept under the Emperour by the Princes, the French by the Emperour, and the Pope by them all. So much service did the good Knight to King *Henry* the Eighth, in his Wife *Katharine*'s Case; and so much the whole Kingdom, in that of Religion; that he equally fled Queen *Mary*'s wrath, and her Religions Persecutions. His strong parts set off his comprehensive knowledge; his resolute spirit, his parts; and his presence and meen, *all*: King *Henry* always chusing an Embassador that might represent his Person as well as his Power: And Sir *Richard* had his *Hogh* in *Germany*, as well as *Henry* in *England*. *Henry* 8.

His knack was his *foresight*, which made that an Advise in *England*, which was hardly a known design there: saying usually, *His Master maintained not Embassadors so much to write* Histories *as* Prophecies. The *Trojans* sent to condole with *Cæsar* for his Son that was dead two year ago; he thanked them, and condoled with them for *Hector*, that was slain as many hundred years. Our Embassador in *France* adviseth Sir *Richard* of a Battel fought a

Henry 8. Week before, and he in answer makes a large discourse of the Battel of *Spurs* fought many years before; and adds, *I and You are not here to tell old stories.*

Two things, he said, he was troubled with, *Envy* and *Malice*; and two Remedies he had against them, *Patience* and *Resolution.* Always he wheeled with the first Mover, yet he had private motions of his own: Singular, but modest: So faithful he was, that he would declare his Opinion; yet so wary, that he would not stand in it against his Prince; knowing, that if he did it out of prudence, he rendered the Princes Ability suspected; if out of his own sagacity, it blemished his Integrity: Both equal inconveniencies, to intimate the Master Unable, or the Servant Corrupt.

When others pressed for an over-strict Reformation, this Gentleman urged, That *Distempers in the Body and State are reduced by Physicians and Politicians not to what they should be, but to what they can be:* Freedom, Moderation and Impartiality are the best tempers of Reforming Counsels and Endeavours: What is acted singularly, must offend more then it pleaseth; a study to gratifie some men, being a likely way to injure all: The novelty of excessive and immoderate undertakings giving not so much content to the vulgar of a present Age, as the mischiefs of them give offence to the Generations of future times.

And *Melanchon*'s discourse to him was to this purpose: *That the Reformation of hearts should go before that of Churches; and men should try that on their own hearts which they design upon the Church: For Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders*

ders of publique Reformation to ſuch private deſigns as muſt needs hinder the publique Good. It would be an eaſie matter for Favourites to reform Kings Palaces (ſaith *Malvezzi*) *if it were not a hard thing to reform their own houſes.* Henry 8.

One asked him, *Why his Embaſſie tended ſo much more to preſerve his Maſters Dominions, then to augment them?* And he replied what is fathered on *Henry* the Fourth, *That Getting is a Chance, but Keeping is a Wit.*

After a long reſidence abroad, he thought of an Habitation at home; which he no ſooner began at *Caſhobery* in *Hertfordſhire*, but King *Edward* going out of the World, the good Knight was forced out of his houſe and the Kingdom.

He was the firſt that ſaid, *Policy is not the learning of ſome Rules, but the Obſervation of Circumſtances, with a preſent minde in all junctures of affairs; which* (he would ſay) *was their happineſs onely, that had good memories:* For when one ſaid he had *ſeen much, heard more, and read moſt: You were* (ſaid he) *a more compleat man, could you ſay, I remembered as much.* Secretary *Walſingham* would ſay, *My Lord, ſtay a little, and we ſhall have done the ſooner:* Secretary *Cecil* ſaid, *It ſhall never be ſaid of me, That I will defer till to morrow what I can do to day:* And Sir *Richard Moriſin*, *Give me this day, and take the next your ſelf.* Noble was his Reſolution, when he ſaid, *He ſcorned to take penſions from an Emperour of Germany, ſince an Emperour of Germany took pay of the King of England.*

His ſtature was ſomething tall, and procured him reverence; his temper reſerved, and commanding ſecurity to his perſon and his buſineſs. *He that*

Henry 8. *knoweth to ſpeak well, knoweth alſo where he muſt hold his peace,* ſaid the old *Gracian*: *Think an hour before you ſpeak, and a day before you promiſe,* ſaid this *Engliſh-Roman*. With *Ferdinand* the Emperour he prevailed for the Popes aſſiſtance, and with *Maximilian* for his Maſters againſt the French.

Never was his Maſter *Henry* ſo high, as to ſet him above treating; nor his Soveraign *Edward* ſo low, as to make him afraid of War; although he looked upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their Underſtandings, then in their Limbs. *I have* (ſaid a great Prince) *greater confidence in my Reaſon then in my Sword; and am ſo reſolved to yeild to the firſt, that I thought neither my ſelf nor others ſhould uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood one another.* It's *humane* to uſe *Reaſon* rather than *Force*, and *Chriſtian* to *ſeek peace and enſue it.*

Chriſtian was his Temper, and Religious his carriage; ſo charitable, that he relieved the Confeſſors, as though he had been none himſelf; and ſo conſtant, that he continued his ſufferings, as if there were no other. Much good did his Countenance do the Exiles in the Courts of Forreign Princes; and more his Authority at the Troubles of *Frankford*, where his Motive to love, was the hatred of the Enemy.

Obſerva-

Observations on the Life of Doctor Nicholas Wotton.

Nicholas Wotton, ſon to Sir *Robert*, born at *Bockton-malherb* in the County of *Kent*, (a place ſo named, from ſome noxious and malignant herbs growing therein) was bred in *Oxon*, Doctor of the Civil Laws; and was the firſt Dean of the two Metropolitan Churches of *Canterbury* and *York*. He was Privy-Counſellour to four ſucceſſive Soveraigns, *viz.*

King { *Henry* the VIII. / *Edward* the VI. } Queen { *Mary*. / *Elizabeth*. }

He was employed thirteen ſeveral times in Embaſſies to Forreign Princes.

Five times to *Charles* the Fifth Emperour.

Once to *Philip* his ſon, King of *Spain*.

Once to *Francis* the Firſt, King of *France*.

Once to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, Governeſs of the *Netherlands*.

Twice to *William* Duke of *Cleve*.

Once to renew the peace between *England*, *France* and *Scotland*, Anno 1540.

Again to the ſame purpoſe at *Cambray*, Anno 1549.

Once ſent Commiſſioner with others to *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*, 1560.

He refuſed the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, offerred him in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*. He died

Henry 8. died *January* 26. in 1566. being about seventy years of Age, and was buried in *Canterbury*.

Justinian reduced the Law of Nations to one Body, and Doctor *Wotton* comprehended them in one Soul: Publick was his spirit, and *such* his thoughts: That profession that was designed for the settlement of the worlds commerce, was now confined to a Bishops Court, a Churchwardens Oath, or a rich mans Will; when this excellent Person first enlarged it as far as the sea, in the Cases of the Admiralty; and as wide as the world, in the Negotiations of Embassie. Others were trusted with the Interest of Princes, He with that of Nations. He that saw him, would think he could deny nothing so modest Scholar-like his looks! He that heard him would judge he would grant nothing, so undeniable his Reason! so irrefragable his Arguments! His speech was as ready as his resolution was present: His apprehension quick and clear: his method exact: his reading vast and indefatigable: his memory (strong as to things, though not to words) tenacious: his elocution copious and flowing. What sir *Henry Wotton* said of sir *Philip Sidney*, I may say of *Nicholas Wotton*, That *he was the very measure of eve gruity*. What that Counsellour writ to the French King in a great sheet (when he required his Advice) that our Doctor advised our Princes in several Discourses, *viz. Modus*, A Mean. *Sir*, (said King *Henry* to him, now not forty years old) *I have sent a Head by* Cromwel, *a Purse by* Wolsey, *a Sword by* Brandon, *and I must now send the Law by You, to treat with my Enemies.*

Augustus lamented for *Varrus* his death, because he said, *Now I have none in my Countrey to tell me the truth:*

truth; With *Wotton* went off that faithfulneſs that *Peaſants have, and Princes want*: None more reſolute abroad, none more bold and downright at home. His plain dealing ſaved King *Henry* ſome Treaſure, King *Edward* the North, Queen *Mary* *Calice* for a while, and Queen *Elizabeth* her Faith and Crown: A Vertue that made him the Overſeer of moſt Forreign Miniſters Actions abroad, and one of the ſixteen Executors of King *Henry*'s Will and Teſtament at home. *Gardiner* was ſly and cloſe, but *Wotton* prudent and wiſe. In the Treaty at *Calice* there are two things remarkable of our Doctor, 1. That he firſt inſiſted on the peace with *France*, before that of *Scotland*: 2. He would ſay, *Rather give away* Calice, *then reſerve a Right in it fifteen years hence: for never was the Intereſt of any Nation ſo conſtant, as to keep a promiſe half ſo many years.* *Henry* 8.

Indeed Sir *William Cecil*'s reach went no further for a Layman, then Doctor *Wotton* for a Churchman: Therefore they two were pitched upon for the management of the Intrigues and Affairs of *Scotland*.

Many envied this happy man, but none could be without him, who was the Oracle of both Laws at Councels; who could ſum up the merit of any Cauſe, recollect the circumſtances of any Affair; and ſhew Tables of Trade, Commerce, Situations, Counſels, Revenue, Intereſt, *&c.* the readieſt and exacteſt of any in *England*.

But all theſe Qualifications muſt die, and he with them: leaving it as his Advice,

Firſt, *To Church-men: To underſtand well the Common and Canon-Law, as well as the* Divine; *by the*

Henry 8. *the first whereof, they might understand their right as by the second, they informed themselves and others their duty.*

Secondly, *To Statesmen: Travel and History.*

Thirdly, *To Embassadors:* 1. *A good Purse:* 2. *A noble and sober Train:* 3. *Constant correspondence and observation:* 4. *A happy medley of Debonairness and Complacency, Reservedness and Gravity with the first he had taken Princes, and with the last Statesmen; the one discovers others, while the other conceals you.* 5. *Resolution: I made often* (said he) *as if I would fight, when they knew my calling allowed me onely to speak:* 6. *Civility: That man* (said the Prince of *Orange*) *is a great bargain, who is bought with a bare salutation.*

Fourthly, *To Privy-Counsellours*: That excellent caution, *Always to speak last, and be Masters of others strength before they displayed their own.*

This was that rare man that was made for all busines, so dexterous! This was he that was made for all times, so complying! This was he who lived Doctor of both Laws, and died Doctor of both Gospels; the Protestant, which had the Statesmans part of this man; and the Popish, who had the Christian. *Noah* * had two faces, because he was a son of the old world before the flood, and a father of the new one after: *Wotton* sure had four faiths, who was Favourite in King *Henry*'s days, of the Counsel in King *Edward*'s, of the Juncto in Queen *Mary*'s, and the g second Statesman in Queen *Elizabeth*'s.

* *Being called* Bifrons Janus,

g Cecil *was the first.*

With these two things of this person, I shall conclude:

1. His refusal of the Arch' ishoprick of *Canterbury*, which argued his extraordinary humility or wariness.

2. Hi

2. His admission of Doctor *Parker*, as Dean of *Canterbury*, to that See; which argueth the legality of his calling, there being no circumstance with any likelihood omitted, by so exquisite a Civilian as Doctor *Wotton*; or forgotten, by so great an Antiquary as Doctor *Parker*. *Henry* 8.

Observations on the Life of Thomas Wriothesly, *the first Earl of* Southampton.

THomas *Wriothesly* Knight of the Garter, was born in *Barbican*, Son to *William Wriothesly* (descended from an Heir general of the ancient Family of the *Dunsterviles*) King of Arms. He was bred in the University of *Cambridge*, as it appears by Mr. *Ascam*'s Letter unto him, writing in the behalf of the University, when he was Lord Chancellour.

Quamobrem Academia cum omni literarum ratione, ad te unum conversa (cui uni quam universis aliis se chariorem intelligit) partim tibi ut alumno suo, cum authoritate imperat: partim, ut patrono summo, demisse & humiliter supplicat, &c.

His University-Learning prepared him for the Law, and his indefatigable study of the Law promoted him to the Court; where, for his Honour, he was created Baron of *Tichbourn*, Jan. 1. 1543. and for his Profit, the next year, *May* 3. Lord Chan-

Henry 8. Chancellour; a place he discharged with more A
plause then any before him, and with as much In
grity as any since him: *Force* (he said) *awed, b*
Justice governed the world.

It is given to that Family to be Generous a
Resolute: This incomparable Person was under
cloud in King *Edward*'s time, for being a rigidl
conscientious Papist; and his great Granchild s
fered in King *Charles* his time, for being a sincere
honest Protestant: Yet so reverenced was the fi
of this Family by his Adversaries, that he was ma
Earl of *Southampton*; and so honoured was t
other by his Enemies, that they courted him to the
party. Integrity hath a Majesty in its full, and
Glory in its lowest Estate; that is, always feare
though not always loved.

No Nobleman understood the Roman Re igio
better then the first Earl of *Southampton*; and no
the Protestant better then the last, the Right H
nourable and truly Excellent *Thomas* Earl of *So*
thampton, and Treasurer of *England*.

His Court, he said, gave Law to the Kingdom
His constant and exact Rules, to the Court; and h
Conscience guided by the Law of the Kingdom,
his Rules. Affable and acceptable he was, as *More*
quick and ready, as *Wolsey*; incorrupt, as *Egerton*
apprehensive and knowing, as *Bacon*. Twice wer
all Cases depending in Chancery dispatched; in Si
Thomas Wriothesley's time, 1538. and in Sir *Thomas*
More's, 1532. Truly did he judge *intra Cancellos*
deciding Cases with that Uprightness, that he wish
ed a Window to his Actions, yea and his Heart too.
King *Philip* was not at leasure to hear a poor Wo
mans Cause; *Then*, said she, *cease to be King*. My
Lord

Lord over-hearing a servant putting off a Petitioner, because his Master was not at leasure, takes him up roundly, and replies, *You had as good say, I am not at leasure to be Lord Chancellour.* Two things he would not have his servants gain by, his Livings and his Decrees; The first, he said, were Gods, the second the Kings, (whom every man, he said, sold, that sold Justice:) *To honest men, your places,* said he, *are enough; to Knaves, too much.* Every Week he had a Schedule of his own Accounts, and every Month of his Servants. *Cato*'s greatest Treasure was his Account-Book of *Sicily*; and my Lord of *Southampton*'s was his Table of the Chancellours place. A great Estate was conferred upon him, which he took not in his own name, to avoid the odium of Sacriledge; as great an Inheritance he bought, but in others names, to escape the malice of Envy. *Henry* 8.

He loved a Bishop, he said, to satisfie his Conscience; a Lawyer, to guide his Judgement; a good Family, to keep up his Interest; and an University, to preserve his name.

Full of Years and Worth, he died 1550. at *Lincoln*-place, and was buried at St. *Andrews* Church in *Holborn*, where his Posterity have a Diocess for their Parish, and a Court for their Habitation.

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Sir John Fitz-James.

John Fitz-James Knight, was born at *Redlinch* *Somersetshire*, of Right Antient and Worth Parentage, bred in the ſtudy of our Municip Laws; wherein he proved ſo great a Proficien that by King *Henry* the Eighth he was advanced t be Chief Juſtice of the Kings Bench. There needs more to be ſaid of his Merit, ſave that King *Hen* the Eighth preferred him; who never uſed eith Dunce or Drone in Church or State, but Men Ability and Activity. He ſat thirteen years in h place, demeaning himſelf ſo, that he lived and di in the Kings Favour. He ſat one of the Aſſiſtan when Sir *Thomas More* was arraigned for refuſi the Oath of Supremacy, and was ſhrewdly put it, to ſave his own Conſcience, and not incur t Kings Diſpleaſure: For Chancellour *Audley*, f preme Judge in that place, (being loth that t whole burthen of *More*'s condemnation ſhou lie on his ſhoulders alone) openly in the Court as ed the Advice of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Fitz James*, Whether the Indictment were ſufficient no? To whom our Judge warily returned, *My Lords all, by St.* Gillian, (which was ever his Oath *I muſt* * *needs confeſs, That if the Act of Parliament be not unlawful, then the Indictment is not in my con ſcience inſufficient.*

He died in the Thirtieth Year of King *Henry* th Eighth; and although now there be none left *Redlinch*

* Mr. More in the printed Life of his Grandfather Sir Tho. More, page 334.

Redlinch of his Name and Family, they flouriſh *Henry* 8.
ſtill at *Lewſon* in *Dorſetſhire*, deſcended from *Alured Fitz-James* brother to this Judge, and to *Richard* Biſhop of *London*.

The two main Principles that guide humane Nature (ſaith Judge *Dodderidge*) *are Conſcience and Law: By the former we are obliged in reference to another world, by the latter in relation to this.* Prieſts and Judges are the Diſpenſers of theſe Principles: No Prince more unhappy in his Prieſts then King *Henry* (whoſe unhappineſs it was, that all the juggle, prevarication and impoſture of his time was in the Pulpit,) none more happy in his Judges, (to whoſe Reaſon his People were more willing to ſubmit, then they were to hearken to his Clergy's Inſtruction) among whom none more renowned then Sir *John Fiz-James*, who was ſo fearful of the very ſhadow & appearance of corruption, that it coſt his chief Clerk his place but for taking a Tankard, after a ſignal Cauſe of 1500 *l.* a year, whe ein he had been ſerviceable, though not as a Bribe, but as a Civility. *Cæſar* would have his Wife without ſuſpicion of lewdneſs, and *Fitz-James* his ſervants without the appearance of corruption. What was Law alwayes, was then a Reſolution, *Neither to deny, nor defer, nor ſell Juſtice.* When our Judge came upon the Bench, he knew no more then *Melchiſedech* or *Levi*, Father or Mother, neither Friend nor Intereſt: for when his Couſin urged for a kindeneſs, *Come to my Houſe* (ſaith the Judge) *I will deny you nothing; come to the Kings Court and I muſt do you juſtice:* And when the Attorney-General beſpake his favour in a publick Cauſe; *Trouble not your ſelf*, (ſaid he) *I'll do the King right:* The King is caſt, the Attor-

Henry 8. ney expostulates; the Judge satisfieth him, *That he could not do his Majesty Right, if he had not done justice.*

His Prudence so tempered his zeal for his Soveraign, that he over-strained not the Prerogative to bring in fears and jealousies of Tyranny on the one hand; and his Integrity so balanced his Popularity, that he never depressed it to broach bold opinions and attempts of Liberty, on the other: complying with none of those humours that an imaginary dread of oppression, or a dangerous presumption of freedom may transport to irregular excesses either for the one, or against the other.

As his Majesty was secured by his Loyalty, so his Subjects were by his Patience, a Vertue he carried with him to the Bench, to attend each circumstance of an Evidence, each allegation of a Plea, each plea in a Cause; *hearing* what was *impertinent*, and *observing* what was *proper*. His usual saying (as Sergeant *Mandevil* reports it) being, *We must have two souls, as two sieves, one for the Bran, the other for the flour; the one for the Gross of a Discourse, the other for the Quintessence.*

The same day that there was no Cause to be tried in the *Chancery* in Sir *Tho. More*'s time, there were but three in the *Kings Bench*, in Sir *John Fitz-James* his time: the reason whereof some *imagine* was Cardinal *Wolsey*'s extraordinary power (that engrossed all Causes to his Legantine Court;) others *know* it was the Judges Integrity, who was too honest to *allow*, as that Age was too plain to *contrive* delays and obstructions.

Lewis the Eleventh of *France* would say, when he was advised to take Revenge of those that had affron-

affronted him before he came to the Crown, *That Henry 8*
it became not the King of France *to revenge the Injuries done to the Duke of* Orleans. A Perſon that had notoriouſly wronged Sir *John* when a Templer, in the caſe of his Chamber, was to be tried before him for his whole Eſtate when a Judge; the Adverſaries among other ſhifts made uſe of this old Quarrel; whereupon Sir *John* ſaid, *It doth not become a Judge upon the Bench to revenge a wrong done in his chamber.*

Two things upheld him in thoſe boyſterous times: 1. Silence, 2. Patience: both wary Vertues that ſeldom endanger their Owner, or diſpleaſe their Superiours. The People of thoſe times would live and die with the Pope and Councel; and this Judge, with the King and Parliament: The grand Article of his Faith, was, *I believe as the Church believes:* and the great Rule of his Practice was, *I will live as the Law directs.*

He was a tried Man, whoſe Faith and Honour was above his Life and Fortune; whoſe Generoſity was above that firſt temptation of *Money*, as his Spirit was above the ſecond of *Danger:* No fear here of delivering up Priviledges to day, for fear of the King; or Prerogative to morrow, for fear of the Subject: No, an unbiaſs'd Temper between both, make up this honeſt man; who came on to preferment with great Expectations, and went off with great Applauſe: being one of the three men of whom it is ſaid, *That becauſe they never pleaſed their Maſter in doing any thing unworthy, they never diſpleaſed him in doing any thing that is juſt.* When baſe compliance goeth off with the contempt of thoſe it hath humoured, a Noble Reſolution comes off with the Reverence of thoſe it hath diſcontented.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Molineux,

* *That is, from* Will. Molineux *Knight, of* Sefton *in* Lancaſhire

SIr *William Molineux* Junior, Deſcendent from from the former *, flouriſhed under King *Henry* the Eighth, being a man of great command in *Lancaſhire*; bringing the conſiderable ſtrength thereof to the ſeaſonable ſuccour of the Duke of *Norfolk*, with whom he performed ſignal ſervice in *Flodden Field*.

It is confeſſed on all ſides that the Scots loſt the day, by not keeping their Ranks, but not agreed on the cauſe thereof. *Buchanan* (who commonly makes the too much Courage of his Countrymen, the cauſe of their being conquered) imputes it to their indiſcreet purſuing of the Engliſh routed at the firſt: Others ſay, They did not break their Ranks, but were broken, unable to endure the *Lancaſhire* Archers, and ſo forced to ſunder themſelves. In this Battel the Scotch King and chiefeſt Gentry were ſlain, the Engliſh loſing ſcarce any; of the Scots ſcarce any but of prime note. The King afward wrote his Gratulatory Letter to Sir *William Molineux*, in form following.

TRuſty and Well-Beloved, We greet you well: And underſtand as well by the Report of Our Right Truſty Couſin and Counſellour, the Duke of Norfolk, *as otherwiſe, what acceptable ſervice You amongſt Others lately did Us by your valiant Towardneſs in the aſſiſting of Our ſaid Couſin againſt Our Enemy, late*

late King of Scots; *and how couragiously you, as a very hearty loving Servant acquitted your self for the overthrow of the said late King, and distressing of his Malice and Power, to Our great Honour, and the advancing of your no little Fame and Praise; for which We have good cause to favour and thank you, and so We full heartily do; and assured may you be, that We shall in such effectual wise remember your said Service in any your reasonable pursuits, as you shall have cause to think the same right well imployed to Our comfor and weal hereafter. Given under Our Signet, at Our Castle at* Windsor, *the seven and twentieth of* November. Henry 8.

It appears by our Author, that the like Letters, *mutatis mutandis*, were sent unto Sir *Edward Stanley*, and some other men of principal note in *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*.

There is more in the Education then the Birth (though that be Noble too) of this Gentleman: much Generous Blood sparkled in his Veins, more Arts and Sciences thronged in his Soul: A learned Prince brought up a learned Gentry, the most hopeful of whom think themselves as much obliged to imitate his Vertues, as the most degenerate were inclined to practise his Vices. Four excellent Artists were at once entertained in his Fathers House: 1. A compleat Grammarian and Linguist, *Parker*: 2. An exact Mathematician and Historian, *Calvius*: 3. A skilful Musitian, *Pallevicino*; and 4. An active Dancing-master and Souldier.

The Latine Tongue then wearing out its Barbarism, he spake and writ elegantly: *Cicero*'s Works he kenned particularly: *Plutarch*'s Lives and Mor-

Henry 8. rals (that Book which, as *Gaza* said, would furnish the World, if Learning were lost) he epitomized punctually: The active and practical part of Geometry, he studied intently. And, as the complaisance of his Nature, and sweetness of his Temper, he added to these severer studies, those more airy of Musick, Poetry and Heraldry.

Cic. pro Archiâ Poetâ *Si ad naturam eximium eruditio accesserit tum demum singulare quoddam existere solet.* This Noble Nature advanced by this Heroick Education, must needs do Wonders, as it did: first, In the University: where his Company was choice, his Carriage even and staid, his time exactly observed and prudently spent: secondly, abroad: where his Converse was wary, his Conduct Noble and Plausible, his observations and exercises manlike and knowing: thirdly, at Court: where his presence was graceful, his discourse solid, digested, distinct and clear; much improved by reading, more by travelling, most by conference with those that speak well; fourthly, in the Country: where his Hospitality was renowned, his Equity and Prudence beloved, and his Interest large and commanding. None pleased the King at Court more, such his Learning to satisfie him, such his Debonairness to delight him; (for, as Cardinal *Wolsey*, so Sir *William Molineux* got in with King *Henry* the Eighth by a Discourse out of *Aquinas* in the morning, and a Dance at night:) None served him better in the Country; such his obligations upon Tenants and Neighbours, that he had six thousand men at command: such his prudence and justice, that there were more differences ended in his Parlour, then in *Westminster-Hall*: such his care and watchfulness,

that

that no Treaſon ſtirred, but his Agents diſcovered, and his Militia was at an hours warning to ſuppreſs it: The Idea of an Engliſh Gentleman! In Favour at Court! In Repute in the Country! At once Loved and Feared! *Henry* 8.

Four things he took ſpecial care of: 1. That the Poor might have their ſtated Alms. 2. That the Prieſts might enjoy their known Dues. And 3. That his Tenant might be ſo well uſed, that he might thrive; and but ſo well, that he ſhould not be idle. 4. That every Body ſhould be employed: ſaying, *He had rather they ſhould be buſie, though doing nothing to the purpoſe, at the charge of his Purſe; then that they ſhould be idle, doing nothing at all, at the charge of their own pretious time.* In a word, he lived in all Capacities a publick Good, and died a common Loſs: Leaving in his Family that beſt Legacie, A good Example; and his Country that laſting Monument, A good Name, for two things that he hated; 1. Depopulating Incloſures: 2. Unworthy Inhancements of Rents: For he died with this Advice to his Son, *Let the Underwoods grow.* The Tenants are the ſupports of a Family, and the Commonalty are the ſtrength of the Kingdom. *Improve thriftily, but force not violently either your Bounds or Rents above your fore-Fathers.* His Popularity never failed of being called to the Parliament, nor his Activity of being uſeful there: None underſtood better how to move, to preſs, to quit, to divert, to eſcape, to watch and mould a buſineſs: None knew better the confederacie of Contrivers, Speakers, Sticklers, Dividers, Moderators, and the *I* and *No*-Men, their Method and Correſpondence: None more patient and induſtrious, when

Henry 8. a lower Faction was firmer in conjunction, and a few that were ſtiff, tired out many more moderate: He had no eaſineſs to be impoſed upon, no weakneſs to be deluded, no low Intereſt to be corrupted by fond hopes or fair promiſes of Preferment, to wave the very pinch of a diſpute; no pleaſure or vanity to be debauched, while the vigilant Faction ſteals a Vote worth a Kingdom; no ſloath nor neglect, to be ſurprized; no vanity of diſcourſe, to loſe his Maſter, no partiality to be biaſſed, no diſcontent to ſatisfie, no paſſion to miſguide: As one that *hated* nothing, but what was Diſhoneſt; *feared* nothing, but what was Ignoble; and *loved* nothing, but was Juſt and Honourable.

Obſervations on the Life of William Fitz-Williams.

HIs Judgement in Parliament brought him to the *notice*, and his Activity in the Wars recommended him to the ſervice of King *Henry*. The Biſhops pleaded for the Catholique Religion, the People for a Reformation; Sir *William* offered his Opiuion for a mean between both; "That ſince it was unreaſonable to tie up Mankind "in blind obedience one toward another, and im- "poſſible to run through all Difficulties and Con- "troverſies our own ſelves, (ſo much Time and "Money muſt be ſpent in ſuch an Undertaking, ſo "many Languages learned, ſo many Authors read, "ſo many Ages looked into, ſo many Faiths exami- "ned, ſo many Expoſitors conferred, ſo many Con- "tra-

‘ traditions reconciled, ſo many Countries travel- *Henry* 8.
‘ led, for any conſiderable ſatisfaction) to believe
‘ all, is inconſiſtent; to neglect all, is impious:
‘ There remains no other way for the Laicks, but
‘ to recollect and ſtick to the moſt Common, Au-
‘ thentick and Univerſal Truths, tending to Vertue
‘ and Godlineſs; apart from what is doubtful and
‘ controverted, and tending onely to ſtrife and per-
‘ plexity; and by theſe to live our ſelves, and exa-
‘ mine all other pretenſions whatever; there being
‘ no part of Religion but what hath Vertue and
‘ Grace as its Foundation and Deſign: A way
‘ that would keep men from Atheiſm, under a
‘ ſence of Religion; from endleſs controverſies, in
‘ the ſolid practice of Vertue; from fatal Diviſi-
‘ ons, in peace and concord. Let us (ſaid he) eſta-
‘ bliſh and fix theſe Catholique and Univerſal No-
‘ tions, and they will ſettle our Souls, and not hin-
‘ der us to believe whatſoever is faithfully taught
‘ by the Church, or ſubmit to what is authorita-
‘ tively enjoyned by the State. So that whether
‘ the Eaſtern, Weſtern, Northern or Southern Tea-
‘ chers, *&c.* and particularly whether my Lord of
‘ *Rochester*, or *Luther*, &c. be in the Right, we
‘ Laicks may ſo build upon thoſe Catholick and in-
‘ fallible Grounds of Religion, as whatſoever ſu-
‘ perſtructures of Faith be raiſed, theſe Foundati-
‘ ons may ſupport them.

This Diſcourſe opened a Door to the Refor-
nation intended, and ſhut out all thoſe prejudi-
es it might lie under from the State, and Religion
f Fore-fathers, *&c.*

Hereupon Sir *William* is invited to Court; and
hen the air and ſoftneſs of that place ſuited not his
more

Henry 8. more severe and stirring Temper, he is promoted to Authority first by Land, and then by Sea; where none was more watchful in the Wars between Us and *France*, none so active in those between Us and *Scotland*: With thirty six Ships he gave Law to the narrow Seas, as *Poynz* with forty more did to the Main: There was not a serviceable man belonging to him, but he knew by name; not a Week but he paid his Navy; not a Prize but his Souldiers shared in as well as himself: It being his Rule, *That none fought well, but those that did it for a fortune.*

While he watched the Coast of *France*, he discovered twelve French Ships, in which the Archbishop of *Glasco*, and divers others of Quality were, (whom the Duke of *Albany* had sent before him into *Scotland*;) these he chased to a shipwrack: and leaving a Squadron to shut up the French Haven went along the French Coasts, landing in divers places, wasting the Countrey, till at last he came to *Treport*, a Town strongly situated, and garisoned with three thousand men, which yet he took; and finding it not his Interest to dwell there, pillaged and burned it, going off with Success and Glory: Insomuch that King *Henry* joyned him with the Bishop of *Bath* in the Commission for the Treaty at *Paris*, where such Articles were agreed on touching a Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, and the joynt Embassie to the Emperour, as spake Sir *William* as well seen in the state of *Europe*, as any particular Person in the seven Kingdoms of it; whereof one was, *That they should unite by all the Ties of Alliance, Friendship and Interest, against the growing Power of* Austria, *so far as that there should be no League, Correspondence, War or Peace, wherein they both should not be concerned.* From

From his forreign Negotiations he returns to his *Henry* 8.
home-Services: and the next view we have of him
is in the Parliament, bringing up with Sir *Anthony Fitz-Herbert*, a Bill againſt the Cardinal:

1. *For encroaching upon his Soveraigns power by his Legantine Authority.*

2. *For treating between the Pope and the King of France, without his Maſters privity and conſent; as likewiſe between Himſelf and the Duke of Ferrara.*

3. *For joyning Himſelf with his Majeſty; ſaying,* The King and I.

4. *For ſwearing his Houſhold-ſervants onely to himſelf.*

5. *For ſpeaking with the King, when infected with the pox, pretending it was onely an Impoſthume.*

6. *For giving by prevention divers Benefices away, as Legate.*

7. *For receiving Embaſſadors before they came to the King: As alſo for opening all the Kings Letters, and taking an account of all Eſpials, concealing what he pleaſed.*

8. *For carrying things with an high hand in the Privy Council.*

9. *For tranſporting Grain, and ſending advertiſements of the Kings Affairs abroad.*

10. *For taxing or alienating Religious mens lands, to the great decay of hoſpitality and charity.*

11. *For controuling the Nobility, and engroſſing all Cauſes in his Juriſdiction.*

12. *For taking all Ordinarie Juriſdiction from them by prevention, and ſeizing their Eſtates, as he did all other Eccleſiaſtical perſons upon their death.*

13. *For*

Henry 8. 13. *For perſwading the Pope by indirect practices to ſuppreſs Monaſteries.*

14. *For paſſing judgements without hearing, and reverſing ſuch judgements as had duely paſſed.*

15. *For ſuſpending the Popes pardons until he was fee'd.*

16. *For turning out his old Tenants.*

17. *For his general encroachments upon the Rights of Religious Houſes, and the encroachments of Courts of Juſtice.*

18. *For ſaying to the Pope, in order to the obtaining of a Legantine power, to the indelible ſhame of the Church of* England, *That the Clergy of* England *were given* in reprobum ſenſum.

19. *For embezling the Goods of the moſt wealthy Prelates that died in his time.*

20. *For bringing off his ſervants from the Law againſt extortion, at* York.

21. *For dividing the Nobility.*

22. *For keeping as great ſtate at Court, and exerciſing as great authority in the Country for purveyance, &c. as the King.*

23. *For forbidding petitions and purveyances within his Juriſdictions.*

24. *For engroſſing all Copy-holds within his power, to his Lemans, Procurers, &c.*

25. *For altering the Market-prices ſet under His Majeſties Hand and Seal.*

26. *For impreſſing his* Hat *under the Kings* Crown, *in the Coyn at* York.

27. *For Hindering the due courſe intended by viſiting the Univerſities to ſuppreſs hereſies.*

28. *For diſpoſing of mens Eſtates and Proprieties at his pleaſure.*

This

This Bill was aggravated moſt effectually, by three moſt pinching conſiderations: *Viz.* That the Kings Honour was by him diminiſhed: That the ſtate of the Realm was by him decayed and diſcontented: That the courſe of Juſtice was by him obſtructed. A great Undertaking, this! To bring down this lofty Prelate! (whom his Maſter created the * Kings Fellow, and his own pride made his Superiour) But as Wiſe as Great, if we regard the five Politick circumſtances:

1. The Queen was engaged.
2. The People were oppreſſed.
3. The King was needy and covetous.
4. The Nobility were kept under.
5. The Clergy were harraſſed: And all by this proud man: And at that juncture is he convened before the Parliament, and charged home by this excellent Knight, who never left him till he was humbled, as Juſtice *Fitz-Herbert* did not his ſervants, until they were reformed.

Henry 8

* *when Cardinal.*

Neither did the Pope eſcape him abroad, better then the Cardinal at home: For his next action we finde is a Declaration drawn by him, *Jo. Fitz-Warren*, *Tho. Audley* and Others, to Pope *Clement* the Seventh, expoſtulating his Delays, and conjuring his Diſpatch in the Buſineſs of the Kings Marriage.

Very ſerviceable he was to his Maſter in time of Peace, more in time of War; and particularly at the Inſurrection 1536. where he cut off the Rebels Paſſes, diſtreſſed their Arms, and when they refuſed a Treaty but upon condition that *Aſhe* their Leader was *pledged*, adviſed an engagement with them out of hand; ſaying, *No Engliſh man ſhould be under-*

valued

Henry 8. *valued ſo far as to be an Hoſtage for a Villain:* and adding further (ſo good was his Intelligence) *That if they were not defeated ſpeedily, the* Scots *and* Germans *would diſcover that they had but too much hand in this plot.*

For which his ſervices, his Maſter raiſed him to the Admiralſhip of *England*, and the Earldom of *Southampton*; in which Quality he was one of the three Noblemen that managed the Buſineſs of Divorce between the King and *Anne* of *Cleve*, with that applauſe that made him Lord Privy-Seal, *Nov.* 14. *Anno* 1541. and the grand Examinant of the particulars in the Lady *Katharin Howard's* Caſe, a matter of great truſt and ſecrecy; which he performed with a ſearching and deep Judgement, beyond that Ladies fear, and the Kings expectation; as appears from the exact Account given under Sr *Tho. Audley* and his own hands, touching that matter.

Having provided for the Kings Safety at Home he is One of Four that treat for his Intereſt Abroad, I mean upon the Borders of *Scotland*; where our excellent Perſons dexterity was obſerved, in gaining that time by various Propoſals for Peace, that ſerved his Maſter to provide againſt the War; in the beginning whereof, the brave Lord died at *York*: ſo much eſteemed, that for the Honour of his Memory his Standard was born in the Fore-ward all this Expedition. A Perſon in whom Prudence was even with Activity, Reſolution with Prudence, Succeſs with Reſolution, Moderation with Succeſs, Honour and Favour with All.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Darcy.

SIr *Thomas Darcy* was one of King *Henry* the Eighth's firſt Counſellours, ſo advanced (as moſt of his Fellows) not for Affection, but Intereſt; owing his Promotion to his own ſufficiency, rather then his Maſters favour. His Counſel was weighty at Home, his Aſſiſtance neceſſary Abroad; where in behalf of Pope *Julius* the ſecond and the Emperour, he did more with 1500 Archers in a year for the ballancing of *Europe*, then had been done before in an Age.

No Employment ſo dangerous at that time as that of the Warden of the Weſt Marches of *Scotland*, none ſo able for that Employment as my Lord, who was equally knowing and ſtout, and at once moſt *feared*, and moſt *loved*.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* made ſome Inroads into *Scotland*, the Lord *Darcy* ſeconds him: But being ſurprized by the Duke of *Albany*'s preparations, he had as much Wit to make Peace, as he had Reſolution to carry on the War. None knew better when to yeild, none better when to conquer; ſo great a command had he over himſelf! ſo great over the Enemy, that he brought them to requeſt his Wiſh, and offer what was his Intereſt! With the Duke of *Surrey*'s aſſiſtance by Land, and *Fitz-Williams* his by Sea, he reduced that Nation to a good Intelligence with Us that year, and a Peace the next; a Peace (as he obſerved) that would be no longer kept,

Henry 8. kept, then we had a Sword in our Hands, and an Army on their Borders: *For* Conſcience *guided other parts of the World*, (he ſaid) *and* Fear *Scotland:* Whence he invaded them duely once a year.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Howard.

SIr *Edward*'s Brother in Worth, as well as Blood: His Fathers Intereſt ſet him up, and his own Induſtry kept him ſo: All the Children were brought up for *Sea-Services*, this Gentleman for *Sea-Commands*. He immediately ſucceeds his younger Brother in the Admiralty; and wiſely conſidering the advantage of the French Gallies in a calm, the number of their ſhips, the danger of their windes for us, if they blew South-weſt, deſired of the King ſo many Souldiers as might man the ſhips, and make good the landing, wherewith he ſcoured the ſeas, and ſecured the Kings paſſage, with ſo much Honour, that he was able to aſſiſt his Father at Court, as much as *Wolſey* did *Fox:* his Gallantry being no leſs pleaſing to his Maſter, then the other young Favourites Compliance; and both theſe young men had no leſs Art to govern this Prince, then he had to govern his Kingdom: Theſe Arts, which all other Favourites uſe, being Hopes and Fears, which as Doors and Paſſages to the heart, are ſo guarded by their vigilancy, that they can both let themſelves in, and keep all others out: the two Ends upon which the Thread

of

of Government depends: His Father is made Duke of *Norfolk*, and he Earl of *Surrey*; both are an eye-sore to the Cardinal, whose Fortune had no Superior in the Kings Favour, whose Ambition would endure no Equal. The Old Mans years and cares are fitted with a Retirement in the Country; the Young Mans ambition and activity, with a Government in *Ireland*, which he reduced as speedily to obedience (notwithstanding *Desmond*'s Rebellion) as he had to civility, had it not been for *Wolsey*'s Underminings, who endured no publick service but what he did himself; and would chuse rather that the Kingdom should perish by a Traytor, then be saved by a *Nobleman*. Beloved he was by that Countrey (where he left a Peace and a Parliament, *Anno* 1521.) so that they were loth to part with him: Wanted he was by the King, to scour the narrow seas for the French War; so that he must have him. The King had made him formerly *His* Admiral, the Emperour upon his return from *England* makes him his; and with both their Commissions he lands in *Normandy*, wastes the adjacent Countries, (sparing onely Religious Houses) takes and sacks *Morlais* in *Bretaign* (which he entered under the smoak) burns their ships, commands the sea, and sets the Emperour safe in *Spain*; advising his Majesty from thence to make a general Muster of his Subjects for his own satisfaction and others terrour, *March* 27, 1522. The troubles in *Scotland* required an able Head and a stout Heart, two Endowments that no man was more Master of then the Earl of *Surrey*, now Duke of *Norfolk* (upon his beloved Fathers decease) whose Prudence toyled the Scots to deliver up their King, as his Prowess

Henry 8.

Henry 8. frighted them to yeild up themſelves, as they did in that moſt exquiſite Treaty, where the Earl of *Worceſter* beat the *Buſh*, ſaith my noble Author, and our Duke catched the *Hare*.

A while after he is Earl Marſhal, and Embaſſador to King *Francis* about thoſe two grand points: 1. *That the French King ſhould ſet up a Patriarch:* 2. *That he ſhould ſtop up all the payments made to* Rome, *with fair promiſes of that ſupply of men and money he then moſt wanted.*

When the Pope ſtuck to Queen *Katharine*, three things he adviſed the King to:

1. To teach the people that a general Council was above the Pope, and proclaim that he did appeal to it.

2. To fix upon every Church-Door the Dowagers Appeal to *Rome*, and the late Statute againſt it.

3. To confederate with the Kings of *Hungary* and *Poland*, the Eſtates of the Empire and the *Hanſe* Towns. Three things that would ſettle his People at home, and ſtrengthen his Intereſt abroad: To which he added the Statute of Succeſſion, the Oath of Supremacy, ſir *William Howard*'s Embaſſy to the Scotch King, the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes, the War in *Ireland* under ſir *William Sheffington*, and a thorow ſearch into the bottom of the Rebellion in the North, by a connivance and delay.

But all his ſervices could not quit him from ſuſpicion, nor his popularity from envy: The Lord *Darcy* accuſeth him to excuſe himſelf, and *Cromwel* ſeconds him to ſecure himſelf: and (as unhappineſſes follow one another in the ſame order as one wave floweth after another) his Nieces miſcarriages threatened

threatned his fall; but that the honeſt man (as appears from a Letter the whole Council ſent to ſir *William Paget* then reſident in *France*) was the firſt that declared againſt her, and put the King upon the moſt ſafe and honourable ways of trying her; which ſatisfied his Majeſty ſo far, that he employed him as chief in the Treaty upon the Borders, and General in the War when that Treaty failed; Sir *Anthony Brown*, upon his Recommendation, being added to the Commiſſioners in *Scotland*, and to the Privy-Council in *England*, as Maſter of the Kings Horſe, as Sir *John Gages* was Comptroller of his Houſe. *Henry* 8.

Several Perſons came to *London* for a Reward of their Scotch ſervices; this Duke gave the King a wary and grave counſel, to beſtow upon them as much Land as they could win in *Scotland*.

But Greatneſs is fatal: The King is old and teſty, the Government diſordered and irregular, the Duke too ſtiffly honeſt to comply, the Council envy him; and in this Juncture his Wives paſſion diſcovereth his Minions, and they, to ſave themſelves, his privacies and ſecrets: His ſon, a man of a deep underſtanding, of a ſharp wit and great valour, bred up with *Henry-Fitzroy* at *Windſor*, and afterwards at *Paris*, was beheaded before his face. His Favourite Mrs. *Holland* depoſed, That he ſaid many looked for the Protectorſhip (when the King, who lived and moved by Engines and Art, rather then by Nature, ſhould die) but he would carry it: That the King did not love him becauſe he was loved by his Country; but he would follow his Fathers Leſſon, which was, *That the leſs others ſet by him, the more he would ſet by himſelf*: That he had a Daughter for the King

Henry 8. as well as others, *&c.* His Estate was great, his power greater; the Kings occasions had swallowed up the one, and his Enemies ambition the other, notwithstanding his humble submission before the Council, and his many services to the King; had not his Majesties death saved his Life.

As the deepest Hate is that which springs from violent Love, so the greatest Discourtesies oft arise from the largest Favours. It is indiscreet to oppress any, dangerous a Prince with Kindenesses; which being Fetters, are Treason on that Person: But Suspicion! Ah sad Suspicion! The Companion of the Weak or Guilty! The Cloud of the Minde! The Forfeiture of Friends! The check of Business! Thou that disposest Kings to Tyranny! Husbands to Jealousie! Wise men to Irresolution and Melancholy! Trust, and you need never suspect: But Policy and Friendship are incompatible, I see; where *Norfolk* begs that Life from the Block at last, which he had ventured two and thirty times for his Soveraign. Who knows the Cares that go to Bed with Statesmen! Enemies Abroad, Treacheries at Home, Emulations of Neighbours, Dissatisfaction of Friends; Jealousies of most, Fear of all: unwelcome Inventions to palliate unjust Courses: fears of Miscarriage and Disgrace; with Projects of Honour and Plausibility, with restless thoughts how to discover, prevent, conceal, accommodate the Adversaries, or his own Affairs. Let us live, and love, and say, *God help poor Kings!*

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Stanley.

THe *Stanley*'s ſervice to *Henry* the ſeventh, was a ſufficient pledge of their faithfulneſs to *Henry* the eighth. Honour floated in Sir *Edward*'s blood, and Valour danced in his ſpirits: His ſtirring childhood brought him to *Henry* the eighth's company, and his active manhood to his ſervice. The Camp was his School, and his Learning was a Pike and Sword; therefore his Maſters Greeting to him was when they met, *Hob, my Souldier!* In many places did he ſhew himſelf, but no where more then at *Flodden*, where his Archers fetched down the Scots from their faſtneſs, and relieved the Engliſh from their diſtreſs; the Earl of *Surrey* beginning the Conqueſt, and Sir *Edward* crowning it: for which the King immediately ſet him high in his favour, and not long after, as high in the world, being made Baron *Stanley*, and Lord *Mounteagle*. Twice did he and Sir *John Wallop* land with onely 800 men in the heart of *France*, and four times did he and Sir *Tho. Lovell* ſave *Callis*; the firſt time, by intelligence; the ſecond, by a ſtratagem; the third, by valour and reſolution; and the fourth, by hardſhip, patience and induſtry.

In the dangerous inſurrection by *Aſhe* and Captain *Cobler*, his Zeal for the States welfare was above ſcruples, and his Army was with him before his Commiſſion: for which dangerous piece of

Henry 8. Loyalty, he asked pardon, and received thanks. Two things he did towards the diſcomfiture of the Rebels, (whoſe skill in Arms exceeded his Followers, as much as his policy did their Leaders) firſt, he cut off their proviſions, and then ſecondly, ſowed ſedition among them, whilſt his Majeſty gained time by pretended Treaties to be even with them, drawing off the moſt eminent of the factions every day, and confounding the reſt.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bolen.

THE City enriched this Family, their Parts raiſed them: His Activity was as taking with King *Henry*, as his Daughters Beauty. He was the Picklock of Princes: upon his word onely would the King model his Deſignes, and upon his alter them. He diſcovered *Ferdinand*'s underhand-treaty with *Lewis*, and his Deſigne upon *Navarre*; and writ to his Maſter to preſs the ambiguous man to a concluſion, and to ſend over ſome treaſure: *for*, ſaid he, *the whole World is now to be ſold*; adding, the neceſſity of a peace, or at leaſt a truce with *Scotland*. Sir *Tho. Bolen* was againſt the Kings going to *France* in perſon before he had ſome more iſſue, or **Edmund de la Pool* were diſpatched out of the way. Sir *Tho. Howard* was for it, it being dangerous to entruſt ſo Noble an Army, or ſo renowned an Action with any ſubject, eſpecially when *Maximilian* the Emperour offered to ſerve under his Majeſty as Lieutenant, and the

* *One of the houſe of* York.

the Pope to attend him as Chaplain. There is nothing more remarkable of Sir *Thomas Bolen*, then, 1. The Education of his Children; his eldeſt ſon being bred at the Emperours Court, his youngeſt with the Pope at *Rome*, and his Daughter with Q. *Mary* in *France*. 2. His Negotiation with the Lord *St. Johns* in *Germany*, where he over-reached the Emperour no leſs then the Earl of *Worceſter* did the *French* King: ſo cunningly binding him, that he underſtood nothing of our Affairs; and yet ſo narrowly ſifting him, that we knew all his Intrigues. Viſible was all the world to our State then, and inviſible our State to all the world. *Henry* 8.

From *Germany* he is ſent with *Richard Sampſon*, D. H. to *Spain*, to ſet *Charles* as forward againſt the *French*, as he had done *Maximilian*. His ſervice advanced him to the honour of a Barony and a * Viſcountſhip, and the profit of the Treaſureſhip of the Houſhold; and his ſucceſs upon the Malecontent Duke of *Bourbon* by Sir *Jo. Ruſſel*, who treated with him in Diſguiſe, ſet him as high in the Kings favour, as his Wife was; a vertuous Lady, that was the Kings Friend, but not his Miſtreſs; his *delight*, and not his *ſin*.

* *He is made Viſcount* Rochford.

In *Spain* ſo earneſtly did our Sir *Thomas* mediate for the delivering up of the *French* Hoſtages, that (as *Sandoval* ſaith) *Charles proteſted to him, that for his ſake onely he would relinquiſh his Demand for the reſtitution of* Burgundy, *in which the difficulty of the peace conſiſted:* adding further, *That for the ſame reaſon he would accept as well for* Francis *his two ſons ranſome, as his charge*, what was freely offered, *viz.* 2000000 Crowns: and he with Sir *Robert Poyntz* make up that treaty, the great Arbitra-

Henry 8. tors of *Europe!* at whose disposal Kings set their Crowns, and Kingdomes their Peace; in whose breast sate the fate of *Christendome*, by their voices to stand or fall.

As faithful is he to the King at home, though to his own prejudice, as he is serviceable abroad, to his honour: for when the people talked oddly out of envy to his Daughter, (now visibly in favour) and pity to Queen *Katharine*, Sir *Thomas* adviseth his Majesty to forbid his Daughter the Court, and declare that those proceedings were more to satisfie his Conscience, and secure Succession, then to gratifie any other more private respect: so far to his Daughters discontent, that she would not come near the King until her Father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither; who by representing the common danger to them both, obtained at length (saith my Lord *Herbert*) though not without much difficulty, the consent of his unwilling Daughter to return: where yet she kept that distance, that the King might easily perceive how sensible she was of her late dismission. Sir *Thomas* would have married her to the Lord *Percy*, but the King and Cardinal forbad it; deterring old *Northumberland* from it, and he his son. Many Love-Letters between King *Henry* and *Anne Bolen* are sent to *Rome*: one Letter between the Cardinal and his Confederates is fetched thence by Sir *Thomas* his Dexterity; who advised Sir *Francis Bryan*, then Resident, to get in with the Popes Closet-keepers Courtezan, and shew her the Cardinals hand, by which she might finde out and copy his Expresses; as she did to his ruine, and our Kings great satisfaction. To which Letter is annexed a Decla-

Declaration under his hand, and the Lords *Darcy*, *Mountjoy*, *Dorſet* and *Norfolk*, of 44 Articles againſt the great Cardinal. His hand being now in, he muſt *through*: He adviſeth the King to conſult the Univerſities of *Chriſtendome*: He goeth in perſon when made Earl of *Wiltſhire* to the Pope, and contrives that a Declaration of the whole Kingdome in Parliament ſhould follow him: which ſo amuſed his Holineſs with our Earls ſtratagems, that he was aſleep as it were until the ſtate of *England* was quite altered. To this he addes, the peace with *France*, and the interview with King *Francis*, where his Daughter is married privately, and her Brother made Viſcount *Rochford*. Convening a Parliament to his mind at *Black-fryers*, and advancing an Archbiſhop to his purpoſe in *Canterbury*, he is ſecure of the Church and of the Kingdom; whereof the firſt hallowed the action, and the ſecond confirmed it. Henry 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Howard.

HE ſet out with his Fathers Reputation, and came home with his own: *Britain* feels his Arm to this day, and the *French* his ſucceſs. Deſperate were his Undertakings, yet happy; raſh his Engagements, yet honourable: it being his Maxime, *That never did Sea-man good, that was not reſolute to a degree of madneſs.* The French Fleet he purſueth to the Haven under their own Forts cloſely. Sir *Edward* conſidering the order wherein the French lay, thought fit to advertiſe his

Henry 8. his King and Maſter thereof; adviſing him withal, (ſaith my Author) to come in perſon, and have the glory of this Action: but the Kings Council taking this Meſſage into conſideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether fear, (as was thought) but ſtratagem and cunning that made the French thus attend their advantage, thought the King was not invited ſo much to the honour, as to the danger of this Action; therefore they write ſharply to him again, commanding him to do his duty: whereof that brave perſon was ſo ſenſible, that he landed 1500 men in the ſight of 10000, and waſted the Country, until being too confident, he fell a while after into his enemies hands; the Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Cornwal*, and Sir *John Wallop* looking on, but not able to relieve him. Four Reaſons he would uſually give againſt a War with the Low-Countries: 1. The decay of Trade. 2. The diminution of Cuſtomes: 3. The ſtrengthening of *France*: 4. The loſs of their induſtry and inventions, and ſo of the improvement of our Commodities and Manufactures. In the youth of this State, as of all others, Arms did flouriſh; in the Middle-age of it, Learning; and in the Declining, (as Covetouſneſs and Thrift attend Old Age) Mechanick Arts and Merchandize: and this Gentleman was made for each part, being not ſo much a Souldier as a Scholar, nor ſo much a Scholar as a Merchant. But a private ſpirit is moſt unfortunate; and (as my Oracle aſſures me) *where men of that temper all their time ſacrifice to themſelves, they become in the end themſelves ſacrifices to fortune, whoſe wings they thought by their wiſdome to have pinioned.*

Obſer-

Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Howard *Earl of* Surrey.

SIr *Thomas Howard* was this Kings prime Counsellour; a brave and an understanding man: who was obliged to be faithful to his Master, because an Enemy to *Winchester:* (emulation among Favourites is the security of Princes.)

Four motives he offered for a Marriage with the Princess *Katharine:*

1. A League with *Spain*, against the growing power of our dangerous Neighbour *France.*

2. The saving of much time and expence in Marriage, by her being here.

3. The consideration of that vast sum of Money that must be exported if she goeth away. And

4. The great Obligation laid on the Pope by that Dispensation, which would secure to him the King and his Posterity, not otherwise Legitimate but by his Authority.

His Estate was much wasted in the service of *Henry* the seventh, and as much improved by the treasures of *Henry* the eighth, which amounted in the beginning of his Reign to 11800000 *l. i. e.* at the rate of money now adays, six millions and an half; which he dispensed so thriftily, that old *Winchester* could not trapan him; and yet so nobly, that young *Henry* was pleased with him. Sir *William Compton* set up the Kings * Rich Life-guards, (under *Bourchier* Earl of *Essex* as Captain, and the valiant Sir *Jo. Peachy* who kept *Calais* in so good order

* *They were so, with an Archer, a Demilance and a Constillier a-piece: They and their horses being vested in Cloth of Gold.*

Henry 8. der with 300 men, as Lieutenant) but this wary Earl put them down again. When News was brought that *Empſon* and *Dudley* were ſlain, it was this Earls opinion that his Majeſty had done more like a good King then a good Maſter. When the narrow Seas (whereof the Kings of *England* have been very tender) were infeſted, this old Treaſurer and Earl-Marſhal cleared it by his two ſons *Edward* and *Thomas*, ſaying, *The King of* England *ſhould not be impriſoned in his Kingdome, while either he had an Eſtate to ſet up a Ship, or a ſon to command it.* In three weeks did he ſettle the *North* againſt the Invaſions of *James* the fourth, now inclining to the French; and in a fortnight did he raiſe 40000 *l.* to pay the Army, now ready to mutiny: inſomuch that when King *James* denounced War againſt King *Henry*, he ſaid, He had an Earl in the *North* that would ſecure his Kingdome; as he did with much reſolution, prudence and ſucceſs at *Flodden-Field*, where he ſaw a King at his feet, and a whole Kingdome at his mercy; where he was forced to fight ſo barren the Country! where yet he pitched upon the moſt advantagious place and time; ſo great his Command of himſelf, and ſo noble his Conduct!

He ſends *Rouge Croix* to the Scotch King, to tell him, *That though he ſaw no Enemy at Sea, he hoped to finde ſome upon the Land: That he came to juſtifie* Bretons *death, which it was as much below a King to revenge, as it was below a Privy Counſellour to have deſerved: That he* expected *as little mercy as he intended; his ſword being commiſſioned to ſpare none but the King, whom no hand muſt touch.* To this Defiance, he added a Caution to the Herauld, *That he*

he ſhould bring no meſſenger from the Enemy nearer then two miles of the Camp. So well were the Scots incamped, that when neither Arguments nor Stratagems would draw them out, the Earl cuts off their proviſion there; and under the covert of a ſmoak got the Earl under the hill, and under another of miſt got they atop: The *Scots* played the *men*, until *Stanley* and *Darcy* did *more* then *men*: and the old mans Reſerve concluded the doubtful day in ſo compleat a Conqueſt, as brought 12000 Arms, 16 Cannons, 4000 Priſoners, and a Peace to the Engliſh Borders. Upon which, the General retires to thoſe more neceſſary exerciſes of Juſtice and Government, until his Maſters return: When all his Services advanced him (at that time, when it was a Maxime of State, *That Honours are the Luſtre and Security of Crowns*) to his Fathers Dukedom of *Norfolk*, as his Sons Merits promoted him to his of the Earldom of *Surrey*. Henry 8.

The Kings Coffers decay, and his Occaſions grow: The old man retires to his Country-houſe, having enjoyed his Honour *Thirty* years, to enjoy Himſelf *Three*: One of his laſt Undertakings being the appeaſing of the *London*-Tumult, *May* 1. 1517. when he left this behind him, *A potent and wanton City, is a ſhrewd Enemy.*

Obſerva-

Observations on the Life of Sir William Compton.

HE was chief Gentleman of the Bedchamber to *Henry* the Eighth, and next to the chief in the affections of the ſame Prince: If his ſpirit had been as even with his favour, as his favour was with his Merits, he had been the moſt uſeful as well as the moſt eminent man in *England*: but he was too narrow for his Fortune, and more attentive to his private advantage, then to the publick affairs: This Saying is at once his Hiſtory and Monument; *Kings muſt hear all, but believe onely one: for none can give a ſolid advice but he that knoweth all, and he muſt not be every body.* As to the affairs of *Europe*, Sir *William* was cleerly for the League againſt *France*, as an opportunity to regain our Right in *France*, and ſtrengthen our Intereſt in the Church and the Empire. My Lord *Darcy* was againſt it; becauſe *France* was too hard for us before it ſwallowed up our *a* Confederates, and much more ſince: adviſing ſome more noble attempts for our juſt Empire upon the *Indies*. The young King is for a War with *France*, as an Engagement upon the Pope to advance *England* above all other Kingdoms; and declares himſelf as much Sir *William*'s in opinion as he was his in affection.

* *Of* Bretany *and* Normandy

This Gentleman had a deep inſight in any thing he undertook, becauſe he had a great patience to conſider, an advantageous ſlowneſs to recollect, a ſtrong memory to graſp, and an indifferent temper to

to judge: but when a matter exceeded his capacity, or out-reached his ſphere and orb, he had either a peremptory and great word to urge it, or a ſleight to wave it, or a ſubtlety to perplex it, (that his amazed fellow-Commiſſioners ſhould as little underſtand it) or a countenance and geſture to overbear it. However, in general he was cloſe and reſerved, (he had need go ſoftly that cannot well ſee) leaving himſelf without obſervation or hold to be taken what he was. He ſtudied the Kings nature, rather then his buſineſs; and humoured rather then adviſed him. The referring of all to a man, becomes a Prince, whoſe ſelf is not himſelf, but the community, (their good and evil being (as my Lord *Bacon* writes) at the peril of a publick fortune) but not a ſubject, whoſe private advantage may be a publick ruine; not a Favourite, whoſe benefit by that ſelfiſhneſs may be narrow as his own Fortune, but the hurt done by it is as large as his Maſters, who muſt needs be undone, when his ſervants ſtudy to *pleaſe Him*, and to *profit Themſelves*. *Henry* 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Marney.

SIr *Henry Marney* was one of young *Henry*'s firſt Council, who loved his Perſon well, and his Proſperity better; and impartially adviſed him for his good, and modeſtly conteſted with him againſt his harm; that Council that was hand as well as head, and could perform as well as adviſe: This was the ſearching Judgement that diſcovered

Buonviſo

Henry 8. *Buonviso* the *Lucchese* his Letters to the French King, betraying our designs as soon as thought on, and instructing him for prevention, before our King was ready for the attempt. Industry and Thrift over-rules Princes: This Personage had no time to transcribe Intelligence, but what he borrowed from his sleep; nor money to buy it, but what he saved out of his allowance: yet he understood more then any one Prince in *Europe*, and was more consulted then any one Statesman. His Judgement was much valued, his Integrity more; ever offering what was solidly safe, rather then what was superficially plausible: as one who was a stranger to the wisdom of the latter Age, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* describes it) which is rather *fine Deliveries* and shifts from Inconveniences, then solid and grounded courses for advantage. His foresight was large, and his spirit larger: he considered all Circumstances that occurred to him; judged what he considered, and spoke what he judged with that resolution as to his opinion, that argued he understood the matter in question; with that modesty as to his Superiours, that shewed he understood himself.

Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Poynings.

SIr *Edward Poynings* was the third of eighteen Counsellours bequeathed by *Henry* the VII. to his Son, with his Kingdom; a Privy Council wherein there was not one Lawyer! and a Cabal that never condescended for advice to any below

below themſelves, or for performance of any of their Decrees to any beſides themſelves; being a compleat Body of active and knowing men in their own Orb. Who more prudent then *Surrey?* who more reſolved then *Poynings?* whoſe Vigilancy made him Maſter of the *Cinque Ports*, as his Valour advanced him General of the *Low-Countrey* Forces, whom he led on to ſeveral ſervices with ſucceſs, and brought off (with the loſs of not above an hundred men) with Honour from the Lady *Margaret*, and Applauſe from the whole Countrey. *Henry* 8.

No leſs happy was he in his Government of *Tournay*, until the Council at home (now grown thin by the ſeceſſion of *Warham*, *Fox* and *Norfolk*) had more need of him then Gariſons abroad: Vainly is that ſpirit penned within a City, that was equal to a Kingdom. It is the unhappineſs of other Monarchies, that they have not Men anſwerable to their Employments; it was the unhappineſs of this, that it had not Employment ſuitable to its Men.

He liv'd and di'd in Arms: *Bulloign* ſaw him firſt a Souldier, and *Bulloign* ſaw him laſt the beſt Camp-Maſter in all *Chriſtendom*: always obſerving three things:

1. The *Situation* of his Camp, to *ſecure* his Army.

2. The *Accommodation* of it, to *ſupply* it.

3. His Retreat, to draw off: the Avenues, to be guarded with Souldiers, and ſtrengthened with Redoubts; which he made Triangular, that more men might engage the Enemy at once; during erection whereof, the Army was palliſado'd in the Front with ſtakes headed with iron on both Ends five foot long, and ſtuck ſlope-wiſe into the ground,

Henry 8 to keep off both Horſe and Foot: the Foot-Sentinels were without the Redoubts, the Horſe-Guards beyond them, at diſtance enough to deſcry the Enemy, and not too much, to retire to their works. A ſerious and plodding brow beſpoke this Noble Knights deep Prudence, and a ſmart look his reſolved Valour.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Charles Somerſet.

SIr *Charles Somerſet*, afterward Lord *Herbert* of *Gower*, &c. endeared himſelf to King *Henry* as much for his Maxime, *That Reaſon of State was Reaſon of Law*; as for his Advice, *That the King ſhould never ſtick at Law, in caſe of Publique Good; and yet that all his Acts for publique Good ſhould come as near as poſſible to the Law.* So Popular was this Gentleman, that he received all the Petitions againſt *Empſon* and *Dudley*; yet ſo loyal that he adviſed his Maſter neither to ſpare thoſe Leeches, leſt any ſhould preſume to alienate his Peoples affections from him by Extortions for the future; nor yet too ſeverely to puniſh them, leſt any ſhould be diſcouraged to ſerve the Crown for the preſent: (for indeed *Empſon* and *Dudley* ſuffered for that which others were advanced for: the Parliament puniſhed them for putting their Laws in execution, and the King deſerted them for improving his Exchequer to a Treaſury.)

Two things this Lord adviſed his Maſter to, before he put the Crown upon his head.

1. To

1. To redreſs the Peoples Grievances under his Father. *Henry* 8.

2. To marry not in *France*, where he had a Title: A Kingdom ſo near us, that by reaſon of mutual jealouſies we may have peace with it ſometimes, but Friendſhip never.

In the Houſhold he was Lord Chamberlain, ſo diſcreet his Carriage! In the French Expedition, *Anno* 1513. he was General, ſo noble his Conduct! His Aſſiſtants were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent* and *Wiltſhire*; his Followers, the Lord *Audley*, *De la Ware*, a *Carew* and *Curſon*, &c. a *Maſter of the Ordnance, who was killed the firſt night before* Therouene. *Therouene* he beſiegeth in good Order, and with *Wolſey*'s advice, who had lived long in that Town; underſtands all the Avenues of it; and with Sir *Oughtred*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Alexander Baynam*'s aſſiſtance, ſprung ſeveral Mines, repulſed the French Relief and the City-Aſſailants, ſo that the Town was yeilded *Auguſt* 22. 1513. and upon *Maximilian*'s Intreaty razed, as he did *Tournay*, *September* 22. *Herbert* was for razing this place, as farther from us than *Therouene*; but *Wolſey* for the Biſhopricks ſake, is for the gariſoning of it, as a Trophy. The King recollecting his former occaſions, *Febr.* 3. 1514. thought he could not do a more juſt or a more prudent Act, then recompence his Noble Servants (but the cheapeſt way, I mean that of Honour) as he did old *Somerſet* with the Earldom of *Worceſter*.

With this Honour at home, is joyned another abroad, *viz.* That of Embaſſie to *Maximilian*, where he reached that *Germans* depths, and clearly demonſtrated that thoſe fond and impoſſible Offers of

Henry 8 the Empire, were but Artifices rather then Kindneſſes; to drain the Kings Treaſure, rather than enlarge his Dominions: Adviſing him to raiſe a Citadel at *Tournay*, and an Army in *Normandy*: He finiſhed the Eſpouſals between the Princeſs *Mary* and the *Dolphin*; and delivered *Tournay*, by the ſame token that he would not let the *Mareſchal de Chaſtilion* to enter with Banner diſplayed, but rolled up, it being (as he ſaid, who when Lord *Herbert* was at the taking of it) voluntarily yeilded up, and not gotten by Conqueſt: and then beſtowed himſelf with Sir *Richard Wingfield* for the great enterview between King *Francis* and King *Henry*; an interview I know not whether more ſolemn or more dangerous: Kings cannot meet without great ſtate, and they ſeldom part without much envy; who never are further aſunder, then when they *meet*. His moſt eminent Action here, was the Device of that Motto, *Cui adhæreo præeſt*; a Motto that ſpeaks the Honour of *England*, and the Intereſt of *Europe*.

Obſervations on the Life of Thomas Grey *Marqueſs of* Dorſet.

THE Kings Wars called for Souldiers, and his Peace for Stateſmen; and here is a Perſon *ex utroque magnus*: When the whole deſign for the Invaſion of *France* was ripened, this Marqueſs is made General, and attended by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lords *Brook*, *Willoughby* and *Ferrers*, with divers Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the number of ten thouſand men, armed not

not onely with Bows but Halberts: He diſtreſſeth *Navar* to a ſubmiſſion to his Maſter; forceth his way to *Bayon*, and with Sir *John Styles* aſſiſtance, kept up the Engliſh Honour above that of *France* and the Empire, keeping cloſe to his Commiſſion, and not ſtirring a foot without expreſs Orders from *Ireland:* although his preſence countenanced ſome actions his hands could not perform. *Henry* 8.

Three things he was very careful of:

1. Of Good pay, leſt his Souldiers mutined.
2. Of Good Diet and Quarters, leſt they failed.
3. Of Order, Diſcipline and Temperance, eſpecially in ſtrange Climates, leſt they ſhould be diſtempered.

Two things he was unſucceſsful for:

1. The narrowneſs of his Commiſſion.
2. The reach of *Ferdinand*, who deſigned the conqueſt of *Navar*, rather than of *France*.

Yet what reputation he loſt by Land, Sir *Edward Howard* gained by Sea, commanding the French ſhips to their Harbours: over-running *Britaign*, and with Sir *Tho. Knevet* the Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *Jo. Carew* and Sir *Henry Guilford*'s aſſiſtance, gave Law in the *Mediterranean*, until he awed the Neighbour-Princes to terms as honourable for his Maſter, as diſhonourable for themſelves: now we finde him valiant in earneſt at Sea, anon ſo in jeſt at Court (at the ſolemn Juſts proclaimed by *Francis de Valois*, Duke of *Angouleſm* in *France*) his Nature being not ſtinted, but equally free to debonair and ſerious Enterprizes of *Pleaſure* or of *Honour*; where ſix Germans were at his mercy, and four Frenchmen at his feet. His ſpirit equalled thoſe active times, and his temper his ſpirit.

Henry 8. Three things ſet him up:

1. His large expences for ſhew at Court.
2. His ſtrength and manhood at Juſts.
3. His skill and experience in the Field.

He was the beſt for embattelling an Army in thoſe times: obſerving,

1. The number, ſtrength and experience of his Camp.

2. The nature and extent of the place, whether champaign or incloſed, hilly or plain, wooddy or mooriſh, ſtraight or large; that he might accordingly diſpoſe of diſtances and ſtands.

3. Incloſures he aimed at for his Foot, and Champaign for his Horſe, together with the advantages of winde and ſun.

4. He impales the Flank and Reer with Muskets, Pikes and Carriages.

5. His Diviſions were ſundry, but well ordered to relieve one another: His main Battels three: the largeſt in the front, the next in the middle, with ſome ſpaces between for the firſt to rally it ſelf, or embody with the ſecond; the third and ſtrongeſt in the Rear, ſo divided that the two firſt Battels may retreat into it, and draw up in its Rear, to watch the Enemies diſorder in purſuit.

It's obſerved of the Turks, that they never put their *Janizaries* (their beſt Souldiers) in the Front, but make uſe of them for Reſerves, by which they have been very ſucceſsful; This Noble Marqueſs went not by rote or fore-conceived Rules, but by preſent Prudence, obſerving time, place and perſons; neither would he lie open to an Enemies deſign by a conſtant Method, but alter his Stratagems, and contradict all the Rules of Diſcipline, to

diſor-

diſorder the Enemy, and diſappoint his expecta- *Henry* 8.
tion.

He hath ſometimes compounded the wings of his Battel of the ableſt men, and the Battel it ſelf of the meaneſt; ordering them, if over-powered, to make their retreat to the Rear of the other Diviſions, through the ſpaces appointed for that end; which the Enemy perceiving, followeth (not ſmelling the drift) not without diſorder, (as in all purſuits) between the two ſtrong wings, who cruſh them in pieces: his field-Pieces after once or twice diſcharging, were drawn within the Diviſions of the main Battel, to fire the Enemy at his next approaches, if the front were diſordered: and to avoid the execution of his Enemies, his files were thin, and his Dragoons ready to ſeize theirs, whereby at leaſt they were hindered from ſhooting; his Forlorn retired to the main Battel, and out of the Flanks thereof iſſued with Fire-pots and Granadoes upon the engaged Enemy.

His Horſe were in four Battalia's, whereof the firſt was the greateſt, lined with ſhot, placed on each wing of the main Army; always opening upon the opening of the Enemy.

The greateſt truſt between man and man, is the truſt of giving Counſel: *For in other confidences* (ſaith my Lord *Bacon*) *men commit the parts of life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, ſome particular affair; but to ſuch as they make their Counſellours, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are obliged to faithfulneſs and integrity.* None was more truſted then the Marqueſs, none more truſty: none underſtood clearer what was fit, none ſpoke plainer what he underſtood. *What wants*

Henry 8. *a Soveraign?* (said a flattering Courtier:) *Truth*; (said a serious King.) Never had King more need of it then *Henry*, never less of it then he; whom it was less fatal to Ruine, then to Displease. But this Souldier was as much above Fear as Flattery, that told him when pensive, *That never was that man merry, that had more then one Woman in his Bed, more then one Friend in his Bosom, more then one Faith in his Heart.*

So wary was this Gentleman, that he was not rash, and so lost his advantage: so valiant, that he was not contemptible, and so lost his command: He led others by the strongest authority of his own forwardness, his own Example; he was led himself by the best Guide, his own Observation, his own Experience: His Book limited not his Design, nor his Paper-plot his Undertakings.

Land-service was his Exercise, but the Sea his Delight: the Compass his Study, the Stars his Care, Trade his Thoughts, our own and forreign Havens his Discourse, a Sea-man his Familiar, and three Sea-fights his Triumph: His converse and speech was Souldier-like, plain, short, smart and material: there was a time when he would say nothing, and a time when he would say something; but never a time when he would say all.

He was, in a word, the happy man, who notwithstanding that the times could not endure his Vertues, nor he their Vices, died at once full of honour at Court, and applause in the Country, with this Monument from the King, *That Honest and Good Man.*

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Robert Wingfield.

HIs Parts and Perſon endeared him to the Engliſh Court, his Travel and Experience recommended him to Forreign Negotiations; particularly in the Emperour *Maximilians* Court, whom his arguments and his own Intereſt drew off from *Franee*; Sir *Robert* helping him to ſome Obſervations touching the breach of the Articles of *Cambray*, as his pretence to this alteration, and offering him what men and money he pleaſed, as his encouragement to this undertaking: ſending in the mean time one *Nicholas Weſt*, D. L. and Dean of *Windſor*, to feel the Pulſe of all the Princes in *Chriſtendom*; and adviſing, upon an intire reflection on their ſeveral Intereſts, the repair of our frontier Towns and Forts, an Army ready in the North, and a conſtant Parliament. He is Deputy of *Calice*, and Viceroy of *France*: What the French loſt in the Field, they got by Treaty, until Sir *Richard*'s time, whoſe Policy went as far as his Maſters Power, in that Accord, *Which tied up* (they ſaid) *the French Kings hands behinde his back, and the Scotch between his legs.* Yea, he almoſt perſwaded *Maximilian* out of his Empire, 1516. though he wiſhed the King not to accept of it until the French were out of *Italy*. Some do better by Friends or Letters, Sir *Robert* beſt by himſelf; obſerving that he never failed, but when he intruſted others with what he could do himſelf; his perſon breeding regard, and

his

Henry 8. his eye seeing more then any he could employ; and his present minde being more ready in his own affairs upon any alteration to come on, draw back, or otherwise accommodate matters, then any Substitute, who seeth not the bottom of things, nor turn to occasions. He had about him his Blades and Gallants, to expostulate; his Orators and fair spoken men, to perswade; his close and subtle ones, to enquire and observe; his froward men, to perplex; and his plain Agents, to report: Attendants for all services, whose experience made them knowing and confident. Doctor *West*, *Pace*, *Lee* and *Gardener's* way was the Circuit afar off; Sir *Robert's* was the Surprize, quick and nicked: no man observing time more closely; no man watching Natures tempers, interest, advantages and ends, more indefatigably. It was the observation of those days, That Sir *Robert Wingfield* was the best to prepare and ripen Designes, and Sir *Thomas Bolen* to execute them: But that Age was too boysterous, and he too wary to advance beyond the reputation of a knowing Agent, in which capacity he lived; or of a resolved Patriot, with which honour he dieth.

Observations on the Life of Edward Stafford, *Duke of* Buckingham.

HIs Blood was high, his Revenue large; and he was born to *adorn* the Court, rather then to *serve* it. He vied with the King in Gallantry, and with the Cardinal in Pride: of the one he speaks irreverently, *That women govern*

d him more then he did the Kingdome; of the other indiſcreetly, *That* Francis *governed* France, *and* Harry England, and *Wolſey* both; adding, *That the Commonalty might well complain, when we had two Kings to maintain.* That which ruineth the world, ruineth him, his *Tongue.* Fate never undid a man without his own indiſcretion; and her firſt ſtroke is at the *Head.* Abroad, none more Gorgeous; at Home, none more Noble: at Court, ſplendid; among his Tenants, Prince-like; to his Relations, impartial. A Servant always pulled down the houſe of the *Staffords*; and now one *Knevet* his Steward, whom he had diſcharged for oppreſſing his Tenants, undoeth him: for his Father-in-law the Earl of *Northumberland* is ſet under a Cloud, and his Son-in-law the Earl of *Surrey* is removed, on pretence of honourable employment, out of the way; and *Wolſey*'s malice at the Duke hath its full ſcope, who now deals with *Knevets* diſcontent to diſcover his Maſters life, and ſuggeſt that the Duke by way of diſcourſe was wont to ſay how he meant to uſe the matter, that if King *Henry* died without iſſue, he would attain the Crown, and puniſh the Cardinal. *George Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny* his Son-in-law, impeached him, to ſave himſelf. His Title to the Crown was, his Deſcent from *Anne Plantagenet*, Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Son to *Edward* the third. His Accuſation was, *Henry* 8.

1. That he had conferred with a Cunning-Man, (*Hopkins*, Monk of *Henton*) concerning the future ſtate of this Realm; who adviſed him to Popularity: for he ſhould have all, if he had but the love of the People: the Wizard confirming this by Revolutions,

Henry 8. volutions, and the Duke rewarding it with gre encouragements.

2. That he disparaged the present Governme and used Arts to secure the succession.

3. That he had threatned King *Henry* with th same Dagger that should have murthered *Richa* the third.

He denied the Charge very eloquently, and di claimed his Life very rashly; his foolish words, r ther then any designed malice, deserving rather p ty then judgement. Much lamented was he by th People, and as much was the Cardinal maliced, b ing now called by the whole multitude, *The Butch ers Son.* When *Buckingham* fell, three things fe with him:

1. The Splendour of the Court.

2. Hospitality, and good Landlords in the Cou try. And,

3. The High-Constableship of *England.*

All Greatness is subject to Envy; but none mo then that which is insolent and affected, being neve its self without its pomp and shew. Plain and mo dest Greatness is onely safe: A Witch then blasts man when most prosperous, and the Envious (th onely Wizard in the world) when most glorious Wise-men therefore have eclipsed themselves, tha they might not be gazed on; and great Ones have shrunk, and suffered themselves to be over-born to be secure. Vain-glorious men are the scorn o the Wise, the admiration of Fools, the Idols of Pa rasites, and the envy of the Unworthy, the Busie the Unfortunate, the Ambitious, and the Rivals He lives well, that lives in peace; and he is safely great

great, that is great in his *Conſcience*. Anger *Henry* 8.
ſure is but a weakneſs in any man, (it belongeth ſo much to the Aged and the Childiſh) and an indecency in a *Noble-man*: yet it might have been a Gallantry in this Duke, had it not, 1. Revealed ſecrets, and ſo betrayed him; 2. Broke off his Deſignes, and ſo confounded him; And, 3. Spoke bitterly and dangerouſly, and ſo abuſed him. So far will Diſcontent carry Nature, that it eaſily believes what it wiſheth: So much doth a Prophetick Vanity ſway Engliſh-men, (that have the moſt of men of any in the world in Divinations, and an itch to know things to come) that the wittieſt Sir *Thomas More*, the moſt devout Biſhop *Fiſher*, the wiſeſt Cardinal *Wolſey*, and the moſt Noble the Duke of *Buckingham*, have been undone by hearkning after Predictions; the two firſt, of *Elizabeth Barton*; the third, of *John Sacheverel*; and the fourth, Monk *Hopkins*. Always are theſe Divinations (like the Aſtrologers in *Rome*) by ſevere Laws forbidden; yet always are they by vain perſons obtruded. *Many Wives, wo England*, hardned many a Malecontent to his ruine in King *Henry* the eighth's time: *When HEMPE is ſpun, England is done*, encouraged many a Papiſt to his undoing in Queen *Elizabeths* time: *Leo, Nullus*, confirmed many a deluded ſoul to his downfal in our days.

It was as fatal to this great man to truſt his Steward, as his Wizard; the one deluded, the other betrayed him. It undoeth a man to be too cloſe; therefore we have friends to eaſe our ſelves: it ruineth a man to be too open; therefore there is a *ſecret* not to be communicated to a friend. When the Duke of *Buckingham* made *Knevet* his Confeſſour,

Henry 8. four, he made him his Master. He that is Maste
of my *Heart*, is Master of my *Life*: *If my Shir*
said *Metellus*, *knew my minde*, *I would burn it.* I
my Servant or Friend knows my intentions, I mu
either undo him, or be undone by him, unless h
be so much above a man, as not out of weakness t
discover me; or so much above a sinner, as not ou
of corruption to *betray* me. Wild Beasts dwell i
Dens, Fishes bed in Mud, and Birds in Nests, and
Wise Man is wrapped up in secrecy. *Gyges* his Rin
was his wisdome, whereby he understood others
and was reserved himself. It's pity he ever learne
to speak, that knoweth not how to be silent. I
would first be so wise, (saith a Wit and Wisdome o
our Age) *as to be my own counsellour, and next so se*
cret as to be my own counsel-keeper. Some of my ser
vants may be of my Bed-chamber, but none shal
be of my closet. *Before I told you of this*, (saith
Charles the Fifth of a Designe discovered up
on the seventeen Provinces to his Favourite *Le*
nembergh) *I was Emperour, but now you are*
so.

But the heighth of the Dukes spirit was equally
unfortunate with the openness of it; and he fell no
less because he despised *Knevet*, then because he
trusted him.

Contemned Dangers ruine *surely*, while they
surprize us at once naked, and careless; as ill pre
pared to offend the slighted Adversary, as to de
fend our misunderstood Selves. The least Being
have their spleen, and command our caution: No
creature too mean to be *mischievous*; none too in
considerate to be *feared*. As long as Weakness can
cling to Power, and Power to Malice, what *Kne*
vet

yet would, but *could* not, that *Wolsey* could and would. If my Enemy be strong, he shall awe; if weak, he shall guard my Life. Two things are necessary in this Life, Faithful Friends, or Severe Enemies: The fewer of the former men of the Dukes fortune have, the more use they should make of the latter. The greatest Enemy when observed, may do me a great kindness; the least neglected, can do no little mischief: Security is the onely misfortune, and Carelessness the onely fate that distresseth the World. *Henry* 8.

But the Duke threw away his life in a fatal word that could not be recalled, *(I'll not ask the King for my Life.)* Great need have we to guard that Tongue, whence flow the issues of Life and Death; and weigh those words that go abroad for the measure of our Weal or Wo; our words being given us to treat with the World about either, discreetly to our happiness, or weakly to our ruine. It hath repented men that they have spoken at all times; it repented none to have been silent in King *Henry*'s, when there was no security but to the *Reserved*, and the *Pliable*.

Observations

Observations on the Life of Sir Anthony Brown.

HE was always one of the Councel to King *Henry* at home, and of his Commissioners abroad: no Treaty passing without his presence, no Negotiation without his advice; the first carrying as much Majesty with it, as the second did Authority: the Court having bred the one to a noble Mein, as Experience had done the other to an Oracle; Experience, I say, whereby he saw more, as *Alexander* boasted, with his eye, then others comprehended in their thoughts; that being knowledge in him, that was but conjecture in others.

He was the best Compound in the World; a *learned*, an *honest*, and a *travelled* man; a good Nature, a large Soul, and a settled Minde, made up of Notes and Observations upon the most material points of State he could learn at Courts; of Religion, among the Clergy; of Discipline, among Souldiers; of Trade, among Merchants; or of the situation, interest, avenues and strong holds, by his own eyes. *It's a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the sea; it's pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battel, with the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the Vantground of Truth: (An Hill* (saith my Noble Author) *not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene;) and to see the Errors and Wandrings, the Mists and Tempests in the Vale below:* That content is better felt then ex-

expreſſed that this Noble Perſon took in his own clear thoughts, when it was Miſt all round about him; and King *Henry* cried, *What ſay* Cromwel *and* Brown? *Henry* 8.

Veſpaſian asked *Apollonius*, *what was* Nero's *overthrow?* and he anſwered him, *Nero could tune the Harp well; but in Government ſometimes he wound the pins too high, and ſometimes he let them down too low.* Sir *Anthony* told *Henry* the Eighth, *That his Government had been more eaſie, if he had either ſet it not ſo looſe at firſt, or not ſo ſtrict at laſt:* (as there was indeed no King ſo various as his Maſter, no State ſo changeable as his Government.) An even temper begets aw and reverence; whilſt the wide extreams create either on the one hand contempt and inſolence, or on the other diſcontent and murmuring. Haughty and violent Courts never bleſs the Owners with a ſettled Peace.

This deep man was Leiger in *Rome* ſix years, and Agent in *France* ten: A Perſon of great diſpatch, becauſe of an orderly method and procedure; which he obſerved to a ſuperſtition, ſaying, *Time and Method are my Maſters. There are* (ſaith my Oracle) *three parts of buſineſs; Preparation, Debate and Perfection:* The middle King *Henry* communicated to the whole Council, the firſt and laſt to few, *viz.* to my Lord *Cromwel* and Sir *Anthony Brown.*

The higheſt matters were his care; as the *Interview* in *France*, 1533. the moſt eminent Stateſmen his fellows, as the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Lord *Rochfort* and the Lord *Paulet*; thoſe Noble Perſons bearing the ſtate, and he managing the buſineſs of the Embaſſies.

The wiſe man of *Florence* took care that *Ferdi-*

Henry 8. nando of Naples, Medices of Florence, Sforza of Millain should gain nothing of one another, to the great security of *Italy*: Sir *Anthony* watched our Neighbours Conquests, Trade, Approaches, &c. so closely, that none of those Potentates, *Charles* the Fifth or King *Francis*, could win a spot of Ground, but his Master would balance it, and so secure *Europe*.

The Interviews between Princes he disallowed; yet to satisfie his Master, he provided for that in *France* so sumptuously, as one that understood the formality of a Pageant was a real advantage to a Government whose Interest is as much to gain a reputation by pomp and shew, as support a welfare by prudence and strength: others apprehension of our greatness, contributing as much to our welfare, as our welfare it self: Opinion governs the World: Princes *with* their Majesty, may be oft envied and hated; *without* it, they are always scorned and contemned: Circumstances are often more then the main, and shadows are not always shadows: Outward Esteem to a great Person, is as skin to Fruit, which though a thin cover, preserveth it: King *Henry*'s Person and State did *England* more Right in a *Year*, then his Predecessors Arms in an *Age*; while they onely impressed a *resolution* in the Neighbours, he a *reverence*.

As Princes govern the People, so Reason of State the Princes: *Spain* at that time would command the Sea, to keep us from the *Indies*; and our Religion, to keep us from a Settlement: *France* suspected our Neighbourhood, and engaged *Scotland*; the Pope undermined our Designs, and obliged the French. Sir *Anthony* at *Rome*, in respectful terms,

terms, and under Proteſtation that his Majeſty in- *Henry* 8.
tended no contempt of the See Apoſtolick, or Holy Church, intimated his Maſters Appeal to the next General Council lawfully aſſembled; exhibiting alſo the Authentick Inſtruments of the ſame, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s at the Conſiſtory, where, though the Pope made forty French Cardinals, yet our Agent and his money made twelve Engliſh, and taught *Francis* to aſſume the power of diſpoſing Monaſteries and Benefices, as King *Henry* had done; adviſing him to inform his Subjects clearly of his proceedings, and unite with the Princes of the Reformation, taking his Parliament and People along with him, and by their advice cutting off the Appeals *to* and Revenues *of Rome*, by viſitations, *&c.* with a *Præmunire*, together with the Oath of Supremacy, and the publication of the prohibited Degrees of Marriage: He added in his Expreſſes, *That his Majeſty ſhould by diſguiſed Envoys divide between the Princes and the Empire.*

The next fight we have of him is in *Scotland*; the French Kings paſſage to *England*, (as he calls it:) Where in joynt Commiſſion with the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Durham*, he with his variety of Inſtructions gained time until the French King was embroyled at home, the ſeaſon of Action was over there, and the Duke of *Norfolk* ready to force that with a War, which could not be gained by Treaty. Fortune is like the Market, where many times if you can ſtay a little, the Price will fall: The ripeneſs and unripeneſs of the Occaſion muſt be well weighed: Watch the beginning of an Action, and then ſpeed! Two things make a compleat Politician, Secreſie in Counſel, and Celerity in Execution.

Henry 8. But our Knights Prudence was not a heavy Wariness, or a dull caution, as appears by his preferment at Court, where he is *Master of the Horse*; and his service in the North, where he and the *Comptroller* Sir *Anthony Gage*, are in the head of 10000 men: In both these places his excellence was more in chusing his Officers and Followers, then in acting himself: His servants were modest and sober, troubling him with nothing but his business, and expecting no higher conditions, then countenance, protection and recommendation; and his Retayners peaceable, reserved, close, plain and hopeful: the deserving Souldier and the promising were seen often at his gate, not in throngs, to avoid popularity: equal was his favour, that none might be insolent, and none discontented; yet so discreetly dispenced, as made the Preferred faithful, and the Expectants officious. To be ruled by one, is soft and obnoxious; by many, troublesome: to be advised by few, as he was, is safe: because (as he said in some things out of his element) *the Vale best discovereth the Hill.*

Although he understood not the main matter of War, yet he knew many of its falls and incidents; his prudence being as able to lay a stratagem, as others experience was to embattail an Army. Sir *Thomas Wharton* Warden of the Marches he commands with 300 men behind an Ambush, whither he draws the rash Scots, and overthroweth them more with the surprize then his power, taking the Lord Admiral *Maxwel*, &c. who was committed to his custody; and putting that King to so deep a melancholy, that he died upon it. His death suggests new counsels, and Sir *Anthony* watcheth in *Scotland* to gain his Daughter for our Prince, or at least to prevent the French,

French, whom Sir *William Paget* watcheth there, as Sir *Ralph Sadler* did in *Rome*, and Sir *John Wallop* at *Calais*: and when that Kings designe was discovered, we finde our Knight with *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, Lieutenant-General; *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*, Lord General; *Will. Pawlet*, Lord St. *John*, *Stephen* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, with a rich and ſtrong Army, expecting the King before *Montrevil*, (which they took with *Boulogn*) and forcing the French to a Peace and Submiſſion that ſecured *England*, and ſetled *Europe*. *Henry* 8.

Three things facilitate all things: 1. Knowledge, 2. Temper, 3. Time. Knowledge our Knight had either of his own or others, whom he commanded in what ever he went about, laying the ground of matters always down in writing, and debating them with his friends, before he declared himſelf in Council. A temperance he had, that kept him out of the reach of others, and brought others within *his*. Time he took, always driving, never being *driven* by his buſineſs; which is rather a huddle, then a performance, when in haſte: there was ſomething that all admired, and which was more, ſomething that all were pleaſed with, in this mans actions. The times were dark, his carriage ſo too: the Waves were boyſterous, but he the ſolid Rock, or the well-guided Ship that could go with the Tide. He maſtered his own paſſion, and others too, and both by Time and Opportunity; therefore he died with that peace the State wanted, and with that univerſal repute the States-men of thoſe troubleſome times enjoyed not.

By King *Henry's* Will he got a Legacy of 300*l.*

Henry 8 for his former Service; and the Honour to be of Prince *EDWARD*'s ſpecial Council for the future.

By his Order he had, as his ſhare of Abbey-Lands, *Battle-Abbey* in *Suſſex*, enjoyed by his Heirs Males in a direct Line to this day: And by his Authority he had the Honourable *Garter*.

He was the firſt man that durſt bring his Maſter the ſad news, That He muſt die: And no wonder he durſt it, for the next news is, That he is dead himſelf. *How dareſt thou to be ſo plain?* ſaid *Heliogabalus* to the Courtier: *Becauſe I dare die*, ſaid he: *I can but die, if I am Faithful; and I muſt die, though I Flatter.*

THE

The Lord *Herbert*'s Character of *Cardinal Wolſey*, in his Life of *Henry* the Eighth, pag. 314.

And thus concluded that great Cardinal: A man in whom ability of parts and Induſtry were equally eminent; though, for being employed wholly in ambitious ways, they became dangerous Inſtruments of power, in active and mutable times. By theſe arts yet he found means to govern not onely the chief affairs of this Kingdom, but of Europe; *there being no Potentate, which, in his turn did not ſeek to him: and as this procured him divers Penſions, ſo, when he acquainted the King therewith, his manner was, ſo cunningly to diſoblige that Prince who did fee him laſt, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other ſide. But not of ſecular Princes alone, but even of the Pope and Clergy of* Rome *he was no little courted; of which therefore he made eſpecial uſe, while he drew them to ſecond him on moſt occaſions. His birth being otherwiſe ſo obſcure and mean, as no man had ever ſtood ſo ſingle: for which reaſon alſo his chief indeavour was not to diſpleaſe any great Perſon; which yet could not ſecure him againſt the divers Pretenders of that time. For*

Henry 8. *as all things passed through his hands, so they who failed in their suits, generally hated him: All which, though it did but exasperate his ill nature, yet this good resultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be Just; whereof also he obtained the reputation in his publick hearing of Causes: For as he loved no body, so his Reason carried him. And thus he was an useful Minister of his King, in all points, where there was no question of deserving the Roman Church; of which (at what price soever) I finde he was a zealous Servant; as hoping thereby to aspire to the Papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) he seemed more capable then any, had he not so immoderately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard to judge of his Inclination; that Prince, who was ablest to help him to this Dignity, being ever preferred by him; which therefore was the ordinary Bait by which the Emperour and the French King, one after the other did catch him. And, upon these terms, he doubted not to convey vast treasures out of this Kingdom, especially unto* Rome, *where he had not a few Cardinals at his devotion; by whose help, though he could not attain that Supreme Dignity he so passionately desired, yet he prevailed himself so much of their favour, as he got a kinde of absolute power in Spiritual Matters at Home: Wherewith again he so served the Kings turn, as it made him think the less of using his own Authority*

thority. *One error ſeemed common to both, which* Henry 8.
was, That ſuch a multiplicity of Offices and Pla-
ces were inveſted in him. For as it drew much
envy upon the Cardinal in particular, ſo it dero-
gated no little from the Regal Authority, while
one man alone ſeemed to exhauſt all: Since it be-
cometh Princes to do like good Husband-men,
when they ſow their Grounds, which is, to ſcatter,
and not to throw all in one place. He was no
great Diſſembler, for ſo qualified a Perſon; as or-
dering his buſineſſes (for the moſt part) ſo cau-
tiouſly, as he got more by keeping his word then
by breaking it. As for his Learning, (which
was far from exact) it conſiſted chiefly in the ſub-
tilties of the Thomiſts, *wherewith the King and*
himſelf did more often weary then ſatisfie each
other. His ſtile, in Miſſives, was rather copious
then eloquent, yet ever tending to the point.
Briefly, if it be true (as Polydore *obſerves) that*
no man ever did riſe with fewer vertues, it is true
that few that ever fell from ſo high a place had leſ-
ſer crimes objected againſt him: Though yet Po-
lydore *(for being at his firſt coming into* Eng-
land *committed to Priſon by him, as we have*
ſaid) may be ſuſpected as a partial Author. So
that in all probability he might have ſubſiſted lon-
ger, when either his pride and immenſe wealth
had not made him obnoxious, and ſuſpected to the
King, or that other than Women had oppoſed him:
Who, as they are vigilant and cloſe Enemies, ſo

for

Henry 8. *for the most part they carry their busines in the manner as they leave fewer advantages again themselves then men do. In conclusion, As I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely compassion of the People a little before his end, so I cannot but account it principal Felicity, that during his favour with the King, all things succeeded better then afterwards; though yet it may be doubted whether the Impressions he gave, did not occasion diver Irregularities which were observed to follow.*

The Lord *Herbert*'s Character of *Cromwel*, in his Life of *Henry* the Eighth, pag. 462.

AND to this end came Cromwel, *who from being but a Blacksmiths Son, found means to travel into forraign Countries to learn their Languages, and to see the Wars (being a Souldier of* Bourbon *at the sacking of* Rome;) *whence returning, he was received into Cardinal* Wolsey's *service: To whom he so approved himself by his fidelity and diligence, that the King after his fall, voluntarily took him for his servant; in which place he became a special Instrument for dissolving the Abbeys and other Religious Houses, and keeping down the Clergy;*

Clergy; *whom*, *in regard of their Oath to the Pope*, *he uſually termed the Kings half Subjects*: *And for expelling the Monks*, *he ſaid it was no more then a reſtoring them to the firſt Inſtitution*, *of being lay and labouring perſons*: *Neither did it move him that ſo much ſtrictneſs and auſterity of Life was enjoyned them in their ſeveral Orders*, *ſince*, *he ſaid*, *they might keep it in any condition*: *But as theſe Reaſons again were not admitted by divers learned and able Perſons*, *ſo he got him many Enemies*, *who at laſt procured his fall*; *but not before he had obtained ſucceſſively the Dignities of Maſter of the Rolls*, *Baron*, *Lord Privy Seal*, *Vicegerent to the King in Spiritualities*, *Knight of the Garter*, *Earl of* Eſſex, *Great Chamberlane of* England, *&c. He was much noted in the exerciſes of his Places of Judicature*, *to have uſed much Moderation*; *and in his greateſt pomp to have taken notice and been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance*; *and herein had a Vertue which his Maſter the Cardinal wanted.* Henry 8.

As for his other deſcriptions, *I leave them to be taken out of* Cranmers *Letter formerly mentioned*, *with ſome deduction*; *For it ſeems written to the King in more then Ordinary Favour of his antient Service.*

Arch-

Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Character of *Cromwel*, in a Letter to King Henry the Eighth.

WHo cannot be ſorrowful and amaz'd that he ſhould be a Traytor against your *Majeſty*? He that was ſo advanced by your *Majeſty*, He whoſe Surety was only by your *Majeſty*, He who loved your Majeſty (as I ever thought) no leſs then God; He who ſtudied always to ſet forwards whatſoever was your *Majeſties* will and pleaſure; He that cared for no mans diſpleaſure to ſerve your *Majeſty*; He that was ſuch a Servant in my judgement, in wiſdom, diligence, faithfulneſs & experience, as no Prince in this Realm ever had: He that was ſo vigilant to preſerve your *Majeſty* from all Treaſons, that few could be ſo ſecretly conceived, but he detected the ſame in the beginning. If the Noble Princes of memory, *King* John, Henry *II.* and Richard *II.* had had ſuch a Counſellour about them, I ſuppoſe they ſhould never have been ſo Traiterouſly abandoned and overthrown as thoſe good Princes were. After which, he ſays again, *I loved him as my Friend, for ſo I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I ſaw him bear ever towards your Grace, ſingularly above all other*

other: But now, if he be a Traitor, I am ſorry that ever I loved him or truſted him; and I am very glad that his Treaſon is diſcovered in time: But yet again I am very ſorrowful; for who ſhall your Grace truſt hereafter, if you might not truſt him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Graces chance herein! I wot not whom your Grace may truſt. But I pray God continually night and day to ſend ſuch a Counſellour in his place whom your Grace may truſt, and who for all his Qualities can and will ſerve your Grace like to him; and that will have ſo much ſollicitude and care to preſerve your Grace from all dangers, as I ever thought he had. Henry 8.

The End of the Obſervations upon the Lives of the Stateſmen and Favourites of *England*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

THE

THE STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND, IN The Reign of King *Edward* the VI.

Observations on the Lives of the Seymours.

"EDward Seymour and Thomas Seymour "both sons of Sir John Seymour of "Wolfal in Wiltshire. I joyn them "together, because whilst they "were united in affection, they "were invincible; but when divi- "ded, easily overthrown by their enemies.

"EDward Duke of So- "merset, Lord Pro- "tector and Treasurer of "England, being the elder

"THomas Seymour "the younger "brother, was made "Baron of Sudley; "bro-

"brother, ſucceeded to a "fair Paternal inheritance. "He was a valiant Souldi- "er for Land-ſervice, for- "tunate, and generally be- "loved by Martial men. "He was of an open na- "ture, free from jealou- "ſie and diſſembling, af- "fable to all people. He "married *Anne*, Daugh- "ter to Sir *Edward Stan- "hop*, a Lady of a high "minde, and haughty un- "daunted ſpirit.

"and by Offices and the "favours of his Ne- "phew, King *Edward* "the ſixth, obtained a "great Eſtate. He was "well experienced in "Sea-affairs, and made "Lord Admiral of "*England*. He lay at "a cloſe poſture, being "of a reſerved nature, "and more cunning in "his carriage. He mar- "ried Queen *Kathe- "rine Parr*, the Widow "of King *Henry* 8. *Edw.* 6.

"Very great the Animoſities betwixt their "Wives; the Dutcheſs refuſing to bear the Queens "Train, and in effect juſtled with her for prece- "dence: ſo that what betwixt the Train of the "Queen, and long Gown of the Dutcheſs, they "raiſed ſo much duſt at the Court, as at laſt put "out the eyes of both their Husbands, and occaſi- "oned their Executions.

Their Siſters Beauty commended them to the Kings favours; (but a frail ſupport that! which is as laſting onely as a Phancy, and onely as certain as Paſſion:) therefore their Parts recommended them to his ſervice. Affection ſhall lead me to Court, but I'll take care that Intereſt keeps me there.

Sir

Edw. 6. Sir *Edward Seymours* temper ſuited with the Kings Inclinations, and his ſpirit with his times; *both* high, *both* ſtirring. In the throng of Courtiers, there are but three ſteps to raiſe a man to obſervation: 1. Some peculiar ſufficiency; 2. Some particular exploit; and, 3. An eſpecial Friend: This Noble Perſon ſhewed the firſt with advantage in that draught of Military Diſcipline preſented to *Henry* the eighth, wherein the embattling is moſt remarkable, *viz.* "Twenty two compleat Com-"panies make up four Squadrons; every Squadron "of Pikes and Muſquets being drawn up apart, the "Pikes and Colours on the left hand, and the Muſ-"queteers on the right. Theſe Squadrons make "up a *Brigade*, to be drawn up as followeth, *viz.* "Ten Corporalſhips of Muſqueteers being 34 Rots "divided into five Plattons, every Platton being "nine or ſo in front, led by a Major, and every "diviſion by a ſufficient Commander. Next after "theſe, 36 Rats of Pikes are to follow, (being "twelve Corporalſhips) with their Colours fol-"lowing them, till they are drawn up even in front "with the 32 Rots of Muſqueteers: This makes "the Right Wing of the Brigade. 2. The Battel "of Pikes moveth forwards in diviſion, doing in all "reſpects as the former, till they range even in "front with the Pikes of the Right Wing: Then "the other 32 Rots of Muſqueteers belonging to "the middle Squadron, (who are appointed to "make the Battel of the Brigade) are led up as the "firſt Muſqueteers in all points, but at a reaſona-"ble diſtance behind the Pikes of their own Squa-"drons. Then the laſt Squadron of Pikes marcheth up, in all reſpects obſerving the ſame order,

"until

"until they have attained to range in front even *Edw. 6.*
"with other Pikes.

"This being done, the Battel or middle Squa-
"dron of Pikes and Muſquets advanceth in one bo-
"dy, until it's clear of the Wings. Laſtly, the
"Surplus of the three Squadrons being 48 Rots of
"Muſqueteers, are drawn up behind the Brigade,
"where they are to attend the Commands of their
"Officers, to guard the Baggage or Cannon, to be
"Convoys for Ammunition or Victuals to the reſt,
"or continue a reſerve to wait upon all occaſi-
"ons.

2. Eminent was his ability for this Draught, more eminent for his performance agreeable to it in *Bretaign*; where he ſate before a Town ſix weeks to no purpoſe, while it expected relief from *Italy*: but at laſt he inſinuates a jealouſie between the Pope and the French King touching that City, that obſtructed all relief: He with as much ſpeed as policy ſets upon the two main Sconces for defence of the Town, and took them both; battering the Town and Caſtle with that violence and noiſe, that they ſay it was heard 100 miles off. A Train of Powder is laid to blow them up when they ſhould enter; but this ſucceeded not; for the French in paſſing the Ditch had ſo wet their cloaths, that dropping upon the Train, the Powder would not take fire; and ſo all things conſpiring to crown his Valour with ſucceſs, he takes the Caſtle firſt; and then dividing the Town, and weakning it by ſeveral aſſaults at once, brought it to his own terms. Here his Valour had been eminent, but that his Conduct was more; and his Conduct renowned, but that his nobleneſs towards the Conquerour, his civility

Edw. 6. and obligingneſs towards the Souldiery, and his integrity towards all perſons, had out-done that.

There are but two things that a ſubject can honeſtly oblige his Prince in: 1. Keeping his ſubjects in peace at home, 2. Keeping his enemies under abroad: 1. Thoſe ſoft, but prudent Acts of Peace; 2. Thoſe reſolved, but well-managed ways of War: Sir *Thomas* wanted neither a reſolution for the one, nor a temper for the other.

But ſufficiency and merits are neglected things when not befriended: (Princes are too reſerved to be taken with the firſt appearances of worth, unleſs recommended by tryed judgements: it's fit, as well as common, that they have their Counſellours for perſons as well as things:) his Siſter therefore was married on *Whitſunday*, and he is on the *Tueſday* following created Viſcount *Beauchamp*. But next year his Nephew is born; the hope and ſtay of his Majeſty and his Realms, and he is made Earl of *Hertford*.

King *Henry* underſtanding that the Pope upon his own and Cardinal *Pool's* account ſtirred up all the Princes of *Europe* againſt him, as a provident Prince, rode himſelf to the Sea-coaſts to ſee them fortified. Admiral *Fitz-Williams* is old, Sir *Thomas Seymour* aſſiſts him to rig the Navy to be in readineſs in ſix days time: Sir *Edward* is to muſter the Land-forces, and particularly the City of *London*, where were 15000 Armed men ready, *May* 8. in *St. Jameſes*, at which place the City ſeemed a Camp, and the Citizens men not of the Gown, but of the *Armour*. Great this Lords *intereſt in*, and *reſpect with* the people; as great his brother with the Sea-men: the Multitude would leave all

for

for their good Lord of *Hertford*, and the Sea-men would die with their noble Lord *Seymour*. When the King of *Scots* had deluded King *Henry* in his correſpondencies with *France* beyond all patience, and had been forborn beyond all ſafety or prudence, Sir *Edward Seymour* is firſt ſent to treat, and then to fight; which he did with that ſucceſs, that 300 of his men, and a ſtratagem, (to poſſeſs the *Scots* with an apprehenſion that the whole Engliſh Army was upon them) took and killed 30000 *Scots*, had more priſoners then they could keep, more booty then they could diſpoſe of; and adding this to their Victory, That they broke the Kings heart. *Edw. 6.*

There was no end to be expected of a War with *Scotland*, but by marrying that Kings Daughter to our Soveraigns Son. This Match was my Lord *Seymour's* intereſt as well as the Kings: his prudence and experience is therefore employed firſt to *perſwade* it; and when that would not do, (ſo great and ſo croſs the Papal power there by Cardinal *Betons* means) his Valour and Reſolution is ſent with 10000 to *compel* it: in order whereunto, *May* 4. landing at *Grantber Gray*, he marcheth in order towards *Leith*, which (after a defeat given the Cardinal, the Earls of *Arran*, *Huntley*, *&c.* by his Harquebuſiers) they entred, and thence proceeded to *Edinburgh*: (my Lord *Dudley* leading the Front, our Earl the Battle, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rereward:) there the Keys are offered them upon conditions; which they refuſing, (and ſo making the Enemy deſperate, who reſolveth rather to periſh nobly, then be undone by ſubmiſſion) the Town holds out, and they are able to do no

Edw. 6. more, with some considerable loss, then burn the suburbs, waste the Country to an utter desolation for seven miles compass, demolish *Leith*, *Dunbar*, *&c.* take all their Ships and Ammunition, returning to *Berwick* with the loss onely of 14 men.

Two things he was eminent for:

1. His Advice, that not the least Punctilio of the Law should be neglected: whereupon the Earl of *Surrey* and other Nobility were imprisoned *for eating Flesh in Lent*. A secret and unobserved contempt of the Law, is a close undermining of Authority; which must be either its self in indulging nothing, or be nothing in allowing *all*. Liberty knows no restraint, no limit, when *winked* at.

2. For his Popularity, in advancing the Benevolence 52000 *l.* beyond expectation.

The *Scots* must have War as long as there is Poverty in their Country, and Interest in *France*: This Noble Earl cutteth off the Invaders, layeth waste the Country, and (that the source of those troubles might be *dammed* up) entreth *France* with 80000 men; and after some skirmishes, brought the King thereof to a peace and submission.

In pursuance whereof, while King *Henry* was in *Bologn*, he made his Will, wherein the Earl of *Hertford* Lord High Chamberlain is appointed Principal Counsellour to his Nephew: and not long after he dieth, and leaves the Kingdome to his son, and his son to his Uncle, whom the common Vote made Protector, and Interest a Moderator of the Council, which the times required able, but their humours made factious. The peace with King *Francis* and the Emperour was but uncertain,

certain, the *Scots* were irreconcileable, the Pope implacable, Religion unſetled, the Clergy out of frame, the People diſtracted, and the Nobility at variance. A great Counſellour King *Henry* leaves his ſon, and a greater his Uncle makes him: "In "counſel is ſtability: things will have their firſt or "ſecond agitation: if they be not toſſed upon the "Arguments of Counſel, they will be toſſed upon "the Waves of Fortune. But yet this Lord miſ-carried, in that the Council underſtood him better then he did them: And he adviſed with them rather in publick, where men ſpeak warily, and in compliance with others humour; then in private, where they deliver themſelves more freely, and agreeably to their own humours. (The Rule is, *Ask an inferiour mans advice in private, that he may be free; and a ſuperiours in publick, that he may be reſpectful.*) But he did well, 1. In that the ſame matter if weighed, was never propounded and reſolved the ſame day. 2. In that he had fixed days of petitions, for the peoples and his own eaſe. 3. In that he poyzed his Committees of contrary Inclinations; that watched and balanced each other to a moderation moſt ſafe for the Kingdome and himſelf. 4. That he had of all Profeſſions ſuch at his command as opened the ſtate of a buſineſs before any Commiſſioners debated it. 5. That he ſeldome diſcovered his own inclination, leſt it byaſſed his *Counſel*. 6. That to prevent a Combination in the Council, he weakned their power and priviledges, their credit, their dependencies, either by office or expectation, their opportunities and correſpondencies, ſo that he could eaſily remove any when faulty, diſcover any when dangerous,

Edw. 6. Bacons Eſſ. 116.

Edw. 6. disgrace any when bold, and not fit to be entrusted with the *Counsels*, *Resolves*, *Deliberations* and *Necessities* of the State. In order to which, he had two useful Resolutions, 1. To suppress Calumnies, 2. To encourage Accusations. His first Acts were Shew and Pomp, (necessary for Greatness) *viz.* The Knighting of the King, and making himself Duke. His next are *Realities:* as, 1. His modelling the Country for a Parliament, considering the temper of the people, and the pulse of the last Parliament; redressing Grievances, setling Elections by such Legal Rules, as that the people should not be corrupted with money, overborn by importunity, transported by fear or favour to an unworthy or an unsuitable choice; and taking a just time to prepare the people for the designed settlement, by his grave and sober Injunctions, by godly and good Books of Instructions, by a wholsome form of Prayer, (composed at *Windsor*) by a more exact translation of the Bible, by several Proclamations for moderation and order on all hands, by inhibiting all Preachers but such *learned*, *sober*, *grave* and *discreet* men as were Licensed thereunto under the Lord Protector's and my Lord of *Canterbury's* hand.

The Duke of Somerset's march.

2. His promoting the Match with *Scotland* first by Ambassadours, and then by an Army, whose order was this: *viz.* The Avant-guard of 3 or 4000 foot-men at Arms, and 600 light-horse led by the Earl of *Warwick*; the main Battle of 6000 foot, and 600 men at Arms, and 1000 light-horse, led by the Protector; and the Rear of half so many, led by the Lord *Dacres*; the Artillery of 16 Pieces of Ordnance making one Wing, the men at Arms and

and Demilances the other. For the Avant-guard and half of the Battel riding about two flight-shot from their side, the other half of the Battel: and the whole Flank of the Rear was closed by the Carriages, being 12000 Carts and Waggons; the rest of the men at Arms and Demilances marching behind. A few skirmishes and stratagems passed, when a Trumpeter is sent by *Huntley* to challenge the Protector; to whom the Protector replying like a wise man, That *it was not for a person of his trust to duel it with a private man*; The Earl of *Warwick* said, *Trumpeter, bring me word that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and I'll give thee* 100 *Crowns. Nay, rather*, said our Duke, *bring me word that he will give us Battle, and I will give thee* 1000 *l.* But in 25 days he gains a greater a Battle, over-runs the Country with the loss of no more then 65 men, to that of 25000 *Scots*. *Edw. 6.*

a *The same day that* 30 *years ago they were beaten at* Flodden.

3. His third Exploit was, Dispensing *b* Honours so nobly, that they were due encouragements to Vertue; though yet so warily, that they should not be either a burden or a danger to the Crown.

b *He made the first and last Bannerets.*

4. He gave the Commonalty great content, in pulling down Enclosures by Proclamations; and the Nobility no less, by setting up Land-improvements by Rule.

5. He engaged both, by a good bargain of Church-lands, confirmed by this Parliament.

6. He weakneth the Papists, 1. By conniving at them until they broke out to such outrages as made them lyable. 2. By dividing them when engaged, with hope of mercy on the one hand, and fear of his Army on the other.

7. The *French* taking the advantage of our se-

Edw. 6. ditions to break off their Treaty, and proclaim War, he confiscates their Estates, and secures the persons of as many of them as lived in *England*.

But Greatness is fatal; and his Brother that should have supported this great man, ruines himself and him. He had married a Lady high in spirit; his Brother the Queen-Dowager, higher in place: the Ladies quarrel first, and then (as it must needs follow) the Lords. *Thomas* the Admiral is questioned for aiming at the Crown, 1. By marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*, and then by seizing the King's person and the Government: so honest this Protector, (a plain man, and of no over-deep insight into Practices) that he gave way to his Tryal, saying, (though somewhat ominous as it happened) *I'll do and suffer Justice:* so Uxorious, that he sealed his death. And now he stands alone, wanting his Brothers cunning to reach *Warwick*, or his resolution to check *Norfolk*. The people are troubled at that one weak and unjustifiable Act of his, The pulling down of so *many* of Gods Churches in the City, to build one *Somerset*-house in the *Strand*.

The Lady Stanhope.

The Earl takes notice of their discontent, and assembleth eighteen discontented Counsellours, who arm themselves and their c followers, calling the City and the Kingdome to their assistance by a Proclamation. The Protector fleeth with the King and a Guard to *Hampton-Court:* the City sometimes resolved to assist the Lords, out of malice to the Protector; sometimes to forbear out of such consideration of its many misfortunes in opposing Kings, set forth not with more Integrity by *George Stad-*

c *whom they put in new Liveries.*

Stadlow, then Eloquence and Life by *John Ayliffe*. Edw. 6.
They delay: Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Captain of the Guard perſwades the King of the Lords moderation and and Loyalty; the Duke is to anſwer for himſelf: the Laywers charge him with removing *Weſtminſter-hall* to *Somerſet-houſe*, where he kept a Court of Requeſts, and determined Title of Lands; the Souldiers with the detaining of their pay, and betraying our French Gariſons; the States-men with the engroſſing of all Authority. The Earl of *Warwick* vigilantly but cloſely manageth all diſcontents to his deſigne with this great advantage, that he was ſubtle, cloſe, and implacable; while the other was free-ſpirited, open-hearted, humble, hard to diſtruſt, eaſie to forgive. His friend the Lord *Ruſſel* is abſent: he is firſt tryed and acquitted, but with the loſs of his Proteſtorſhip, Treaſurerſhip, Marſhalſhip, and 2000 *l.* of Land more.

But *Warwick*'s deſigne for the Crown ripening, and *Somerſet* being the moſt eminent obſtruction in his way, having weakned, before he ruines him, now he chargeth him with Treaſon, to make a noiſe; and with *Felony*, to do execution: the Council is packed, he looſeth his life (for a ſmall crime, and that on a *d* nice point, *ſubtilly deviſed and packed by his enemies*) forgetting to ask the benefit of the Clergy, that had ſaved it. This Perſon, as Mr. *Fuller* charactereth him, was religious himſelf, a lover of all ſuch as were ſo, and a great promoter of the Reformation: Valiant and ſucceſsful, generally beloved by Souldiers, envied by States-men, though the moſt conſcientious of them all; doing nothing irregularly, but in complyance with the neceſſities of Government; open to dangers, as one that could not

d *For contriving the death of a Privy-Counſellour.*

Edw. 6. not be jealous; better to act, then designe; to perform, then plot. When he was discharged of Treason, there was so loud a shout in *Westminster-hall*, as was heard to *Long-acre*; when condemned of Felony, there was a silence and amazement for three hours. Beheaded he was on *Tower-hill*, with no less praise for his piety and patience, then pity and grief of the spectators. His Death was attended with many signes and wonders, and his Name with an indelible character, his house being called *Somerset-house* to this day, though solemnly proclaimed by King *James Denmark-house*, because inhabited by the King of *Denmark* and his Sister. *Surely* (saith my Author) *this Duke was well beloved since his Name made such indelible impression on his house, wherein he was not five years in possession.* Death hath this also, *That it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envy.* *Philip* asked *Demetrius* if he did not fear to lose his head; He answered, *No*; for if he did, the *Athenians* would give him one immortal; He should be statued in the Temple of Eternal Fame.

Nil non Mortale tenemus,
Pectoris exceptis ingeniiq; bonis:
Ergo, cum Patria careamus vobisq; domoq;
Raptaq; sint, adimi quæ potuere mihi,
Virtute attamen ipse mea comitorq; fruorq;
Cæsar in hoc potuit juris habere nihil.
Quilibet hanc sævo vitam mihi, finiat ense,
Me tamen extincto fama perennis erit.

"*All that we hold will die,*
"*But our brave Thoughts and Ingenuity:*

"*Even*

"Even I that want my Country, House and Friend, Edw. 6.
"From whom is ravished all that Fate can rend,
"Possess yet my own Genius, and enjoy
"That which is more then Cæsar can destroy.
"Each Groom may kill me: but whensoe'er I die,
"My Fame shall live to mate eternity.

Brave men never die: Worth begets in weak and base minds, Envy; in the Magnanimous, Emulation; in Posterity, Renown: "A Renown, that is "as the beams about the Sun, or the glory about "an holy picture, that shews it to be a Saint, though "it be no essential part: it riseth from the body of "that Vertue, which cannot chuse but shine, "and give a light through all the clouds of er-"rour and destruction. And though sometimes the mists and vapours of the lower earth impede the light it gives, yet there will be apparent Rays, that shew there is Desert unseen, which yeilds those beams of brightness to the whole Horizon, that it moves and shines in, which survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when the Good Man is dead and gone; a Good Name being the embalming of the Vertuous to an eternity of love and gratitude among posterity. *For my own Honour* (saith the Royal Martyr) *I am well assured, that as mine Innocence is clear before God in point of any calumnies they object; so my Reputation shall like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedome in the night) rise and recover its self to such a degree of splendour, as those feral birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear.*

Observa-

Observations on the Lives of th Pars.

There was another of his name Sheriff, Nephew to this Knight, in 25 of H. 8.

SIr *William Par* Uncle and Lord Chamberlai to Queen *Katharine Par*, was by King *Hen* the Eighth created Baron *Par of Horton*: l left two Daughters onely, married into the Famili of *Treſſam* and *Lane*. His Relation called him t Court, but his Age forbid him the pleaſures, an his own Reſervedneſs the freedom of that place before which he preferred the pious, peaceabl and hoſpitable way of the Countrey, where Popu larity affected him, more then he affected it; N man being more beloved by the vulgar, no m leſs in love with them: It being his Obſervation ther then his Countrey-man Sir *Edward Mount gue*'s ſaying, *That if you do the common ſort of pe ple nineteen courteſies together, yet you may loſe th love, if you go but over the ſtile before them.*

His Couſin Sir *William* was brought by his Siſte to Court, and advanced by his Brother to Honour being for his Majeſties ſake as well as his own, mad Lord *Par* of *Kendal*, Earl of *Eſſex*, by King *Hen* the Eighth, and Marqueſs of *Northampton* by Kin *Edward*: Queen *Mary* deprived him of h Eſtate and Honour for ſiding with the Lady *Jan* and Queen *Elizabeth* reſtored him to both, for fa vouring the Proteſtant *Religion*.

His Delight was Muſick and Poetry, and his Ex ercise War; being a happy compoſure of the hard eſt and ſofteſt Diſcipline, equally made for Cour

and

and Camp, for Delight or Horrour: But his skill in the Field anſwered not his induſtry, nor his ſucceſs his skill: Yet King *Edward* called him, *His Honeſt Uncle*; and King *Henry*, *His Integrity*. The whole Family was made by a *Marriage*, but died *Iſſueleſs*. *Edw. 6.*

The common Rule of Favourites is, to bring in all their Relations about them, to adorn and ſupport them: but this Marqueſs would ſay, *A wall that hath a firm Bottom, had need of no Buttreſs; and that which wants it, is often rather thruſt down then upheld by it.* The Antiquaries crouch, as though they upheld the Church, when they are upheld by it: Clients are more a burden then a ſtrength: and when the chief Favourite dares not diſpleaſe his Soveraign becauſe he is ſo near him, they dare, becauſe he is between them and Majeſty. His Followers were not gaudy, to render him ſuſpitious, nor diſcontented, to breed ill blood, and a miſunderſtanding; nor too open, to diſcover him: but *deſerving*, to honour him; and *hopeful*, to be advanced by him. Active men were recommended by him to King *Henry*'s buſie Occaſions, and Vertuous to King *Edward*'s pious Inclinations.

In his laſt years he found that there was little love in the World, and leaſt of all among Equals; and that that which was, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whoſe fortune may comprehend the one the other. To eaſe his minde therefore, to ſatisfie his Judgement, to obſerve his overſight, he adopted Sir *William Cholmley*, bringing him firſt to his Houſe, and then to his Heart, to ſhew him that impartially, which he could not diſcern in himſelf. *There is no ſuch Flatterer as a mans ſelf: and there is*

no

Edw. 6. *no such Remedy against Flattery of a mans self as the li-*
berty of a Friend: Counsel is of two sorts; (to go on in my Authors words) *the one concerning manners, the other concerning business: for the first, the best preservative to keep the minde in health, is the faithful admonition of a Friend: The calling of a mans self to a strict account, is a medicine sometime too piercing and corro-*
ding; reading good Books of Morality is a little flat and
dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes im-
proper for our case: but the best receipt (best I say, to
work, and best to take) is the Admonition of a
Friend.

Lord Bacon's Essayes.

So much solid Worth he had, that he had no n of Ambition; so much Modesty, that he made li tle use of his Worth: Mean thoughts he entertai ed of himself, and as mean thoughts did he by hi down-cast though grave look, his sparing thoug pertinent discourse, and his submissive thoug regardful carriage, suggest of himself. But well-manag'd boldness is the Vertue of Monarchi Courts, and a discreet submission that of a Repub lican; no advantagious admission into the one, with out the first, nor safety in the other, without the s cond: Here, if you are bold, you must look for *Ostracism*; there, if you are modest, for *Neglect* Yet a sober and moderate man may be in fashio once in an Age. The Souldier and the Gentlem are the Warlike Princes Darlings; Church-me the Religious; Physicians, the Sickly and Old; Scholars, the Learned; Exchequerers, the Poor Covetous, or Prodigal; Lawyers, the Just; and They *of a Healing, Soft and Pliable Temper*, (Kin *James* his character and commendation of my Lord *Bacon*) the Settling and the Peaceable, such as *Ed-*
ward

ward the VI, in whose Reign he was advanced, and Edw. 6.
Queen *Elizabeth*, in whose Reign he was restored.

It was in pursuance of King *Henry's* Statute, that he closed with King *Edward's* Will: For this *Clause* he produced for himself:

Provided, That if the Lady Mary do not keep nor perform such Conditions, which shall be limited and appointed, as aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the Kings Body, and the said Lord Prince, lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, shall be, come and remain to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the Kings Highness by his Letters Patents sealed under His Great Seal, or by His last Will in Writing, signed with His Hand, shall limit and appoint.

Isocrates was a man of an excellent Wit, but finding himself destitute of countenance, gesture and confidence, he never durst speak in publick, contenting himself to teach, even to his decrepit days; and commonly saying, *He taught Rhetorique for a thousand Ryals, but would give more then ten thousand to him that would teach him confidence*: This Marques brought up many a *Courtier*, yet had not the face to be *One* himself, until Queen *Elizabeth*, who balanced her Council in point of Religion in the beginning of her Reign, as she did her Court in point of Interest throughout, threatned him to the Council-Board first, and then to her *Cabinet*; where none more secret, to keep counsel;

none

Edw. 6. none more faithful, to give it; and more modeſt to ſubmit. A ſincere, plain, direct man; not craſty nor involved.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Cheek.

SIr *John Cheeke*, born over againſt the Market-Croſs in *Cambridge*, became Tutor to King *Edward* the Sixth, and Secretary of State: Not ſo meanly deſcended as Sir *John Heyward* pretends, (who writes him, *The Son of his own Deſerts*) being a Branch of the *Cheeks* of *Moſton* in the Iſle of *Wight*, (where their Eſtate was three hundred pound a year, three hundred years ago, and no more within this thirty years:) happy in his Father, Mr. *Peter Cheeke*, whoſe firſt tuition ſeaſoned him; happier in his good *a* Mother, (that grave Matron) whoſe good *b* counſel and Chriſtian charge when he was going to Court, ſettled him; and happieſt of all in the place of his birth, where he ſet from his Mothers Womb to the Muſes Lap, and *learned* as ſoon as he *lived*, being a Scholar ſooner than he was a man. A *German* had the care of his younger ſtudies, and a *Frenchman* of his carriage; his parts being too large to be confined to the narrowneſs of Engliſh Rules, and too ſprightly to attend the tediouſneſs, and creep by the compaſs of an Engliſh method. The ſame day was he and Mr. *Aſcham* admitted to St. *Johns*, and the ſame week to Court, the one to the Tuition of *Edward* the Sixth, the other of Queen *Elizabeth*: there they were

a A Duffeild.

b *Recommending to him the care of three things:* 1. *His God.* 2. *His Soul.* 3. *His Company.*

both happy in their Master Doctor *Metcalf*, who Edw. 6.
though he could not (as *Themistocles* said) *fiddle*, yet he could make a little Colledge a great one, and breed Scholars, though he was none: His advice deterred them from the rough Learning of the Modern Schoolmen, and their own Genius led them to the more polite studies of the antient Orators and Historians; wherein they profited so well, that the one was the copious Orator, the other the Greek Professor of that University.

A contest began now, between the Introducers of the New, and the Defenders of the Old Pronunciation of the Greek: the former endeavoured to give each Letter, Vowel and Diphthong its full sound: whilst Doctor *Caius* and others of the Old stamp, cried out against this Project, and the Promoters of it; taxing *It* for novelty, and *Them* for want of experience, and affirming Greek it self to be barbarous, so clownishly uttered; and that neither *France*, *Germany* nor *Italy* owned any such Pronunciation. *John Cheeke* and *Thomas Smith* maintained that this was no Innovation, but the antient utterance of Greek, most clear, and most full. Chancellour *Gardiner* then interposed against the Pronunciation, and the Authors of it: But custom hath since prevailed for the use of the one, and the due commendation of the other. Full. Hist. Cambr. p. 119

Sir *John Cheeke*'s Authors were *Isocrates* and *Thucydides*; his Auditors the youngest that came thither, for Language; and the oldest that heard him, for his Discourse and Policy: The one preferred him to the ample Provostship of *Kings*, the other to the great Trust of Secretary of State: Prince *Edward* studied not his Book more sedulous-

Edw. 6. lously, then he ſtudied him, that his Rules might comply with his Inclination, and his Lectures with his temper: Lectures, that were rather Diſcourſes inſtilled to him Majeſtically, as a Prince; then Leſſons beaten into him pedantiquely, as a School-boy. The wiſe man would not be debaſing his Royal Pupils minde with the nauſeated and low crumbs of a Pedant, but ennobling it with the free and high Maximes of a States-man; ſugaring the more auſtere parts of Learning with the pleaſures of Poetry, Diſcourſe, Apologues; and ſo deceiving the Royal Youth to an improvement before his own years, and others comprehenſion. His very Recreations were uſeful, and his *Series* of lighter exerciſes (for he obſerved a method in them too) a conſtant ſtudy; his Table, his School; his Meat, his Diſcipline; the induſtrious Tutour filling up each ſpace of his time with its ſuitable inſtruction; it being his Maxime, *That time and Obſervation were the beſt Maſters, and Exerciſe the beſt Tutor.* While others doated over their Rules, his Pupils practiſed them; no day paſſing without his Letters to the King, as that, *Litera meæ unum ſemper habent Argumentum (Rex Nobiliſſime & Pater Illuſtriſſime) hoc eſt, in omnibus Epiſtolis ago tibi gratias, &c.* or to the Queen, as that, *Quod non ad ſe jamdiu ſcriberem in cauſa fuit non negligentia, ſed ſtudium; non enim hoc feci ut nunquam omnino ſcriberem, ſed accuratius ſcriberem, &c. I have two Tutors,* (ſaid King *Edward* to *Cardan*) *Diligence and Moderation, Sir* Jo. Cheeke *and Doctor* Coxe. So exact an account he gave Prince *Edward* of his Fathers Kingdome, and its Intereſt, that King *Henry* deſigned him for Secretary, and King *Edward* made him one.

Vid. Full. Eccl. Hiſt. Edw. 6.

Three

Three years he had that place; and in that three years did *England* more ſervice, ſo great his Parts, Learning and Religion! more kindneſs, ſuch his eminency in both! and gave the people more ſatiſfaction, ſuch his Integrity and Dexterity! then all that went before him, and moſt that came after him. He was the firſt that brought in the uſe of a Diary, and his Pupil the next that practiſed it: His Aphoriſm it was, That a dark and imperfect reflexion upon Affairs floating in the memory, was like words diſperſed and inſignificant; whereas a compleat view of them in a Book, was like the ſame words pointed in a period, and made ſignificant. *Edw. 6.*

Much did the Kingdome value him, but more the King: for being once deſperately ſick, the King carefully enquired of him every day; at laſt his Phyſitian told him there was no hope for his life, being given over by him for a dead man: *No*, ſaid the King, *he will not die at this time; for this morning I begged his life from God in my Prayers, and obtained it.* Which accordingly came to paſs; and he ſoon after, againſt all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This (ſaith Doctor *Fuller*) was atteſted by the old Earl of *Huntington*, (bred up in his childhood with King *Edward*) to Sir *Tho. Cheeke*, who *anno* 1654. was alive, and 80 years of Age.

But though his Prayers ſaved his Tutors life, none could ſave his; who died with the Proteſtant Religion in his heart and arms: and Sir *John* had died with him, but that being outed of all his preferments, he outed himſelf from the Kingdome: loving to all the Engliſh Exiles at *Strasburgh*, and well beloved all over *Germany*; until truſting to the Stars too much, (would he had either not gone

Edw. 6. so high, or gone a little higher for advice) and his friends too little, he went to meet his dear Wife in *Brabant*; where neither my Lord *Paget*'s promise, nor Sir *John Mason*'s pledges, nor Abbot *Feecknam*'s intercession, could excuse him from being unhorsed and carted, imprisoned and tortured, vexed with all the arts of power, and perplexed, until his hard usage meeting with some fair promises, brought him to a Recantation that broke his heart; and after much melancholick sighing and silence, brought him to his Grave; The great example of Parts and Ingenuity, of frailty and infirmity, of repentance and piety. Forced he was to sit with *Bonner* in his Courts, but forced he would not be to joyn with him in his Judgement: look on he did, but weep and groan too.

A good Christian he was, witness his pious Epistles; an excellent States-man, as appears by his *True Subject to the Rebel*; a Book as seasonably republished (by Doctor *Langbaine* of Queens Colledge in *Oxford*) in the excellent King *Charles* his troubles, as it was at first written in the good King *Edward*'s commotions.

Vespasian said of *Apollonius*, That *his gate was open to all Philosophers, but his Heart to Him*: And Sir *John Cheeke* would say to Father *Latimer*, *I have an Ear for other Divines, but I have an Heart for You.*

A Country-man in *Spain* coming to an Image enshrined, the extruction and first making whereof he could well remember, and not finding from the same that respectful usage which he expected, *You need not* (quoth he) *be so proud; for we have known you from a Plum-tree.* Sir *John Cheeke* one day dis-

discourfing of the Popes Threats, ſaid, *He need not be ſo high; for we have known him a Chaplain.* He took much delight in that ſaying of *Herod* the Sophiſt, when he was pained with the Gout in his hands and feet: *When I would eat*, (ſaid he) *I have no hands; when I would go, I have no feet: but when I muſt be pained, I have both hands and feet.* Applying it thus: When we would ſerve God, we have no ſoul; when we would ſerve our Neighbours, we have no body: but when we ſuffer for neglecting both, we ſhall finde we have both a body and a ſoul. Edw. 6.

Guſtavus Adolphus ſome three days before his death, ſaid, *Our affairs anſwer our deſires: but I doubt God will puniſh me for the folly of my people, who attribute too much to me, and eſteem me as it were their God; and therefore he will make them ſhortly know and ſee I am but a man: I ſubmit to his will, and I know he will not leave this great Enterpriſe of mine imperfect.* Three things Sir *John Cheeke* obſerved of *Edward* the ſixth: 1. That the peoples eſteem of him would looſe him. 2. That his Reformation ſhould be overthrown. 3. That yet it ſhould recover, and be finiſhed.

As to Publick Counſels: 1. Sir *John* was againſt the War with *Scotland*, which he ſaid was rather to be united to *England*, then ſeparated from it. 2. He was againſt King *Edwards* Will, ſaying, *He would never diſtruſt God ſo far in the preſervation of his true Religion, as to diſinherit Orphans, to keep up Proteſtantiſm.* 3. He laid a Platform of a War with *Spain*. 4. He kept Neuter in the Court-factions. 5. Biſhop *Ridley*, Doctor *Coxe*, ſecon[illegible]; and Sir *John Cheeke* contrived all King *Edward's* Acts of Charity.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wentworth.

"SIr *Tho. Wentworth* of *Nettleſted* in *Suffolk*, ſo "a younger Family, (confeſſed by the *Creſ-* "*cent* in his Coat) deſcended from the *Went-* "*worths* of *Wentworth-wood-houſe* in *York-ſhire*, and "was created Baron *Wentworth* by King *Henry* 8. "He was a ſtout and valiant Gentleman, a cordial "Proteſtant, and his Family a Sanctuary of ſuch "Profeſſors; *John Bale* comparing him to the "good Centurion in the Goſpel, and gratefully ac- "knowledging him the cauſe of his converſion from "a *Carmelite*. The memory of this good Lord is "much (but unjuſtly) blemiſhed, becauſe *Calis* "was loſt the laſt of Queen *Mary* under his Go- "vernment: The manner was huddled up in our "Chronicles, (leaſt is beſt of bad buſineſs) where- "of this is the effect: The Engliſh being ſecure by "reaſon of the laſt Conqueſt at St. *Quintin*, and the "Duke of *Guiſe* having notice thereof, he ſate "down before the Town at the time (not when "Kings go forth to, but return from battle) of "mid-winter, even upon *New-years-day*. Next "day he took the two Forts of *Riſebank* and *New-* "*man-bridge*, (wherein the ſtrength of the City "conſiſted) but whether they were undermined or "undermoneyed, it is not decided, and the laſt left "moſt ſuſpitious. Within three days the Caſtle "of *Calis*, which commanded the City, and was "under the command of Sir *Ralph Chamberlain*,

"was

" was taken, the French wading through the Dit-E*dw. 6.*
" ches, (made ſhallower by their artificial cut) and
" then entring the Town, were repulſed back by
" Sir *Anthony Ager* Marſhal of *Calis*, the onely
" man, ſaith *Stow*, who was killed in the fight,
" (underſtand him, of note) others, for the credit
" of the buſineſs, accounting fourſcore loſt in that
" ſervice. The French re-entring the City the
" next day, being *Twelfth-day*, the Lord *Went-*
" *worth* Deputy thereof made but vain reſiſtance,
" which (alas) was like the wrigling of a Worms
" tayl after the head thereof is cut off; ſo that he
" was forced to take what terms he could get, *viz.*
" That the Towns-men ſhould depart (though
" plundered to a Groat) with their lives, and
" himſelf with 49 more, ſuch as the Duke of *Guiſe*
" ſhould chuſe, ſhould remain priſoners to be put
" to ranſome.

" This was the beſt news brought to *Paris*, and
" worſt to *London* for many years before: It not
" onely abated the Queens chear the remnant of
" *Chriſtmas*, but her mirth all the days of her life.
" Yet might ſhe thank her ſelf for looſing this Key
" of *France*, becauſe ſhe hung it by her ſide with ſo
" ſlender a ſtring, there being but five hundred
" Souldiers effectually in the Gariſon; too few to
" manage ſuch a piece of importance. The Lord
" *Wentworth* the ſecond of *June* following, was ſo-
" lemnly condemned for Treaſon, though unheard,
" as abſent in *France:* which was not onely againſt
" Chriſtian charity, but Roman juſtice; *Feſtus*
" confeſſing it was not faſhionable amongſt them to
" deliver any man to die, before he which is accu-
" ſed have the accuſers face to face, and have li-

Edw. 6. "cence to answer for himself concerning the crime "laid against him. It was well for this Lord that "he was detained in *France* till his ransome was "paid, and Queen *Mary* dead, who otherwise "probably had lost his life, if he had had his liber-"ty. But Queen *Elizabeth* coming to the Crown, "he found the favour, or rather had the justice to "be tryed again, and was acquitted by his Peers; "finding it no treachery, cowardise or carelesness "in him, but in Sir *John Harlston* and Sir *Ralph* "*Chamberlain*, the one Governour of *Risebank*, "the other of *Calis*-Castle: for which they were "both condemned to die, though their judgement "was remitted. This Lord was the onely person "I have read of, who thus in a manner played "Rubbers when his head lay at stake; and having "lost the fore, recovered the after-game. He di-"ed a very aged man, 1594. Thus far Mr. *Fuller*.

Two ways a Courtier advanceth himself: the first, that more leisurely, slow, though sure, of watching Offices, Preferments and Dignities that may by steps bring them to the Kings presence: The second, that more quick and short, but most *practised*, of following the Court for such extraordinary Commissions and particular services to the Empire, as may (without the danger of delays that must be fatal amidst so many Competitors) recommend him to his favour. It was below Sir *Thomas* his Estate to stoop to that first method; it suited more with his activity to embrace the second. Two usually-inconsistent qualities he had, The closeness of an Agent, and The Valour of a Souldier. To *Rome* he was sent in disguise, and to *Treport* with an Army:

Army: ſo graceful his carriage, ſo inſinuating his affability, ſo clear and well-weighed his diſcourſe, ſo ſearching and comprehenſive his judgement; ſo gravely Aiery, ſo Majeſtically pleaſant his countenance, ſo becoming his gate and apparel, ſo watchful his Negotiations, ſo winning his Addreſſes, ſo diſcreetly ſmart his Reparties, (darting a ſuddain luſtre and vigour to the darkneſs and heavineſs of his graver Diſcourſes, neither common nor unſavoury; neither affected nor far-fetched, neither abuſive of others, nor miſ-becoming himſelf) ſo diſcreet and well-managed his complaiſance, (with reference to circumſtances, perſon, place, time, matter and cauſe) that he had Cardinal *Senhault's* Secretary, to bring him to the Popes Cloſet; the Emperours Agent *Randolphus*, to introduce him to Court; that he won Fryar *Paul*, to ſhew him the myſteries of the Church; Engineer *Palvino*, to repreſent the Popes Cities, Towns, Fortifications, Havens, Harbours, Antiquities, Seminaries, Exerciſes, Ships, Treaſure, Armories, Arſenals, Magazines, (having always by him a Card of the Territories) and the Popes Bedchamber-man, to ſhew him all the Papers and Tranſactions that concerned *Henry* the eighth. So well experienced his Conduct, ſo well diſciplined his Army, ſo watchful and induſtrious his Nature, ſo good his pay, (though he pawned, as once in *Normandy*, his own Eſtate to ſatisfie his Souldiers) ſo noble his rewards of valour and ſervice, (it being his rule, That every man ſhould enjoy as much as he could conquer) ſo prevalent his example, that he did more with 2000 men in three moneths, then the Duke of *Suffolk* had done with 8000 in three years. The Duncery and idle-

Edw. 6.

neſs

Edw. 6. ness of the Monks in his time, (as he writes himself) made *Erasmus* a Student: the sloth and careleſsne of Commanders in Sir *Thomas* his time, made him a Souldier.

Edward the third of *England* having ſent t *France* to demand the Crown by Maternal Right the Council there ſent him word, *That the Crow of* France *was not tied to a Diſtaff.* To which h replyed, *That then he would tie it to his Sword.* Si *Thomas Wentworth* demanding *Normandy* iſt righ of the Dukes thereof, Kings of *England*, was told *That Dukedomes were never given away in* France *the Wills of the Dead: Nay then*, replyed he, *will have them againſt the Wills of the Living.*

It's written of our *Henry* the fifth, that he h ſomething of *Cæſar* in him, which *Alexander* t Great had not, That he would not be *Drunk*; a ſomething of *Alexander* the Great, which *Cæſ* had not, That he would not be *Flattered*: Sir *T was* had both their Vertues, none of their Vice *Non tam extra Vitia, quam cum ſummis Virtutib* Though he could not avoid misfortune, and *pr ſper*; yet he could yeild to it, and *retire*: (that e perienced File that could not withſtand the enem ſhot, could *fall down* and *eſcape* it.) Privacy at on ſecured and ſupported this unfortunate Gentlem It is much to know how to lead and bring on ſu ceſsfully; it's more to retreat, and come off han ſomely, and give over a bad game.

Since he heard *ill*, I hear no more of him b this: One being deſigned an Agent, waited up this knowing and experienced Lord for ſome Dir ctions for his conduct and carriage; he delivere T. F. p. 9. himſelf (ſaith my Author) thus: *To ſecure yo*

ſelf

ſelf, and ſerve your Country, you muſt at all times, Edw. 6.
and upon all occaſions, ſpeak truth: for (as he added)
you will never be believed; and by this means your truth will ſecure your ſelf if you be queſtioned, and put thoſe you deal with (who will ſtill hunt counter) to a loſs in all their diſquiſitions and undertakings.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Clement Paſton.

SIr *Clement Paſton* was a Souldier, and a Souldiers Son; Valour running in the Blood for three Generations, and maturated by Noble and Heroick Actions for Glory and Succeſs. Deſigned he was by his Friends for the Gown, but by his own Nature for Armour: Born for Action rather then Contemplation. When his Father asked him *what he would deſire of him*, he deſired a Horſe and a Sword. He was tried in the King of *France* his ſervice in *Henry* the Seventh's time, for his overthrow in *Henry* the Eighths. He was the firſt that made the Engliſh Navy terrible, and the laſt that made our Army ſo: He took the Admiral of *France*, and ſaved him of *England*: 30000 Crowns he received by way of Ranſome from the firſt, and 1000 *l.* by way of Gratitude from the other: A Cup he would ſhew that the firſt gave him every Holy-day, and a Ring of the ſeconds every *Chriſtmas*.

Two Kings made uſe of his Perſon, and two Queens of his counſel, which he gave even on his death-Bed. His advice was ſhort, but reſolute;

his

Edw. 6. his words few, but pertinent; his diſcourſe com-
manding, and Souldier-like: his word, the Decre
of the *Medes*. King *Henry* the Eighth called hi
His Champion; the Protector, in *Edward the* Sixth
time, *His Souldier*; Queen *Mary*, *Her Seaman*
and Queen *Elizabeth*, *Her Father*. When *Wy*
was overthrown, he would deliver himſelf up to
Gentleman, and therefore onely to Sir *Clement P*
ſton.

The two great Intereſts of Souldiers is Pay an
Honour: He mortgaged his Eſtate twice, to ſatis
fie them for the one; and pawn'd his Credit a
Court often, to encourage them for the other
getting his Commanders always power and autho
rity enough to do their Maſters buſineſs, but new
enough to do their own.

There being always a conteſt between the Popu
lacy and the Souldiers, ("whom nothing reco
"ciles but downright force and neceſſity) it w
death to his Followers to be irregular, becauſe o
of their miſcarriages exaſperates a million, and d
ſtaſtes a Kingdom; ſo neceſſary is a ſtrict Diſcipli
in the Camp, and an impartial Juſtice in the Cou
trey.

Outward occaſions help fortune, a mans ow
temper makes it, when there be, as my Lord *Bac*
writes, no ſtops or reſtiveneſs in a mans minde, bu
that the wheels of that keeps even with thoſe of fo
tune. Sir *Clement* and *Cato Major* were both of
make, both having *tantum robur corporis & anim
ut quocunque loco nati eſſent fortunam ſibi facturi vid
bantur.

Obſervo-

Observations on the Life of the Lord Rich.

HE muſt needs be preferred, who was ſo richly deſcended and nobly allied, as to ſhew at Court upon his firſt appearance ſixty Noblemen and Knights of his Relation, and a hundred and fifty thouſand pound a year revenue among his Friends. He was more beholding to the Temple for his Law, then to the Univerſities for his Learning. His ſevere and active Nature aſpiring above the pedantiqueneſs of a Scholar, to the uſefulneſs of a Stateſman: *I could never endure* (ſaith he) *thoſe ſtudies that furniſh me onely with unactive thoughts and uſeleſs diſcourſe, that teach me onely to think and ſpeak.*

His ſtaid and ſolid parts commended him to *Cromwel*, and *Cromwel* recommended him to King *Henry* the Eighth: He was Solicitor-General to His Majeſty, and Steward to his Maſter: *Cromwel* was the *Mawl* and *Rich* the *Hammer* of Abbeys: He laid open to the Monks their faults, and his Maſter made uſe of it to force them to a ſurrendry: For as he ſaid, when thoſe religious Societies ſaw they had faults enough diſcovered to take away their Lands, they had wit enough to give them up. His Counſels overthrew Popery, and his Depoſition cut off Sir *Thomas More*: for being ſent to Sir *Thomas*, after much diſcourſe with him, he asked him this ſubtle Queſtion, *Whether he would acknowledge the King ſupreme Head if it were enjoyned by*

Edw. 6. *by an Act of Parliament?* Sir *Thomas* asked him again, *If the Parliament enacted that God should not be Lord, whether he should consent to it?* And this words undid him. He saw that the Protestant Religion was the interest of *England*, as well as the Doctrine of Scripture; and therefore he carried it on in point of policy, as Archbishop *Cranmer* did in point of conscience. King *Henry* the eighth admired his distinct reasoning, and stayed judgement and Queen *Anne Bullen* was taken with his graceful eloquence, and ingenious discourses: In the morning his plyant soul, that could answer all the turnings and windings of business, was as reserved and solid as that of a demure States-man; in the evening, as cheerful and merry as that of a Debonair Courtier. He was the wisdome of the Court in the Presence, and its wit in the Closet; its Oracle there, and its pleasure here.

King *Henry* the eighth made him one of his Legators, and King *Edward* the sixth one of his Council: Under him he carried on the Protestant Religion in point of conscienee, which others managed in point of interest. He designed the degrees of the Reformation, and he set out its method, then whom none more zealous in things necessary, none more moderate in things indifferent. Active he was, but wary; stirring, but cautious. To him the Reformers resorted in point of Law, as to *Cranmer* and *Ridley* in point of Religion. Such his Prudence, that the Protector made him his Friend; such his Integrity, that the King made him Chancellour: where his Decrees were just, his Dispatches quick, his Judgements speedy, his Sums of Debates full and satisfactory, his Sentences

ences irreverſible; his Aſſiſtants in the Rolls, and other Courts, able and honeſt. None more compliant to Reaſon, none more ſtiff in things againſt Reaſon: He would do any thing for King *Edward* the ſixth's intereſt, nothing for Duke *Dudley*'s ambition; therefore he obſerving the courſe of Affairs, would rather reſigne his Place, then his Integrity; when he could not with a ſafe conſcience keep it, he with a contented minde parted with it; being honoured with the Barony of *Leez*, and enriched with the Weſtern Abbies; it being the Prudence of that time to intereſt the Nobility in the Papal Revenues, that ſo they might be engaged againſt the Authority. *Edw.* 6.

R. Rich Lord Chancellour, (ſaith my Author) then living in *Great St. Bartholomews*, though outwardly concurring with the reſt, began now ſecretly to favour the Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſent him a Letter, therein acquainting him with all paſſages at the Council-board, ſubſcribing the ſame (either out of haſte or familiarity) with no other Direction ſave *To the Duke*; enjoyning his ſervant, a new Attendant, as newly entred into his Family, ſafely to deliver it. The man made more haſte then good ſpeed; and his Lord wondring at his quick return, demanded of him where the Duke was when he delivered him the Letter: *In the Charter-houſe*, (ſaid the ſervant) *on the ſame token that he read it at the Window, and ſmiled thereat.* But the Lord *Rich* ſmiled not at the Relation, as ſadly ſenſible of the miſtake, and delivery of the Letter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, no great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Wonder not if this Lord roſe early up the next morn-

Edw. 6. morning, who may be presumed not to have slept all night: He hieth to the Court; and having gotten admittance into the Bedchamber before the King was up, fell down on his knees, and desired that his Old Age might be eased of this burthen some Office; pleading that there ought to be some preparatory intervals in States-men between their temporal business and their death: in order to which, he desired to retire to *Essex*, there to attend his own Devotions. Nor would he rise from the ground till the King had granted his Request. And thus he saved himself from being stripped by others, by first pulling off his own cloaths, who otherwise had lost his Chancellours place for revealing the secrets of the Council-board.

This story is related from the mouth of his Grandchild the Earl of Warwick that last was.

There are few places so impregnable, but Nature hath left in them some place or other by which they may be taken: none being armed at all points so well, but there is some way left whereby he may be surprized. He is the strongest that hath fewest accesses. He was a wise man that said, *Delay* hath undone many for the other world, *Haste* hath undone more for this, *Time* well managed saves all in both.

But there is a Wheel in things, which undoeth all those that have not a Wheel that answereth it in their Souls; I mean a great capacity to comply and close with those grand Vicissitudes that with small and unobserved circumstances turn round the World, which this great Man was Master of, who had his eye upon the turns, flexures and poynts of things and business, and his state and interest ready to correspond: He knew when to proceed, when to make a stand, and when to retire. It's said of

Gran-

Grandees, *That they are the first that finde their own Griefs, and the last that finde their faults:* Our Lord was quick in both, and hath taught us this, *That certainly men of great fortunes are strangers to themselves; and while they are in the puzzle of business have no time to tend the welfare either of Body or Soul; and that they must withdraw from this world, before they retire into another:* For, *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* Edw. 6.

There are no more Remarques of this Noble Personage, than that he was the Father of this Apophthegme, *Well done, if warily*; and Great Grandfather to the present Earl of *Warwick*.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Mason.

HE had his Birth at *Abingdon*, and his Education at *Oxford*: His Birth commended him to *All-Souls*, and his Breeding to the Court: His Study was like his Inclination, rather active then contemplative, his present thoughts foreseeing and providing for his future Employments. But Industry and Parts may prepare a man, it is opportunity and occasion that must advance him; and never had a man fairer opportunity, never made a man better use of it.

None but Mr. *Mason* would the University pitch upon, to complement *Henry* the Eighth; none but Mr. *Mason* could please him, although he was as great a *Scholar* as he was a *King*, and as much an Humorist as both: as he was inclined, so he studied; as

Edw. 6. he ſtudied, ſo he writ; not with a Pedants impertinence, but a Stateſmans prudence: ſo elegant was his Latine, that a Critick would have advanced him Profeſſor; ſo various his Learning, that *Cranmer* would have preferred him Prebend; and yet ſo grave and wiſe the matter and compoſure of his ſpeech, that the King deſigned him a Stateſman.

When King *Henry* the Eighth came to *Oxford*, Sir *John* is deputed to congratulate his coming: who conſidering that a man cannot every day ſpeak to Kings, contrived (ſaith my Author) the matter of his ſpeech moſt manlike, politick and pertinent, the phraſe of it polite and majeſtick; ſo that what with his comely preſence, his becoming carriage, his flowing expreſſion, his graceful elocution, he gained that applauſe from the Court and Univerſity, that the one was as eager to have him, as the other was loth to part with him: the Univerſity was proud of him, but King *Henry* commanded him, and diſpoſeth of him in forreign parts, to adde practick experience to his ſpeculative ſtudies: It was the excellent way of that time, to pick out the choice youths of both Univerſities, and maintain them ſome years abroad, to make ſuch Obſervations as might render them ſerviceable at home.

Dwelt with Books he had long enough, now he muſt converſe with men, and open his recluſe and retired ſoul, to a practicable and ſocial temper, by debonairneſs and freedom, too long mewed up with ſtudy and melancholy: Think and ſpeak he could very well already, now he muſt learn to act and live: Books furniſhed, Travel muſt enlarge and ſettle his ſoul.

Four things made a Stateſman in thoſe dayes:

1. The

1. The University and good Letters. *Edw. 6.*
2. The City and Converse.
3. The Court and Freedom of spirit.
4. Travel and Observation.

It was the politick Discipline of those days to select (saith mine Author) *the pregnancies of either University, and breed them in forreign parts for publick Employments.* Agreeable whereunto, Mr. *Mason* is sent beyond sea with Instructions to guide him, and a Pension to support him: With Order,

1. To keep exact correspondence with the Secretary at home.

2. To entertain 1. the most eminent Scholar, who might represent the Church: 2. the ripest Undersecretary, who might decipher to him the state: 3. the ablest Souldier and Seaman, that might open to him the Interest of both Nations.

3. To take an exact account of the Havens, Forts, Cities, Avenues, Passages, Ways, Treasure and Interest of the place he lives in.

4. To follow the respective Embassadors Directions in every Court.

5. To appear in each place upon any solemnity, Civil or Military, suitable to the occasion, all charges to be defrayed from the English Exchequer.

His Pension was two hundred and twenty pounds a year; his Circuit was *France*, the *Netherlands* and *Italy*; his Commission was to engage any knowing person of those respective Courts, that could transcribe their Edicts or Orders, give exact Intelligence, make any Interest, or had any influence upon their respective Governments: His Rules were,

1. To correspond with his Majesties Agents.

Edw. 6. 2. To have few and choice Acquaintance.

3. To make Collections of, and Obſervations upon the Hiſtories, the Laws, Cuſtoms, and the moſt conſiderable Stateſmen, Governours, and Great men, with their Relations and Dependencies in thoſe Courts.

4. To give a monthly account of ſuch Remarques as occurred, at large to the Secretary, and in brief to the King and Cardinal.

His firſt undertaking was in *France*, where his Gravity was too ſevere, beyond the dalliances of that place. His next was to *Italy*, where he ſhewed as great a reach in countermining, as the inhabitants of that place do in managing their plots: *None deſigns* (ſaith the Character) *further off then the Italian: None ſeeth* (ſaid Sir *Tho. Audley*) *further off then Sir* John Maſon. His laſt voyage was to *Spain*, where he out-*grav'd* the *Don* Himſelf, and then returned with the Italians *quickneſs*, the Spaniards *ſtaidneſs*, the Frenchmans *Ayr*, the Germans *Reſolution*, and the Dutchmans *Induſtry*: Qualities that demonſtrated he underſtood other Countreys, and could ſerve his own.

There this pregnant Gentleman being at ſome diſtance, could look more inwardly into the Conſtitution, Situation, Intereſt, State and Complexion of his own Countrey; and being near, could diſcern thoſe of other parts with the mutual aſpect of *England* upon them, and theirs upon it. They that lived in thoſe times ſay that none underſtood the affairs of *England* and *France*, together with their mutual advantages or diſadvantages, better than Sir *John Maſon*.

He that had ſeen the myſteries of four Courts, might

might be truſted with thoſe of one, as he was in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, in the capacity of a Privy Counſellour; and in *Edward* the ſixth's, in the Truſt of chief Secretary. At the Board, none clearer in his Propoſals; in his Office, none quicker for Diſpatch: *Let me hear Sir John Maſon*, ſaid the King; *Let us to Sir John Maſon*, ſaid the Subjects: ſo much the reputation of his prudent integrity with the one, and of his familiar acceſs with the other! *Edw. 6.*

Four things he ſaid kept him in, under all the Revolutions, during the four Princes Reigns whom he ſerved:

1. That he thought few Things would ſave a man.

2. That he was always intimate with the exacteſt Lawyer, and ableſt Favourite.

3. That he ſpake little, and writ leſs.

4. That he had attained to ſomething which each party eſteemed ſerviceable to them, and was ſo moderate, that all thought him their own.

When a compleat man, he was called home, to be firſt Clerk of the Council, a place of great Truſt; ſecondly, Secretary of State, a place of great Employment; thirdly, Maſter of the Requeſts, an Office of great Diſpatch and Buſineſs; and fourthly, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, an Employment of conſtant care.

No Age wanted an able man more, no Age had one more willing to ſecure the Univerſities, than that which choſe him to be Chancellour of *Oxford*, at the ſame time that his Prince made him Treaſurer of the Houſhold. Sacriledge it ſelf then gaping after the Univerſity-Lands, durſt not tempt ſo ho-

Edw. 6. neſt a Man, nor perſwade ſo great a Scholar, nor fright ſo reſolute a Stateſman to betray or yeild up thoſe ancient Encouragements of Learning and Vertue. Loth was *Oxford* to part with him when a Scholar, glad to entertain him a Stateſman, with a power to protect her, well tempered with Obligations to love her; he who is now the *Father* being lately the *Son*; maintained by a part of it, as he now maintained the whole. That was a ſcrambling time, when it was *catch who catch can.* I finde not any particular favour conferred, or benefaction beſtowed by him in perſon on the Univerſity; but this great good he did, That his Greatneſs kept others from doing any harm. Many hungry Courtiers had hopes to catch Fiſh, (and Fiſh it would be, whatever came into their Nets) on this turning of the tide, and alteration of Religion: How eaſie was it for covetouſneſs in thoſe times to quarrel the Colledge-Lands into ſuperſtition! Sacriledge ſtood ready to knock at their Gates; and alas! 'twas paſt their Porter's power to forbid it enterance, had not Sir *John Maſon* vigorouſly oppoſed it, and aſſiſted the Univerſity on all occaſions.

He inciteth them to the ſtudy of the Tongues; becauſe *ſenſum alicujus rei non poteſt ille aſſequi qui rudis eſt Idiomatis quo traditur:* and directed the reading of *Ariſtotle, Agricola, Melanthon,* &c. inſtead of *Scotus, Burleus, Bricot:* calling for all their Charters, Donations, Satutes, Popes Bulls, with an exact Rental of their Lands, and Inventory of their Goods, which were reſtored intire and ſafe.

The Univerſity, that could not enjoy his preſence, craves his protection; and foreſeeing in the fall of Abbeys, their danger, eſpecially when Foundati-

ons

ons erected for ſuperſtition were given by ſtatute to the King, choſe Sir *John Maſon* their Chancellour, who was at once a Favourite of Power and of Learning; the greateſt Lay-Stateſman that was a Scholar, and the greateſt Scholar that was a Lay-Stateſman: He was not contented to ſecure, but he muſt improve *Oxford*, gaining it New Priviledges, when it feared the loſs of its old ones. *Edw.* 6.

A grave and reſerved man he was, who underſtood the Intrigues and Motions of thoſe dark and uncertain times, and his nimble and preſent Prudence could accommodate them. His Maxime was, *Do, and ſay nothing*: Commending the active and cloſe man, whoſe performances were as private, coherent, continued and ſuddain as his counſels; who would not ſpend that time in adviſing, that would ſerve for executing: Many were his penſions to Scholars at home, more to Agents abroad that aſſiſted either his ſtudies or employments, whom he deſigned an honour to his middle, and a ſupport to his old age. He had a peculiar way of ſatisfying ſuiters by plain dealing and diſpatch: he would divide all ſuits either into matter of Equity, or a ſuit of Controverſie; or into matter of Deſert, or a ſuit of Petition: In the firſt he had his Referrendaries, to ſee the matter compounded between both Parties, rather then carried by either: In the ſecond, he preferred all ſuitably to their Abilities. No man underſtood better the nature of Court-places than he, and none ſaw further into Court-Perſons.

Two things, he ſaid, always promoted a matter:

1. Secreſie: (Boaſting, which is the way of ſome Courtiers, though it diſcourageth ſome

Edw. 6. Competitors, yet it awakeneth Others.)

2. Timing of it, with an Eye to those about us.

He would advise a Man to begin with a little and mean suit: For though (as my Lord *Bacon* observes) *iniquum petas & æquum feras*, is a good Rule, where a man hath strength of favour; yet otherwise a man had better rise in his suit: For he that would have ventured at first to have lost his *Suitor*, will not in the conclusion lose both the *Suitor* and his own former Favour.

It's from him, while he lived, that we learned Celerity is the best Secresie; Prudence and Resolution is the onely Fortune; Converse is the great Education; Boldness a mans surest Success; Good Nature is the eminent Nobility; and a well-weighed Honesty the onely Favourite.

It's by him, when he died, we are taught that Moderation out-lasts Violence, Modesty Ambition, a Publique Spirit a Private One; That to act alone may be as Profitable as Honourable, but to joyn with others, most safe: That to study the nature of a Prince, may for the present advance; but to understand the Interest of his Kingdom, is always secure: The one way being as uncertain as the frail Person it depends upon, the other as sure as the lasting State it serves.

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Sir William Stamford.

SIr *William Stamford* was of *Straffordian* extraction; *Robert* his Grandfather living at *Rowley* in that County: but *William* his Father was a Merchant in *London*, and purchased Lands at *Hadley* in *Middlesex*, where Sir *William* was born *August* 22. 1509. He was bred to the study of our Municipal Laws; attaining so much eminence therein, that he was preferred one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. His most learned Book of *The Pleas of the Crown*, hath made him for ever famous amongst men of his own Profession. There is a spirit of retraction of one to his Native County, which made him purchase Lands, and his son settle himself in *Staffordshire*. This worthy Judge died *Aug.* 28. and was buried at *Hadley* in this Shire, in the last year of the reign of Queen *Mary*, 1558.

King *James* had a Judge that would give no money, and King *Henry* had one that would take none. "There have been those Lawyers that turned the "point of Law upon the Law it self; that wounded "the Eagle with a feather from his own Wing, and "stabbed the person of Princes with their Autho"rity; that dethroned Kings with a moot-point, "and overthrowed a Government at a Reading. This Judge understood, that as the Law is the security of the people, so Prerogative is the strength of the Law; and that that is the best temper of Go-

Edw. 6. Government where Kings have ſo much power to do evil, that they may be able to do good.

Miſerable experience hath taught us, that ſince power hath been wreſted from Princes, that neither they nor their people can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath intruſted the publick ſafety and welfare; which conſiſts in a full power belonging to the King, to ſecure Liberties, preſerve Property, and protect their People in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which themſelves have conſented. He ſets himſelf good Rules, as well to create good preſidents, as to follow them; reducing things to their firſt inſtitution, and obſerving wherein and how they have degenerated: yet ſtill taking counſel of both times; of the ancienter time, what is beſt; and of the latter, what is fitteſt. He made his courſe regular, that men might know what to expect; but not peremptory, that Knaves might not know how to impoſe upon him: always expreſſing himſelf well, when he digreſſed from his Rule. Preſerve the right of his place he would, but not ſtir Queſtions of Juriſdictions; rather aſſuming his right in ſilence, and *de facto*, then voice it with claims and challenges. He directed in moſt Affairs, but was buſie in none: none readier to give, none readier to take helps and advices. His ſpeech was more diſcreet then eloquent; rather particularly ſuitable to the preſent things and perſons, then generally orderly and artificial. He could ſpeak quick and deep too, never uſing many circumſtances, leſt he were tedious; ever ſome, leſt he were blunt: ſo warily did he deliver what he knew, that he was ſometimes thought to know what he did not.

not. He knew what *might* be ſaid, ſo good his fan- Edw. 6.
cy; and he knew what *ſhould* be thought, ſo
great his judgement: commanding the diſcourſe
where-ever he was, by that prudence that could
bring it on and off; and that variety that happily in-
termingled Arguments with Tales, Reaſons with
Opinions, and earneſt with jeſt. His Decrees were
the Hedges of Propriety, his Diſpatches cool, his
Caſes rightly ſtated; his Reports ſavour of Inte-
grity and Prudence, of Books and Men. How diſ-
creetly would he moderate the rigorous circum-
ſtances of Petty and Pœnal Laws! how exactly ob-
ſerve the deſigne and drift of the more fundamental
and reaſonable! Here no Intrigues to perplex, no
Attendance to tire, no Hazards to diſcourage, no
Checks or Delays to vex, no ſurreptitious advan-
tages to ſurprize; no defeats of hopes, or falſeneſs
of friends to diſappoint; no negligence of Agents,
or intereſt of Parties to betray; no Oratory or So-
phiſm to varniſh or hide a matter: all things clear
as Juſtice, and ſmooth as Integrity.

By diligence and moderation, with their gentle
degrees and augmentations, and his own watchful
obſervance, he climbed to Excellency. A man is
neither good, nor rich, nor wiſe at once; it being
a double work to be great: 1. To remove Obſtru-
ction, and accommodate Adverſaries: 2. To watch
and aſſume the advantage. What is longeſt in pro-
ving, is longeſt declining: the Roſe that buds one
day, withereth the next: The Oak that is an Age
a growing, is five ſtanding. He had thoſe lower
Vertues that drew praiſe from the Vulgar, which
he neglected, (knowing that they were more taken
with appearances then realities) he had middle
that

Edw. 6. that they admired, and good men observed; h had his highest Vertues, which they perceived, an great men honoured: In a word, a fragrant fum he had, that filled all round about, and would no easily away. Although he despised the Flatterer praise, as base; and avoided the Cunnings, as dan gerous; yet he would say of a deserved Fame, Tha being nothing, or but ayr at best, it doth all: fo it's sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion bring on substance.

He observed of himself, that he came very hardl to little Riches, and very easily to great Riches For when a mans Stock is come to that, as my Lor *Verulam* observes, that he can expect the prime o the Markets, and overcome those Bargains which for their greatness are few mens money, and be Partners in the Industries of younger men, he can not but mainly increase with those two Ad vancers of Gain, 1. Diligence; and, 2. A good Name.

See Ep. ad Lect. Lecs Plees des Coron.

He hath left these two Principles behind him for those of his own profession:

1. That that they should reduce every Statute to the Common Law and Custome whereon it is grounded.

2. That they should as well look into the Histo ry of former times for the Reasons and Circum stances of our Laws, as into their Law-books for the matter of them.

Some Lawyers assert the Subjects Liberty, and retrench the Prerogative (as too much power to be trusted for a mortal man) within the known Li mits of Law, that so Subjects may be at a certainty how

how to ſquare their Loyalty and Obedience. He always upheld that Prerogative, ſaying, *That the diſcretion of the Scepter as Guardian for the general good of the Commonwealth, muſt be truſted againſt all Emergencies, with the management of its own might:* concluding always thus; *Submiſſion is our Duty, and Confidence our Prudence.* Biſhop *Bancroft* of *Oxford* ſaid in King *Charles* the firſt his time, *Ex tempore occubui quo mallem Epiſcopatus rationem coram Deo dare, quam Epiſcopatum coram hominibus exercere.* Judge *Stamford* ſaid in Q. *Mary*'s time, *In quæ reſervamur tempora! det Deus ut Magiſtratus rationem coram eo reddam potius quam Magiſtratum coram hominibus exerceam.* Edw. 6.

His Book containeth two parts; One of *The Pleas of the Crown*, the other of *The Kings Prerogative.* In him (ſaith Mr. *Fulbeck*) there is force and weight, and no common kinde of ſtile; in matter very few have gone beyond him, in method none have overtaken him: in the order of his writing he is ſmooth, yet ſharp; pleaſant, yet grave: and ſurely his method may be a Law to the Writers that ſucceed him.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Jeffrey.

Sir *John Jeffrey* was born in *Suſſex*, where he left behind him a fair Eſtate to his Daughter. He ſo profited in the Study of our Municipal Law, that he was preferred ſecondary Judge of the

Edw. 6. the Common Pleas, and thence advanced by Queen *Elizabeth*, in *Michaelmas*-Term, the nineteenth of her Reign, to be Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer: which place he discharged for the Term of two years, to his great commendation. He left one Daughter and Heir, married to Sir *Edward Montague*, (since Baron of *Boughton*) by whom he had but one Daughter, *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Barty* Earl of *Lindsey*, Mother to the truly honourable *Montague* Earl of *Lindsey*, and Lord great Chamberlain of *England*. This worthy Judge died in the 21 of Queen *Elizabeth*.

This was he who was called the Plodding Student, whose industry perfected Nature, and was perfected by experience. He read not to argue onely; for that is vanity: nor to believe and trust for that is easiness: nor to discourse; for that is idle: but to weigh and consider; for that is prudence. He had his Studies for pleasure and privacy, for ornament and converse, and for judgement and business. To spend too much time on his Book, was sloth; to talk by Book, was affected: and to act by it, was humoursome and Scholar-like.

Four things he would say helped him.

Eth. l. 10. c. 7. 1. His Inclination: (*It's a great happiness to a man* (saith *Aristotle*) *when his Calling is one of those things that agree with his nature*)

2. Method.

3. Religion, with that just and composed mind that attends it.

4. A great happiness in all the four faculties that make a Lawyer: 1. A sharp invention, and clear appre-

apprehenſion to ſearch all the circumſtances of a case propounded. 2. Judgement to examine and weigh the particulars invented and apprehended; for truth lieth in things, as Gold in Mines. 3. Memory to retain what is judged and examined. 4. A prompt and ready delivery of what is conceived and retained, ſet out with ingenuity and gravity. *Oratio preſta non audax.* What he ſaid, was cloſe and pinching, and not confident and earneſt; allowing paſſion not to *diſturb* either the method or delivery of his diſcourſe, but to *quicken* it. To ſpeak well and much, he ſaid, was not the work of one man: yet if a Philoſopher be eloquent, ſaid *Cicero*, we muſt not deſpiſe him; if he be not, he muſt not affect it, ſo that he can comprehend in words what he conceiveth, and ſpeak them plainly, that he may be underſtood. His Latine and French were Grammatical, his Rhetorick Natural, his Logick Reaſon: The firſt, opened the terms: the ſecond, preſſed the vigour; the laſt, collected and diſpoſed of the Axiomes, Grounds and Rules of the Law, and all prepared him for that comprehenſive Profeſſion; in the aſhes whereof, the ſparks of all other Sciences were raked up. Edw. 6.

His geſture and habit was grave, but not affected; ſpeaking as much to the eye, as his tongue did to the ear: (the geſture being a great diſcoverer of the conſtitution, and a great direction to buſineſs: what a man miſſeth in the ſpeech, he may ſometimes find in the looks) His temper was moderate and ſober; a Vertue, and a ſeaſoning of all others, attended with the Lawyers gift, and that is Patience. Modeſt he was, but not fondly baſhful; his prudence, and not his ſoftneſs. His humility begat affable-

Edw. 6. affableneſs; his affableneſs, ſociety; that, conference; conference, parts, and they acquaintance; and that, practice; and practice, experience; experience, renown; and that, preferment.

Sir *John*'s inclination was ſtudious; his minde conſtant, ſolid, and ſetled, and able to dive into the whirl-pools of that intricate and perplexed Faculty; his thoughts being *orderly*, and his conceptions *methodical*: his ſearch comprehenſive, avoiding Epitomes, as the banes of Learning. *Nullus illi per otiam dies exit, partem noctium ſtudiis vindicat non vacat ſomno, ſed ſuccumbit, & oculos vigilia fatigatos cadenteq; in opere detinet.*

Conſiderable were the Parts he had, but more ſo the making up of thoſe he had not: his covering of his defects being of no leſs importance then the valuing of good Parts, which he did three ways:

1. By caution, ingeniouſly and diſcreetly waving and putting off things improper.

2. By colour, making his Defects his Vertues, and his Faults his Endowments. And

3. By that freedom of Spirit that daunts the weakeſt, and prevaileth with the wiſeſt.

Vid. Waterhouſe in Forteſc. de laud. Leg. Angl.

He propoſed to himſelf five things to enquire into, in order to that compleatneſs he arrived unto:

1. The ancient Maximes and Principles, or the more ancient Cuſtoms that make up the Common Law of *England*.

2. The Acts and Conſtitutions that make up its Statute-Law.

3. The particular Priviledges, Liberties, Immunities and Uſages of Counties, Burroughs, Cities, *&c.*

&c. that doe swerve from this Law. Edw. 6.

4. The ancient Grounds and Reasons (as far as History can direct) of all these: our Law being an exact Reason.

5. The most satisfactory explanations of the Law: 1. From Commentaries, as *Bractons*: 2. Abridgements, as *Stathams*: 3. History, as the years and terms of the Common Law: And 4. From more particular Tracts, that handled their peculiar subjects, as *Fortescue*, *Glanvil*, *Britton*, *Fleta*, *Littleton*, which he thought not unprofitable to read, though dangerous to rely upon: (with the Lord *Cooke*, not liking those that stuff their mindes with wandering and masterless reports: For, as he said, they shall find them too soon to lead them to error:) Beginning with the terms of Art, and then to the matter; perusing what is antiquated, and observing what is suitable to the present constitution and complexion. It's my Lord *Cook*'s Rule, "That "for the most part the latter Judgements and Re- "solutions are the surest, and therefore fittest to "season a man withal in the beginning; both for "settling of his Judgement, and retaining them in "memory; yet as he goeth on, out of the old fields "must spring and grow the new Corn.

Our Lawyers course was slow and leisurely, his reading digested and deliberate: His considerations wary, and distrust his way to knowledge. He that begins with certainties, ends in doubts; and he that begins with doubts, ends in certainties, and looketh into the bottom of things.

Upon serious and solid Books he bestowed a double reading; the one cursorily, by way of preparation; and the other exact, by way of digestion.

Edw. 6.

Three things made him a Pleader:

1. Reading.
2. Obſervation.
3. Exerciſe.

Vid. Cok. in Littl. Prefat.

And indeed, in ancient times, the Sergeants and Apprentices of Law did draw their own pleadings, which made them good Pleaders.

He obſerved the affections, the intent, the analogy, the validity of the Law, putting all his reading to writing; having the places he was moſt to handle in all the variety that could be, with his Rules and Maximes, as far as reading, hearing, meditation, conference and memory could help him.

Thus his firſt thoughts were upon his Profeſſion, until that advanced him to the higheſt Eminence; and his laſt upon his Intereſt, until that was improved to as much fortune as lieth in a well-laid Eſtate and Alliance.

The End of the Obſervations upon the Lives of the Stateſmen and Favourites of *England*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth.

THE

THE STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES OF *ENGLAND*, IN The Reign of Queen *MARY*.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Cordel.

SIr *William Cordel*, where-ever he was born, had a fair Eſtate at *Long-Melford* in *Suffolk*, and lieth buried in that fair Church, under a decent Monument: We will tranſlate his Epitaph, which will perfectly acquaint us with the great Offices he had, and good Offices he did to Poſterity.

Hic Gulielmus habet requiem, Cordelliæ avito,
Stemmate quæ clarius, clarior ingenio:
Hic Studiis primos conſumpſit fortiter annos,

Q. Mary.

Mox & causarum strenuus actor erat.
Tanta illi doctrina inerat facundia tanta,
Ut Parlamenta publica lingua foret:
Postea factus Eques, Reginæ arcana Mariæ
Consilia, & Patriæ grande subibat opus.
Factus & est Custos Rotulorum; urgente senecta,
In Christo moriens cæpit ad astra viam.
Pauperibus largus victum vestemque ministrans,
In super Hospitii condidit ille domum.

"Here William Cordel *doth in rest remain;*
"*Great by his Birth, but greater by his Brain:*
"*Plying his studies hard, his Youth throughout,*
"*Of Causes he became a Pleader stout.*
"*His Learning deep such Eloquence did vent,*
"*He was chose Speaker to the Parliament:*
"*Afterwards Knight* Queen Mary *did him make,*
"*And Counsellour, State-Work to undertake;*
"*And Master of the Rolls: Well worn with Age,*
"*Dying in Christ, Heaven was his utmost Stage.*
"*Diet and Clothes to poor he gave at large,*
"*And a fair Alms-House founded on his charge.*

He was made Master of the Rolls *November* the fifth, in the fifth of Queen *Mary*, continuing therein till the day of his death, the 23 of Queen *Elizabeth*. Eight weeks and upwards passed between the Proclaiming of Queen *Mary*, and the first Parliament by her assembled; during which time, two Religions were together set on foot, Protestantism and Popery; the former hoping to be continued, the latter labouring to be restored: And as the Jews Children after the Captivity spake a middle Language, betwixt *Hebrew* and *Ashdod*; so during the

the foreſaid Interim, the Churches and Chappels in *England* had a mixt celebration of their Divine Service between Reformation and Superſtition: The ſame day there was a Maſs ſung for *Edward* the Sixth's ſoul in the Tower, and the Engliſh Service for his Burial in *Weſtminſter*. No ſmall juſtling was there between the zealous Promoters of theſe contrary Perſwaſions: The Proteſtants had the Law on their ſide, and the Papiſts the Prerogative: Theſe the Queens Opinion, the other her Promiſe. Beſides, ſeeing by the Fidelity of the *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* Proteſtant Gentry, the Queen was much advantaged for the Recovery of her Right; they conceived it but reaſon that as ſhe by them regained the Crown, ſo they under her ſhould enjoy their Conſciences: Thus it is in the Evening Twilight, wherein Light and Darkneſs at firſt may ſeem very equally matched, but the later in a little time doth wholly prevail. The Catholick canvaſs for the next Parliament upon the Queens credit and authority, the Reformed upon the Nations Inclination.

Q. *Mary.*

Fuller Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 8. Cent. 15.

The Body of the Kingdom meets, and chuſeth our Knight for Speaker, whoſe temper was a Repreſentative of the Parliament, as that is of the Kingdom: A temper made up of an equal mixture of Loyalty and Piety, that could at once ſtand to their Religion, and ſubmit to their Soveraign; *Render to* Cæſar *what was* Cæſars, *and to God, what was Gods:* Long did he expect that the Queen would comply with the Parliament, and as long did ſhe ſtay for their compliance with her: Unite they could not unanimouſly among themſelves, diſſolved they are therefore peaceably by her.

But *Cordel* was too Popular to be neglected, and

Q. Mary, too honest to be corrupted: Useful Parts will finde Preferment, even when the Dissenting Judgement findes not Favour. The Speaker of the unhappily *healing* Parliament was made Master of the Rolls in Queen *Maries* days, and of a more happily *healing* one, was made so in *Charles* the Second's Reign: The one was of that Primitive Faith that was before the Modern names of *Papists* and *Protestants*; the other of a Moderation that was elder then the new Sects of Disciplinarians and Anti-Disciplinarians.

The miscarriages of Authority are chiefly six:

1. Delay.
2. Faction.
3. Roughness.
4. Corruption.
5. Ambition. And
6. Private Designs.

No delay hindered: where set times of hearing were observed, access was easie, the order and method of business uninterrupted. No corruption, where there durst be no suspition of it; insomuch as that it was as heinous to offer a Bribe to him, as to take it in another. Here was severity that awed men to a discontent, but no austerity that sowred them to discontent; all was smooth and grave, pleasing and becoming, yet nothing easie or soft; it being worse to yeild to importunities that are dayly, then to be bought with money, which comes but seldom.

Vertue in Ambition is violent, but in Authority, is here, it was calm and settled. He sided with no Faction in his rise, but balanced himself by all: He had no design when he lived, but to be spent in the Publique Service; and none when he died, but to

spend

ſpend himſelf in publick charity, a charity that is at once the continued bleſſing and grace of that worſhipful Family. *Cato Major* would ſay, *That wiſe men learn more of fools, then fools do of wiſe men:* And King *Charles* the firſt would ſay, *That it was wiſdome in fools to jeſt with wiſe men, but madneſs for wiſe men to jeſt with fools:* And Sir *William Cordel* bequeathed us this Obſervation, *There is no man that talks, but I may gain by him; and none that holds his tongue, but I may looſe by him.* Q. Mary.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Anthony Cooke.

SIr *Anthony Cooke*, great Grandchilde to Sir *Thomas Cooke* Lord Mayor of *London*, was born at *Giddy-Hall* in *Eſſex*, where he finiſhed a fair Houſe begun by his great Grandfather, as appeareth by this Inſcription on the Frontiſpice thereof:

Ædibus his frontem Proavus Thomas dedit olim,
Addidit Antoni cætera ſera manus.

He was one of the Governours to King *Edward* the ſixth when Prince, and is charactered by Mr. *Cambden*, *Vir antiqua ſerenitate.* He obſerveth him alſo to be happy in his Daughters, learned above their Sex in Greek and Latine: namely, Cambd. Eliz. an. 1576.

Q. Mary.

1. *Mildred*	married unto	*William Cecill*, Lord Treasurer of *England*.
2. *Anne*		*Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Chancellour of *England*.
3. *Katherine*		*Henry Killigrew*, Knights.
4. *Elizabeth*		*Thomas Hobby*, Knights.
5.		*Ralph Rowlet*, Knights.

Sir *Anthony Cooke* died in the year of our Lord 1576. leaving a fair Estate unto his Son, in whose name it continued till our time. Gravity was the Ballast of his Soul, and General Learning its Leading. In him met the three things that set up a Family:

1. An Estate honestly gotten in the City.
2. An Education well managed in the University. And,
3. Honour well bestowed at Court.

Yet he was some-body in every Art, and eminent in all the whole circle of Arts lodging in his soul. His Latine, fluent and proper; his Greek, critical and exact; his Philology, and Observations upon each of these Languages, deep, curious, various and pertinent: His Logick, rational; his History and Experience, general; his Rhetorick and Poetry, copious and genuine; his Mathematiques, practicable and useful. Knowing that souls were equal, and that Women are as capable of Learning as Men, he instilled that to his Daughters at night, which he had taught the Prince in the day; being resolved to have Sons by Education,

for

for fear he ſhould have none by birth; and left he wanted an Heir of his body, he made five of his minde, for whom he had at once a *Gavel-kind* of affection and of Eſtate. Q. *Mary.*

His Childrens maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their diſpoſition; neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them againſt their natures. It is the happineſs of Forreigners, that their Vocations are ſuited to their Natures, and that their Education ſeconds their Inclination; and both byaſs and ground do wonders. It's the unhappineſs of Engliſh-men, that they are bred rather according to their Eſtates, then their temper; and Great Parts have been loſt, while their Calling drew one way, and their Genius another; and they ſadly ſay, *Multum incolæ fuere animæ noſtræ, We have dwelt from home.* Force makes Nature more violent in the return; Doctrine and Diſcourſe may make it leſs importune; Cuſtome may hide it ſuppreſs it, nothing can extinguiſh it: Nature even in the ſofter Sex runs either to Weeds or Herbs: careful was this good Father therefore, ſeaſonably to water the one, and deſtroy the other. Much was done by his grave Rules, more by his graver life, that Map of Precepts. Precepts teach, but Examples draw. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia*, was *Cato*'s Maxime. Three things there were before whom (was Sir *Anthony*'s ſaying) I cannot do amiſs: 1. My Prince; 2. My Conſcience; 3. My Children. *Seneca* told his Siſter, *That though he could not leave her a great portion, he would leave her a good pattern.* Sir *Anthony* would write to his Daughter *Mildred*, *My example is your inheritance,*

Q. Mary. ritance, *and my life is your portion.* His first care was to embue their tender souls with a knowing, serious, and sober Religion, which went with them to their graves. His next business was to inure their younger years to submission, modesty and obedience; and to let their instructions grow with their years. Their Book and Pen was their Recreation; the Musick and Dancing-School, the Court and City, their accomplishment; the Needle in the Closet, and House-wifry in the Hall and Kitchin, their business. They were reproved, but with reason that convinced and checked, that wrought as well an ingenious shame, as an unfeigned sorrow, and a dutiful fear. Fondness never loved his Children, and Passion never chastised them. But all was managed with that prudence and discretion, that my Lord *Seymour* standing by one day when this Gentleman chid his Son, said, *Some men govern Families with more skill then others do Kingdomes*; and thereupon commended him to the Government of his Nephew *Edward* the sixth. Such the Majesty of his looks and gate, that Awe governed; such the reason and sweetness, that love obliged all his Family: a Family equally afraid to displease so *good* a Head, and to offend so *great*. In their marriage they were guided by his Reason more then his Will; and rather *directed* by his Counsel, then *led* by his Authority. They were their own portion: Parts, Beauty and Breeding bestow themselves. His care was, that his Daughters might have compleat *Men*, and that their Husbands might be happy in compleat *Women*: never promising, yet always paying a great Dowry. Their Spirit and business kept them from that weak passion

of love that embaseth Mankind; their Noble con- Q. *Mary.*
verse improved that friendly love that perfecteth
it; and their marriage compleated that Nuptial
love that makes it. He said first, and his Grand-
childe my Lord *Bacon* after him, That *the Joys of*
Parents are Secrets, and so are their Griefs and Fears.
Children sweeten Labours, but they embitter Mis-
fortunes: they encrease the care of Life, and mi-
tigate the remembrance of Death. Very provi-
dently did he secure his Eternity, by leaving the
image of his nature in his Children, and of his
mind in his Pupil. The Recreations he indulged
were moderate, lawful, sober, becoming, useful,
and seasonable: the Expences he allowed, not so il-
liberal as to acquaint them with shifts, make them
diet with mean company, nor surfeit when they
came to plenty; nor yet so prodigal, but that they
were taught how to live in the world. The Books
he advised were not *many*, but *choice*: the business
he pressed was not reading, but digesting. The
King of *Sweden*'s men were but six deep; and Sir
Anthony's exercises were not thick, but methodical
and armed: the Diet he prescribed, moderate: in
Apparel he allowed for necessity, for decency, and
in some cases for magnificence, provided that it
were neither too costly, nor too vain; neither a-
bove the Purse, nor beyond the Calling, nor be-
sides the Estate.

Sir *Anthony* took more pleasure to breed up States-men, then to be one. Contemplation was his Soul, Privacy his Life, and Discourse his Element. Business was his Purgatory, and Publick-ness his torment: yet so serviceable was he in *Edward* the sixth's time, that he was an Exile in Queen

Ma-

Q. *Mary*. *Mary*'s: An Exile, whose exemplary resolutio
supported Religion, whose obliging Authorit
maintained Peace, and whose inexhaustible charit
provided for the Poor at *Zurieke* and *Frankford*.
A *Sussex* (and not a *Kentish*) Knight having spen
a great Estate at Court, and brought himself to ou
Park, and a fine House in it, was yet ambitious t
entertain not the Queen, but her Brother at it;
and to that purpose had new-painted his Gates wit
a Coat of Arms, and a Motto overwritten, thus,
OIA VANITAS, in great Golden Letters.
Sir *Anthony Cooke* (and not his Son *Cecil*) offerin
to read it, desired to know of the Gentleman wha
he meant by OIA? who told him, it stood for *Om*
nia. Sir *Anthony* replyed, *Sir, I wonder havin*
made your Omnia *so little as you have, you notwith*
standing make your Vanitas *so large*. King *Edwa*
would say of his Tutors, That *Rodolph* the *Germa*
spake honestly, Sir *John Cheeke* talked merrily, D
Coxe solidly, and Sir *Anthony Cooke* weighingly:
faculty that was derived with his blood to hi
Grandchilde *Bacon*, which informs the world o
this great truth, That Education doth much to
wards Parts; Industry more; Converse, Encou
ragement and Exercise, more yet; but a soun
temper and nature, an wholsome blood and spirit,
derived from healthful and well-constitutioned Pa
rents, doth all.

Obser

Obſervations on the Life of Sir David Brooke.

David Brooke Knight, born at *Glaſſenbury*, Son to *John Brooke* Eſq; who was Sergeant at Law to King *Henry* the Eighth. Our *David* was alſo bred in the Study of our Laws, and in the firſt of Queen *Mary* was made chief Baron of the Exchequer: but whether dying in, or quitting the place in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, I am not informed. He married *Katharine* Daughter of *John* Lord *Chandois*, but died without iſſue.

A Lawyer, and a Lawyers ſon: yet one whoſe Zeal for the Religion of that time advanced, rather then his Law; to ſerve rather his Princes intereſt, then his Court: that being the happy, ſhall I ſay? or unhappy time when the Soveraign and the State did often conſult with Judges, and the Judges more often conſult with the Soveraign and State. Yet although a particular reſpect raiſed, a general fair carriage kept him up; He obſerved not onely things, but times; not onely times, but perſons: therefore when old Pœnal Laws came before him, he confined them in the execution, that that which was made for *terrour*, ſhould not be for *rigour*; and the Inſtrument of Government ſhould not be the ſnare of the People. When Informers of that Court were too buſie, he checked them: when violent proſecution, cunning advantages, combinations, power, or great counſel balanced an honeſt cauſe, he ſet all things *even*. His invention was good

Q. Mary. good to improve his Miſtreſſes Revenue, his con-
ſcience was as tender to diminiſh it. Q. *Mary* wa
ready of her own inclination, but readier upon Si
David Brookes motion, to part with the Church
Profits. Patient and grave he was in hearing, ſpa
ring and weighty in ſpeaking: None would direct
an Evidence more orderly, none moderated th
length or impertinency of Pleaders more diſcreet
ly: None would recapitulate, ſelect, collate th
material points of what had been ſaid, more exact
ly; none gave judgement more ſatisfactorily; al
ways commending a good Lawyer that miſcarried
a good way to uphold in the Client the reputation
of his counſel, and beat down in him the conce
of his cauſe. He died with ſome projects in hi
breaſt for the Revenue, and ſome for the Law;
whereof one was a compoſition for the Purveyan
ces, and another a regulation of the Wards: both
at that time thought, till regulated, as unprofitable
for the Crown, as they ſeemed to be burthenſome
to the ſubject. He had a cloſe way of diſcovering
Concealments, as he had a ſevere one of puniſhing
frauds. His word was, *One Law executed, is worth
twenty made.* None more auſtere in caſe of others
wrong, none more mild in that of his own; and
he would ſay, *What is done, is done.* Weak men
concern themſelves in what is paſt, while the wiſe
take care of what is preſent and to come. *If a
man wrongeth me once, God forgive him*, (ſaith the
Italian:) *if he wrongeth me the ſecond time, God
forgive me.* Others may be even with their ene-
mies in revenge, he would be above them in for-
giveneſs. An enemy, I ſay, though otherwiſe to
a perfidious and an unworthy friend, he was much
of

of *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence* his temper, who said, *You shall read that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.* Q. *Mary.*

Many have inveighed against Usury, none have done more against it then this Knight; who if he had lived, was resolved to reduce it to these Rules.

1. That it should be declared unlawful.

2. Being declared so, if any practised it, (as men must do, or Traffick will fall) that there should be a penalty upon the Usurer, which might amount to an Excise or Custome that would arise from that money if employed in merchandize.

3. That yet if any exacted above five in the hundred, they should loose the Principal. A rate that on the one hand would keep up the necessary Commerce of Lending and Borrowing among the Old and the Idle, and yet direct men to that more *necessary* of buying and improving Land, and other Commodities that are more industrious and ingenious.

4. That none yet presume this, but in some principal places of Merchandizing: for then (as my Lord *Bacon* hath projected it) they will hardly be able to colour other mens moneys in the Country: for no man will lend his money far off, or put it into unknown hands.

Or, Lastly, That there be no money lent out upon terms but to the State, which may make its advantage of it.

Indeed, considering on the one hand that Usury de-

Q. Mary. decayeth the Kings Cuſtome, bringeth money to few hands, damps Induſtry and Invention, beats down the price of the Land, and by eating up private Eſtates breeds a publick Poverty: It were to be wiſhed it were forbidden. And on the other, That Borrowers trade moſt; that, No Uſury, no young Merchants; that, Without Uſury men muſt ſell their Eſtates at under-Rates, more ſad then Uſury; that, No borrowing, no living; no Uſury, no borrowing: It were wiſhed it were regulated, ſo that the inconveniences of it were avoided, and the advantages retained, and Extortion be checked, as Traffick is encouraged.

Thus he that hath no private care, advanceth the publick Good, and the childeleſs man is moſt thoughtful for Poſterity: Certainly the beſt Works and of greateſt Merit for the Publique, have proceeded from the unmarried, or the childleſs man; who both in Affection and Means have married and endowed the Publique: He that hath Wife and Children hath given Hoſtages to Fortune: For they are Impediments either to Vertue or Miſchief.

A fat man in *Rome* riding always upon a very lean Horſe, being asked the Reaſon thereof, anſwered, *That he fed himſelf, but he truſted others to feed his Horſe.* Our Judge being asked what was the beſt way to thrive; ſaid, *Never do any thing by another, that you can do by your ſelf.*

Obſerva-

Q. Mary

Observations on the Life of Doctor Thomas Wilson.

THomas *Wilson* born in *Lincolnshire*, was Doctor of Laws, bred Fellow of *Kings College* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards was Tutor in the same University to *Henry* and *Charles Brandon*, successively Dukes of *Suffolk*. Under Queen *Elizabeth* he was made Master of the Hospital of St. *Katharine*'s nigh the Tower of *London*. At last he became Secretary of State to the Queen for four years together. He died *Anno* 15

He had the breeding of Courtiers so long, until he was one himself: At once reading *Machiavel* for my Lord *Burleigh*'s Instruction, and observing it for his own use. His Parents designed him for study, his Nature for business. His presence assisted his inclination, and his complaisance his presence; and his good Nature both: A good Nature that would have spoiled a Politician in any other but Doctor *Wilson*, whose Wisdom was the largeness of his Soul, not the narrowness of a shift. He had that comprehensive and penetrating judgement, that he could at once shew the greatest prudence in laying his design, and the greatest Integrity in managing it, as rather *securely knowing* than *warily close*. "But he "that is onely real, had need have exceeding great "Parts of Vertue; as the Stone had need be rich, "that is set without foil: Therefore He was "something a Courtier: There are small matters "that win great commendation, because they are

Q. *Mary.* "continually in uſe; whereas the occaſion of any "great action cometh but on feſtivals, and it is e- "nough to attain ſo much ceremony and courtſhip "not to deſpiſe it. He had a way of conveying effectual and imprinting paſſions among complements, ſuitable to perſons and buſineſs: He had his familiarity to Inferiours, that made him not cheap: his ſtate among Equals, that made him not envied: and his obſervance to Superiours, that made him no Flatterer: His Behaviour like a well-made ſuit, not too ſtreight, or *point deviſe*, but juſtly meaſured, and free for exerciſe or motion. He had a ſlow but a ſure way to honour, which was nothing elſe in him but a diſcovery of his Vertues and Worth upon any occaſion without any diſadvantage.

It was his Intereſt as well as his Gift, to be more learned then witty, more reverend then plauſible, more conſiderate then active. His thoughts were as his inclination, grave; his diſcourſe as his reading, ſubtle; his action as his Education, well weighed, regular as his temper, even and ſmooth as cuſtom, and reſolved as a habit gotten in that advancement of Vertue, A well-diſciplined Society; where Example teacheth, Company comforteth, Emulation quickneth, Glory raiſeth. None had a more skilful method to ſway Nature in others, none more prudent minutes and ſeaſonable degrees to check it in himſelf: His Rule being, Never to practiſe any thing until perfect: for ſo he might exerciſe his weakneſs as well as his abilities, and induce one habit of both.

Three things he aimed at:

1. The ſearch of Truth by Induſtry.
2. The attainment of it by Apprehenſion.

3. The

3. The enjoyment of it by Assent. Q. Mat.

He is a happy man that is above the troubled and confused Regions of Opinions, Fancies, Prepossessions, in that clear and undisturbed one of Truth and Reality: Though yet my Lord *Verulam* observeth, That *if there were taken out of mens mindes vain opinion, flattering hope, false valuations and imaginations, as one would, and the like, &c. it would leave the mindes of a number of poor men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indispositon, and unpleasing to themselves.*

Neither took he greater pleasure in knowing than in relating and doing what is true, sound and plain, without those crooked courses that shew a creeping rather then a raised nature; and, as Mr. *Mountaigne* observes, is a bravery and facing of God, and a shrinking from and being coward before man.

He said, what all great men know, That he was six times a Slave:

1. To Himself and his Inclination, till he had advanced Reason.

2. To the World and its Insolence, till he had improved his Fortune.

3. To his Pupils and their Tempers, till he understood their Genius.

4. To Fame and its Reports, till he was known in the World.

5. To his Soveraigns and their Humours, till he found their Interest. And

6. To his Business, till he had attained Experience.

Thus it is with all Grandees, who exchange their power over themselves for that over others, and with great pains come to greater.

Q. Mary. Two things he wished when called to the world, Power and Resolution. A *naked* Man is contemptible, (for it's Power that begets Fear, it's Fear that makes Gods, and rules the world) an easie Man is useless: a facile-natured man may be a good Companion for a private person, but no Servant to a Prince: Remissness and Connivance are the ruines of unsetled Governments. The Game of Authority will not admit of too open a play.

In a word, he was one that knew the resorts and falls of business, though he could not sink into the main of a matter; being one that packed the Cards better then he played them.

Three things compleated this Secretary:

1. Quick dispatch and industry.
2. Constant intelligence and correspondence.
3. A large and strong memory.

Queen *Elizabeth* would needs at first favour my Lord of *Leicester* against the Earl of *Sussex*, which this Doctor and my Lord *Burleigh* dissuaded upon this account, Because if she who should be the common Mother of all, inclined to one party, and leaned to a side, the Ship of the Commonwealth would be as a Boat overturned by too much weight on the one side, and too little on the other. *Take heed* (said the Royal Martyr to his Son our Soveraign) *of abetting any Faction, or applying to any publick Discrimination: your partial adhering as bad to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts, (who are prone to go on in the* Kings way) *as it looseth you in others, who think themselves first despised, and then persecuted by you. Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality,*

tiality; or ſo order affairs in point of power, that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any faction: for if ever you ſtand in need of them, or ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone. Q. Mary.

His Place called upon him to ſuppreſs with ſeveverity ſuch ſeditious reflexions upon the State, as came to his knowledge: but his inclination was to diſſipate them with connivance and contempt. To be oppoſed, renders a Faction conſiderable; to be deſpiſed, (and watched) ridiculous: *To go about to ſtop the firſt appearances of ſedition, is* (ſaith my Lord *Bacon*) *but to make a wonder long-lived.*

His knack was a politick and artificial nouriſhing and entertaining of hopes; and keeping men in ſuſpenſe is one of the beſt Antidotes againſt the poyſon of diſcontent: it being obſerved by the foreſaid States-man, to be a certain ſigne of a wiſe Government & Proceedings, to hold mens hearts by hopes, when it cannot by ſatisfaction; and when it can handle things in ſuch manner, as no evil ſhall appear ſo peremptory, but that it hath ſome out-let of hope: which is the eaſier done, becauſe both particular perſons and factions are apt enough to flatter themſelves, or at leaſt to boaſt what they believe not.

In a word, although he made not ſo much noyſe as other men, yet he as effectually promoted the three main Supporters of this Nation, 1. Its Native Commodities, 2. Its Artificial Manufactures, 3. Its Vecture and Carriage; and ſo died with that content and reſolution, that they do who are overtaken by Fate in the purſuit of great Actions, and publick Deſignes.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Portman.

John Portman Knight, was born of wealthy and worshipful Extraction at *Portman's Orchard* in *Somersetshire*, a fair Mannor, which descended to him by inheritance, the Heir of the *Orchard* being match'd into his Family. He was bred in the study of the Common Law; attaining to such eminency therein, that *June* 11. 2 of Queen *Mary*, he was made Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, continuing two years in the place, and dying therein for ought I finde to the contrary; and a Baronet of his Name and Linage flourisheth at this day with a great and plentiful Estate. No doubt but he died in his place, there being none of those things that carry disgrace and downfal with them, incident to him.

The things that overthrow a Favourite.

For the first thing that ruines a Courtier, is a boasting of his own service; and then our Knight, none more modest.

The second, is an undutiful observation of our Princes actions; and none more faithful and meek.

The third, is the revealing or abusing of secrets; and none more reserved and civil.

The fourth thing, is either provoking the Nobility against *himself*, or dividing them among *themselves:* he was too wise for the one, his designe being rather alliance then quarrel, to adde intereſt to his Estate, and honour to his Riches; and too quiet for the other. *Many have an Opinion not wise,* (saith that Oracle) *that for a Prince to govern his Estate,*

Eſtate, or for a great Perſon to guide his Proceedings, according to the reſpect of factions, is a principal part of policy: whereas contrarywiſe, the chiefeſt wiſdome is either in ordering thoſe things that are general, and wherein men of ſeveral factions do nevertheleſs agree; or in dealing with, or correſpondence to particular perſons one by one. Mean men in their riſing muſt adhere; but Great men that have ſtrength in themſelves, were better to maintain themſelves indifferent and neutral. Q. Mary.

The fifth particular that pulleth down a man, is a miſunderſtanding of his own intereſt, or the Princes: Our Judge underſtood both, being equally made up of * *Craterus* and *Hæpheſtion*, faithfulneſs and compliance.

* *The firſt of theſe loved Alexanders intereſt, the other his perſon.*

The ſixth, is the hatred of the *many*, (whom this perſons integrity always obliged, there being no herd more feral then an enraged multitude) or the envy of the *great*, whom his warineſs diſobliged not; it being more fatal to incenſe a Favourite who *would* be above all affronts by his greatneſs, then a Prince who is ſo by Law.

The ſeventh misfortune, is to be too much concerned in the ſecrets of Princes; wherewith Sir *William* never meddled without aſſiſtants, never acted without a Warrant.

The eighth, is unſucceſsful Counſel; and our Knight went the ſafe and middle way, neither to be feared nor envied, which he was always preſent to ſecond, proſecute or correct, as he ſaw moſt cauſe.

His ſharp and ſound judgement to diſtinguiſh Perſons, Affairs, and other Circumſtances, and accordingly how to order the manner of his Proceedings,

Q. Mary. dings, was much; his well-weighed and wary, though quick apprehenſion and experience from Men and Books, more; his particular memory, and its minute obſervation for his conduct and buſineſs, moſt of all. His care of vain and idle Prepoſſeſſions balanced his ſoul, his temper managed it: his love was choice and cautious; his hope moderate and knowing; his confidence ſlow, but certain; his deſires and joys allayed and checked, or quickened by the edge of his anger, or the caution of his fear; and all ſedate with his foreſight.

Nature did this perſon ſome wrong in his Body, but made him amends in his Soul: the *fails* of the One, are *foils* to ſet off the Other: the firſt comes off with more Glory, by the pully and defect of the ſecond: Beſides that the unkindneſs of *Nature* puts men often upon being eminent in *Art*; that the happineſs of this, may divert men from obſerving the unhappineſs of that.

But of all the Vertues his conſtant and growing Soul raiſed him to, this was one, That he durſt not entertain a Gift, which (as he ſaid) *conquers both the fooliſh and the wiſe*: which in publick places it is a Vice to accept, and not a Vertue to offer: It being a *ſnare* rather then a *favour*.

His next was Diligence: Neglect waſtes a man as inſenſibly as Induſtry improves him: We need no more but ſit ſtill, and Diſeaſes will ariſe onely for want of exerciſe. Man's a Watch that muſt be looked to and wound up every day: the leaſt incurioufneſs ſteals to improficiency or offence, which degreeingly weighs us down to extremity; Diligence alone is a fair Fortune, and Induſtry a good Eſtate.

There

There are five mens Activities that raiſe to E- Q. *Mary.*
ſtates:

1. The Divine to a ſmall, but an honeſt one.
2. The Phyſitian to a competency, but uncertain.
3. The Courtier to a great one, and an honourable.
4. The Citizen to a large one, but not laſting. And
5. The Lawyer to one large, and firm too.

Seldome doth his Family fail, who is ſure to tye his Eſtate to his Childe by an Entayl, and his Childe to his Eſtate by an *Education* and an *Employment*. When we obſerve the ſeveral alterations in Gentry, we finde four principal Actors on the Theatres of great Families; the Beginner, the Advancer, the Continuer, and the Ruiner.

1. The Beginner, who by his Vertues refineth himſelf from the droſs of the Vulgar, and layeth the foundation of his houſe.
2. The Advancer, who improveth it.
3. The Continuer, who conveyeth it to his Poſterity as he received it from his Anceſtors.
4. The Ruiner, that degenerates from his Fathers. Our Judge began not, but advanced that excellent Family, whoſe original I cannot finde, ſo ancient it is; and whoſe end I hope none will ſee, it is ſo noble.

Obſer-

Observations on the Life of William Howard.

WIlliam *Howard*, ſon to *Thomas Howard*, ſecond of that Surname Duke of *Norfolk*, was by Queen *Mary* created Baron of *Effingham* in *Surrey*, and by her made Lord Admiral of *England*; which place he diſcharged with credit. He was one of the firſt Favourers and Furtherers with his Purſe and Countenance of the ſtrange and wonderful diſcovery of *Ruſſia*. He died *anno Dom.* 1554.

This Noble Perſon had his plainneſs from his Father, his ingenuity from his Mother, his experience by Travel and Navigation: his Blood endeared him to his Soveraign, and his Abilities advanced him to her ſervice: He promiſed no leſs to his Miſtreſs, then his Father and Uncle had performed to her Father. The Anceſtors merit is ſecurity for Poſterities, who will hardly forfeit that favour with one act of their own unworthineſs, that was gained by ſo many of their Predeceſſors ſervice. Like a well-drawn picture this Lord had his eye on all round: on his Queen, to be faithful; on his Country, to be publick-ſpirited; on his Family, to be honourable; on the preſent Age, to be active; and on the future, to be renowned.

The old Lord *Burleigh*, ſometime Treaſurer of *England*, coming to *Cambridge* with Queen *Elizabeth* when he was led into the publick Schools, and had much commended their convenience, beauty,

beauty and greatneſs, together with their Founder *Humphrey* the good Duke of *Glocester*; *Yea, marry,* (ſaid he) *but I finde one School wanting in our Univerſities, and that is the School of* Diſcretion When Private Tutors had initiated, Publick Schools had ſeaſoned, and the Univerſity had improved this Gentlemans ſprightly and noble Parts; yet did his Father obſerve one great defect in his Education, and that is Diſcretion; Diſcretion in Carriage, for which he ſent him to Court; Diſcretion in buſineſs, for which he ſent him to travel and fight. Not long had he been abroad to furniſh himſelf with experience, but he is called home to ennoble himſelf with action. The *Alvaes* of *Spain* were for four Generations together Commanders by Land, and the *Howards* of *England* for as many, Admirals at Sea. None ever had *more* Power, none uſed *leſs* then he: The more Authority he had allowed him over others, the more Command he obtained over himſelf. Q. Mary.

Twice did he mortgage his Eſtate for his followers Pay; many times did he venture his Life for their encouragement. None directed more skilfully, and yet none acted more reſolutely. Equally did he divide the profit, equally ſhare the honour with his followers, who under him never dared, and never feared a danger. Manners make a man, ſaith the Courtier; Money makes a man, ſaith the Citizen; Learning makes a man, ſaith the Scholar: but Conduct makes a man, ſaith the Souldier. This Lords ſpirit never put him on ſo forwardly, but his warineſs took care how to come off as ſafely. He that fights ſhould deſpair, but he that commands ſhould hope. The Souldier among the *Perſians*

is

Q. *Mary*. is drawn with his eyes before him, and the General with his behinde him. Young men in the manage of Affairs embrace more then they can hold, stir more then they can quiet, flee to the end without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles, and extream remedies they have chanced upon rashly, which they will neither confess nor reform. Old men object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldome pursue things home to their full period. My Lord was an happy composition of both himself, and had of either about him, that the coldness and wariness of Age might correct the heat of Youth, and the Activity of Younger might be directed by the Experience of Riper Ones: The one gave *Authority*, and the other *Life* to his Actions. He himself was better to invent then to judge, fitter for Action then Counsel, and readier for new Projects then for setled business. The Lord *Clinton*'s Prudence served him in old and usual matters, but in new things abused him: My Lord *Howard*'s was quick for present Emergencies, but not comprehensive of ordinary transactions. Of the three Admirals of those times, we may say as they did of the * three Kingdomes, *Lisle* was wise before the Action, my Lord *Howard* in it, my Lord *Clinton* after it.

* France, Spain *and* England.

England without a freedome of commerce, was but a larger Prison: others opened the Trade to the *Indies*, to *Asia*, and other parts of the world; but we wanted the Hemp, the Flax, the Pitch, the Fur, and the other useful Commodities of *Russia*, serviceable to our selves, and more to our Ships. His Purse in this case did much, his Direction more, his

his ſervant *Jenkinſon* moſt of all, who made curious obſervations of *Ruſſia*, ſet forth a Geographical deſcription of it, and was the firſt of the Engliſh, that ſailed through the *Caſpian Sea*. With his aſſiſtance the *Muſcovia* Company was ſet up in Queen *Maries* days; and with his ſervants it obtained the Priviledge of ſole Traffick into the Northern Parts of *Ruſſia* in *Elizabeth*'s. Q. *Mary*.

Nihil habet fortuna magna majus, nec natura bona melius quam ut velit bene-facere quam plurimis. Cicero.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Mountague.

"*Edward Mountague*, Son of *Thomas Moun-*
"*tague*, born at *Brigſtock* in *Northampton-*
"ſhire, was bred in the *Inner Temple* in
"the ſtudy of the Laws, until his ability and inte-
"grity advanced him Lord Chief Juſtice of the
"Kings Bench, in the Thirtieth of *Henry* the Eighth.
"He gave for his Motto, *Æquitas Juſtitiæ Norma*:
"And although Equity ſeemeth rather to reſent of
"the Chancery than the Kings Bench, yet the beſt
"Juſtice will be Wormwood without a mixture
"thereof.

"In his times though the golden ſhowers of Ab-
"bey-Lands rained amongſt great men, it was long
"before he would open his lap, (ſcrupling the ac-
"ception of ſuch Gifts) and at laſt received but
"little, in proportion to Others of that Age.

"In the thirty ſeventh of King *Henry* the Eighth
"he was made Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas,

"a

Q. *Mary.* "a descent in Honour, but ascent in Profit; it be-
"ing given to old Age, rather to be thrifty then
"ambitious: Whereupon he said, *I am now an*
"*old man, and love the Kitchin before the Hall; the*
"*warmest place best suiting with my Age.*

"In drawing up the Will of King *Edward* the
"Sixth, and settling the Crown on the Lady *Jane*,
"for a time he swam against the tide and torrent of
"Duke *Dudley*, till at last he was carried away with
"the stream.

"Outed of his Judges Office in the first of Queen
"*Mary*, he returned into *Northampton*-shire; and
"what contentment he could not finde in *Westmin-*
"*ster*-hall, his Hospital-hall at *Boughton* afforded him.
"He died *Anno* 1556. and lieth buried in the Parish
"Church of *Weekely*.

His well-managed Argument in *Dodderidge* his Case, brought him to *Cromwel*'s knowledge, who was vexed with his Reason, but well pleased with his Parts. *Cromwel*'s recommendation and his own modest nature set him up with *Henry* the Eighth, who could not endure two things: 1. A Lawyer that would not be guided: 2. A Divine that would not be taught. Yet as modest as he was, he was honest; and though he would submit to the Kings Power, yet would he act by his Law: For his Apophthegm was, *Meum est Jus dicere, potius quam Jus dare:* It's my duty to *interpret* rather then *give* Law.

He never denied or delayed Justice; always discouraging those cunning Laws that perplexed a Cause, those contentious Clients that delayed a suit, and those nice Cummin-seed men that strained inferences, and wrested constructions. Pati-

Patient, ſtayed and equal he was in hearing, grave in ſpeaking, pertinent in interrogating, wary in obſerving, happy in remembring, ſeaſonable and civil in interpoſing. The Counſel durſt not chop with him, neither would he chop with the Counſel, unleſs he defended his cauſe over-boldly, urged indiſcreetly, informed ſlightly, neglected groſly, renewed the debate unſeaſonably, or enſnared his Adverſaries cunningly; in thoſe and other the like caſes, he would do the Publique Right by a *check*, and the Perſon by an *admonition*. Q. *Mary.*

Six ſorts of perſons he diſcountenanced in his Courts:

1. The ſcandalous Exactors.

2. The ſlie ſhifters, that, as that Chancellour obſerved, pervert the plain and direſt courſes of Courts, and bring Juſtice into oblique Lines and labyrinths.

3. Thoſe that engaged Courts in quarrels of Juriſdiction.

4. Thoſe that made ſuits.

5. Thoſe that hunted men upon Pœnal Statutes.

6. Thoſe that appeared in moſt Teſtimonies and Juries.

His Darling was, The honeſt Clerk, who was experienced in his place, obliging in his carriage, knowing in Preſidents, cautious in Proceedings, and skilful in the affairs of the Court.

Two things he promoted in King *Henry*'s days:

1. The Law againſt Gaming. And

2. The Order againſt Stews.

And

Q. Mary

And two in King *Edward*'s:

1. That Act against spreading of Prophecies.
2. That Statute against embasing of Coyn.

But King *Edward*'s Testament and the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Will is to be made: The pious Intentions of that King wishing well to the Reformation, the Religion of Queen *Mary* obnoxious to exception, the ambition of *Northumberland* who would do what he lifted, the weakness of *Suffolk* who would be done with as the other pleased, the flattery of the Courtiers most willing to comply, designed the Crown for the Lady *Jane Grey*. Mr. *Cecil* is sent for to *London*, to furnish that Will with Reason of State; and Sir *Edward* to *Sergeants Inn*, to make it up with Law. He according to the Letter sent him, went with Sir *Jo. Baker*, Justice *Bromley*, the Attorney and Solicitor-General to *Gretwich*, where his Majesty before the Marquess of *Northampton* declaring himself for the settlement of Religion, and against the succession of Queen *Mary*, offered them a Bill of Articles to make a Book of; which they, notwithstanding the King's Charge, and the reiteration of it by Sir *William Petre*, declared upon mature consideration, they could not do, without involving themselves and the Lords of the Council in High Treason, because of the Statutes of Succession.

The Duke of *Northumberland* hearing of their Declaration by the Lord Admiral, comes to the Council-Chamber all in a rage, trembling for anger; calling Sir *Edward* Traytor, and saying, *He would fight in his shirt with any man in that Quarrel.*

The old man is charged by the King upon his Allegi-

Allegiance, and the Council upon his Life, to make the Book; which he did, when they promiſed it ſhould be ratified in Parliament. Here was his obedience, not his invention; not to *deviſe*, but *draw* things up according to the Articles tendred unto him. Since ſhame is that which ambitious Nature abhorreth, and danger is that which timorous Nature declineth; the honeſt man muſt be reſolute. Sir *Nathaniel Brent* would ſay, A Coward cannot be an honeſt man; and it ſeems by this Action, that modeſty and fear are great temptations. Give me thoſe four great Vertues that make a man: Q. *Mary.*

1. A clear Innocence.
2. A comprehenſive Knowledge.
3. A well-weighed experience. And
4. The product of all theſe, A ſteady Reſolution.

What a Skein of Ruffled Silk (ſaith the ingenious Reſolver) *is the incompoſed man!*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Fines.

Edward Fines Lord *Clinton*, Knight of the Garter, was Lord Admiral of *England* for more then thirty years. He was wiſe, valiant, and very fortunate, as appears by his *Maſterpiece* in *Muſſeleborough-field*, in the reign of King *Edward* the ſixth, and the Battle againſt the *Scots*. He was afterwards created Earl of *Lincoln*, where he was born, *May* 4. 1474. and where he had a proportionable Eſtate to ſupport his Dignity, which

Q. Mary. he much increaſed, beſide his Paternal Inheritance. He died *January* 16. 1558. and lieth buried at *Windſor*, in a private Chappel, under a ſtately Monument, which *Elizabeth* his third Wife, Daughter to the Earl of *Kildare*, erected in his remembrance. His Fortune made him a younger Brother, and his Induſtry an Heir; coming to Court, where they that have Eſtates, ſpend them; and they that have none, gain them. His recreation was at Court, but his buſineſs in the Country; where notwithſtanding the Statute in *Henry* the ſevenths time againſt Paſturage for Tillage, he Grazed 11000 Acres of Ground: then a noble and gaining Employment, that advanced many a Family in one Generation; and now a ſaving one, that hath kept up as many *ten*.

The beſt tempered Swords will bend any way, and the beſt metalled men will comply with any occaſion. At *White-hall*, none more affable and courteous then our Lord; at Sea, none more skilful; in the field, none more reſolute; in the Country, none more thrifty and hoſpitable. His Entertainments were orderly and ſuitable, made up of ſolid particulars, all growing upon his own Eſtate. King *Charles* would ſay, *Every man hath his vanity, and mine* (ſpeaking of the *Soveraign*) *is Building: Every man hath his humour, and mine* (ſaid he, ſpeaking of the Fens) *is Draining*. Adding withal, *He that would be merry for a day, let him be trimmed; he that would be merry for a week, let him marry; he that would be merry for a year, let him build; he that would be merry for Ages, let him* * improve. Now you would have him among his Workmen and Stewards in *Lincoln*, anon among the Com-

* He meant *land*.

Commiſſioners either in *France* or *Scotland*; by Q. *Mary*. and by before *Bulloign* or *Calice*, and a while after at *Spieres* or *Muſcleborough*, and on a ſuddain at a Mask in Court. Neither was his Soul leſs pliable to perſons, then things: as boyſterouſly active as King *Henry* could expect, as piouſly meek as King *Edward* could wiſh, as warily zealous as Queen *Mary*'s times required, and as piercingly obſervant as Queen *Elizabeths* perplexed occaſions demanded. It was by him and my Lord *Bacon* ſaid of buſineſs, *That it was in buſineſs as it is in ways, that the next and the neareſt way is commonly the fouleſt; and that if a man will go the faireſt way, he muſt go ſomewhat about.*

Sitting in a Committee about invading *Scotland*, whereof Sir *Anthony Brown* then Viſcount *Mountacute* preſented a Draught, there aroſe as great a debate between him and my Lord in Council, as afterwards in the Field, about the point of Entrance; *Nay*, ſaid my Lord in the heat of the Diſcourſe, with as much power on others paſſions, as command over his own, *We ſtand quarrelling here how we ſhall get* in, *but here is no diſcourſe how we ſhall get* out.

It's a Rule, Whoſoever hath any thing fixed in his perſon that doth induce contempt, hath alſo a perpetual ſpur in himſelf to reſcue and deliver himſelf from ſcorn, either by vertue or malice; And my Lord having ſome diſadvantage from Nature, made it up by Art: None more bold, none more induſtrious and more ſucceſsful, becauſe that diſadvantage took off envy on the one hand, and jealouſie on the other: ſo that upon the matter, in a great Wit, Contempt is a great advantage to riſing.

Q. *Mary.* Judge *Brooke* had a Project againſt Uſury, which came up to the Lords Houſe: this rich Peer upon the firſt motion of it, ſtands up, and ſaith, *Shew me a State without* Uſury, *and I'll ſhew you a State without* Men *and* Trade.

Rich he was for expence, and expend he did upon honour and good Action: his ordinary expences were the third of his Eſtate, and his extraordinary none of it; his Rule being, Extraordinary diſadvantages muſt be balanced with extraordinary advantages. He would not ſtoop to petty gains, but he would abridge petty charges: but his occaſions calling him often from his Eſtate, he turned it all to certainties; often changing his Servants, who being unacquainted with him and his Eſtate, were leſs ſubtle, and more timorous. Much behindhand he was when he came to the Eſtate, and as much before when he left it. Neither was he too ſuddain or too ſlow in paying his Debts; equally avoiding a diſadvantageous ſale on the one hand, and devouring intereſt on the other: and ſo inuring himſelf by degrees into an habit of frugality, he gained as well upon his Minde, as upon his Eſtate. For husbanding the Engliſh Treaſure in *Scotland*, he was Knighted in the Field *May* 11. 34 *H.* 8. by the Earl of *Hertford:* for the Clauſe concerning *Scotland* he put in at the Treaty of *Guiſnes*, 35 *H.* 8. he was made Baron by Patent: for his diſcreet Conduct in demanding the young Queen of *Scots*, together with the performance of the Articles made in *Henry* the eighth's time, with 60 ſayl of Ships before the battle of *Muſcleburgh*, he had 600 *l.* a year aſſigned him by the Protector: for his great experience at Sea, his intereſt in Sea-men, and his Re-

nown among the Neighbour-States, he was made Earl of *Lincoln*. Q. *Mary*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Barnaby Fitz-Patrick.

Barnaby Fitz-Patrick had the honour of being King *Edward* the ſixth his Proxy at School, and one of his Bed-chamber at Court. In King *Henry* the eighth's time he was ſent to School, in King *Edward* the ſixth's to travel, where he had theſe Directions following from that King, how he might learn faſhions there, and ſend intelligence hither.

EDWARD.

WE underſtand by your Letters received the eighth of this preſent month, your good entertainment, being glad thereof; and alſo how you have been once to go on Pilgrimage: Wherefore we think fit to adviſe you to deſire leave to go to Mr. Pickering, *or to* Paris, *in caſe hereafter any ſuch chance happen. And if that will not ſerve, to declare to ſome perſon of eſtimation, with whom you are beſt acquainted, that as you are loath to offend the French King by reaſon of his kinde uſage of you; ſo with ſafe conſcience you cannot do any ſuch thing, being brought up with me, and bound to obey my Laws; alſo, that you had commandment from me to the contrary. Yet if you be vehemently procured, you may go as waiting upon the King, not as intending to the abuſe, nor willingly ſee*

Q. Mary. *the Ceremonies: and so you look on the Mass, but in the mean time regard the Scripture, or some good Book, and give no reverence to the Mass at all.*

Furthermore, remember when you may conveniently be absent from the Court, to tarry with Sir William Pickering, *to be instructed by him how to use your self. For Women, as far forth as you can, avoid their company; yet if the French King command you, you may sometime dance, so measure be your mean: else apply your self to Riding, Shooting, Tennis, or such honest Games; not forgetting sometimes (when you have leisure) your Learning, chiefly reading of the Scriptures. We would not have you live too sumptuously as an Ambassador, but so as your proportion of living may serve you; we mean, because we know many will resort to you, and desire to serve you. I told you how many I thought convenient you should keep. After you have ordered your things at* Paris, *go to the Court, and learn to have more intelligence if you can; and after to the Wars, to learn somewhat to serve us. By your Letters of the second and fifteenth of* April, *we perceive that you were at* Nancy, *ready to go together with Mr.* Pickering *to the French Camp; and to the intent you might be better instructed how to use your self in these Wars, we have thought good to advertise you of our pleasure therein. First, we would wish you, as much as you may conveniently, to be in the French Kings presence, or at least in some part of his Army, where you shall perceive most business to be; and that for two causes: One is, because you may have more experience in the Wars, and see things as might stand you in stead another day: The other is, because you might be more profitable in the Language. For our Embassador, who may not wear Harness, cannot well*

come

come to those places of danger, nor seem so to serve the French King, as you may, whom we sent thither for that purpose. It shall be best for you therefore hereafter, as much as you may, to be with the French King; and so you shall be more acceptable to him, and do your self much good. This I write, not doubting but you would have done it, though I had not written, but to spur you on. Q. Mary.

Adding withal, *To learn the Tongue, to see the manner of the Court, and advertise his Master of Occurrences, keeping close to the King of* France, *to whom he shall offer his service in the Wars, where he is to observe the fortifications of the Cities, the Conduct of the Armies, the advantages and disadvantages of both Parties; their Skirmishes, Battels, Assaults, and the Plots of the chief Towns, where any enterprizes of weight have been done. His Exercises were to be Hunting and Riding; his Company few, but choice,* &c.

This Gentleman after his return out of *France*, was created by the King Baron of Upper *Ossory* in *Ireland*; where he died a good Protestant, a Publick-spirited Patriot, and an honest man.

Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Fitz-Alane, *Earl of* Arundel.

HIs first appearance in the World was to *adorn* the Court, his next was to *serve* it. First his Estate and Train attends King *Henry* to the Interview with *France*, and a while after his Valour and Conduct is commanded by him to the War.

Anno H. 8. 24.

Equally prepared is he to please and awe that Countrey: The Duke of *Suffolke* is made General for his Popularity, and the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Marshal, for his Spirit and Prudence; and both being before *Bulloign*, this Noble Lord run up his Squadron under a running shelter about eleven at night, to the very Walls of the City; which being battered down by the Canon, which was mounted some forty yards higher, opened to the close Besiegers a passage that gained the whole Town by composition.

Neither was he less active in Peace than War: A piercing apprehension, a strong memory, a large and capacious judgement, a dexterous prudence, a discerning wisdom, was the least of his happiness: For to his sufficiency and capacity, he added a good disposition and integrity; and to that, vigour and gracefulness. He was the excellent Personage, that 1. Discerned, 2. Embraced and performed what was Noble and Publique: (*To know, to will and effect what is good, make up a God.*) To these were added a strong Nature, a deep Study, and a very great

great Experience; qualities ſeparated in others, but united in him: Nature will out, Education is rude; Education without Reſolution, is looſe; Reſolution without Experience, is heady; Experience grounded upon particular Events, is uncertain, without the ſtudy of General and Immoveable Principles: Knowledge of things in their ſources and original cauſes, without Nature, is a Burden: All theſe without Exerciſe, are a Notion. Q. Mary.

This Nobleman thus furniſhed, derived much Honor from his Anceſtors, more to them; ennobling that Blood to a Glory, which ſome had debaſed to a Bluſh. That great Name after four hundred years ſhining in that Honour with various luſtre, ſetting in him as the Sun he bore with a full ſplendour: The laſt effort of Nature is a Maſter-piece; the laſt blaze of the Candle a ſhine.

Other Noblemen were made King *Edward*'s Overſeers for their Integrity; he one of his Aſſiſtants for his Ability: When an Enemy was to be awed to a ſubmiſſion, he was General, ſuch his Fame! When the Countrey was to be obliged to a loan, he was Agent, ſuch his Popularity! The firſt advanced him to the Comptrollerſhip under *Henry* the Eighth; the ſecond to the Chamberlainſhip under *Edward* the Sixth.

Nature hath provided that ravenous Beaſts ſhould not aſſociate, leſt they ſhould be too hard for it; and Government, that prime Counſellours ſhould not agree, leſt they overthrow it: *Warwick* envied the Protectors Greatneſs, and *Arundel* would limit his Power: both with the reſt of the Council declare againſt him. But leſt he ſhould urge the ſame things againſt *Warwick*, that he did againſt

Q. Mary. againſt *Somerſet*; they, who love the Treaſon, but hate the Traytor, turn him firſt out of Favour, and then out of Council, until Queen *Maries* time when he as an antient Nobleman of *England*, (that owned no upſtart-deſigns againſt the old way of ſucceſſion) ſtood for her Right, and as a ſtiff Catholique promoted her Religion: So that *July* 21. 1553. he came from the Queen to *Cambridge*, where the Duke of *Northumberland* was, and entering his Chamber, the Duke fell at his feet, deſiring him for Gods ſake to conſider his caſe, who had done nothing but by Warrant from the Council: *My Lord*, (ſaid the Earl) *I am ſent hither by the Queen to arreſt you. And I* (ſaid the Duke) *obey your Arreſt; beſeeching your mercy for what I did by Commiſſion. You ſhould have thought of that ſooner*, (ſaid the Earl.) Here you might have ſeen at once the viciſſitude of Fortune, the frailty of Man, the dejectedneſs of Guilt, the bravery of Innocence, who would neither be trampled on by Greatneſs, nor trample on Miſery; of an equal temper between pity and reſolution. As long as his Youth bore it, we finde him for Action; but when years came upon him, we finde him in Council, as with *Wotton* at the great Treaty at *Cambray*: Yet not ſo unactive, but that as Sir *William Pickering* for his ſweet Demeaner, ſo he for his Eſtate was voiced an Husband to Queen *Elizabeth*.

When the reſt of the Council were for dealing with the Queen of Scots underhand and at diſtance, he was for treating with her plainly; and ſaid in the Queens preſence, *The wiſdom of the former Age was ſo provident that it needed not, and ſo plain that it endured not ſhifts.* *Leiceſter* would perſwade the Duke

Duke of *Norfolk* to court the Queen of Scots, but *Arundel* would not hear of it without the Queen of *England*'s conſent: Experience is always wary, yet hath its weakneſſes, wherein it may be ſurprized. For this Noblemans Kindneſs to his Friend, balancing his Duty to his Miſtriſs, brought him, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lords *Lumley*, *Cobham*, *Pierey*, &c. to a *Præmunire*: whereupon he ſaid, *He is never wiſe, that is not diſtruſtful.* Q. *Mary.*

Fear, that betrayeth the ſuccours of Reaſon, when predominant, guardeth them when moderate, and is more ſafe, though not ſo Noble as that valiant confidence that bequeaths a dilated Freedom to all faculties and ſenſes.

But of all his Actions this is moſt remarkable: Treating with the Scots, he writ to his Majeſty King *Henry* the Eighth, what he had gained already, requiring to know his further pleaſure: The King takes advice with his Council, who all agree that the Peace ſhould be concluded: Whereupon the King cauſed his Secretary the Lord *Paget* to write to him to that purpoſe; but withal, he called Mr. *Cecil* ſecretly to him, bidding him tell my Lord, That *whatſoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all ſpeed poſſible he ſhould break the Treaty.* Mr. *Cecil* replying, That *a meſſage by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed: Well,* (ſaid the King) *do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his choice.* Upon Mr. *Cecil*'s arrival, the Earl of *Arundel* ſhewed the other Commiſſioners as well the Meſſage as the Letter; they are all for the *Letter*: he ſaid nothing, but ordered that the Meſſage ſhould be written before, and ſigned by his fellow-Commiſſioners, and thereupon

Q. Mary. on immediately broke up the Treaty, sending *Cecil* with the advertisement of it to the King: Who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, *What, will he do it, or no?* *Cecil* replied, That his Majesty might understand that by the inclosed. But then the King, half angry, urged, *Nay tell me: Will he do it or no?* Being then told it was done, he turned to the Lords and said, *Now You will hear news, The fine Treatie is broken:* Whereto one presently answered, *That he who had broke it deserved to lose his Head*; to which the King straightly replied, That *He would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, rather than one such Servant as had done it:* and therewith commanded the Earl of *Arundel's* Pardon should be presently drawn up, the which he sent with Letters of Thanks, and assurance of Favour.

Five things must a Statesman comprehend,

1. The Law.
2. The Government.
3. The Time.
4. The People. And
5. The Prince.

Under an active Prince, you must regard the Prerogative; under an easie one, the Law; under a compleat one made up of a just measure of Greatness and Goodness, those two things are distinguished onely in the nice discourses of some *Speculatists*, being but one great Rule in the solid actions of that Prince.

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Sir John Dudley Duke of Northumberland.

HIs favour was first purchased by his Fathers blood, and improved by his own cunning. King *Henry* sacrificed Sir *Edmund Dudly* to allay the Peoples rage, and raised his Son to appease his Ghost. He that disobligeth a multitude, must fall himself; *but he that in so doing serveth his King, may advance his Posterity.* Something high he was in the Kings favour, because standing on his fathers Grave; but higher as he stood on his own Merit: He knew his Fathers service made his way to favour; his own Education therefore must prepare him for employment. Favour without Parts is a reproach; Parts without favour are a burden. The King restored him to his Fathers blood, and his own industry recovered his Abilities. There are those that under the notion of wisdome commit the greatest folly, either in too much conversing with the world without, or in too much reflecting on themselves within: Sir *John* was made up of both; some time he allowed for Action, more for Consideration. "There is not any thing so "prejudicial to Action, as to be bent upon Action "without intermission: for as the eye seeth not the "Objects touching it, but those onely more re- "mote; so the understanding continually plunged "in Affairs, is not so quick-sighted in occurrents, "as his who sometime retireth himself from pub- "lick Action, beholding it aloof off by considera- "tion. Mach. Prince, P. 56.

Q. Mary. "tion. In the heat and tumult of Affairs, Reason "hath not that power as may give conduct and mo- "tion to active life: besides, experience teacheth "us, that the eye having lost its quickness with too "much looking upon the light, recovereth it a- "gain in the dark: the spirit in like manner dazled, "weakened, transported and distracted among the "multitude and variety of Affairs, ought to recol- "lect and recover its force in the privacy of some "small retreat; which Sir *John* made to *Italy*, the seat of policy and experience; whence I pray God he brought no more (saith my Author) then his *closeness* and *reach*.

His Soveraign saw he deserved Honour, but saw not without offence to the Populacy how to confer it, until the subtle Youngster shewed him a middle way, (upon the strange death of the Viscount *Lisle*, who lost his life for joy that it was saved) by petitioning for that honour as a favour, which upon his Mothers account was his *right*: The crafty Youth entered himself of the Cardinals Retinue first, and then of the Kings. Much was he employed by him at Sea, as an Overseer of the Navy; more in the Field, as Director-General; most of all in the Romish and French Court, as a Spy. He was too good a Proficient in his School to fall with him, therefore we immediately observe him rising with *Cromwel*, until the King made him *Admiral*; and he with his 200 sayl upon the Coast of *Scotland* made himself *renowned*; insomuch that the King left him the next year Viceroy of *France*, and Deputy of *Calice* and *Bulloign*: where to revenge the French attempts upon the Isle of *Wight*, he drew his Fleet up to the Coasts of *Normandy*, landed

6000

6000 men at *Treport*, burned the Suburbs of that Town with the Abby, deſtroyed 30 Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having loſt above fourteen perſons in the whole Voyage: inſomuch that in a Treaty between *Ard* and *Guiſnes*, wherein he wasCommiſſioner with the Earl of *Hertford*, Secretary *Paget*, and Dr. *Wotton*, the French were contented that we held *Bulloign* till they paid us 800000 Crowns within the term of eight years. For the further Eſtabliſhment whereof, he and the Biſhop of *Dureſm* are employed to take Oath of the French King and the *Daulphine*. His Maſter *Henry* dieth, but not his deſigne with him: *Norfolk* is out of his way; *Seymour* will be ſo: he is now Executor of King *Henry*'s Will, he will be of his own. But as Nature, ſo Policy works by degrees; firſt the graft, then the tree; after that, the bloſſome: next that, the fruit: firſt meaner Eſſays, and then higher Actions. There was nothing to be attempted at home, until we were ſecured and feared from abroad; he therefore leads the Vantguard againſt the *Scots* ſo ſucceſsfully, that he is made Earl of *Warwick*. Here his ſpirit had enſnared him, had not his conduct brought him off. When the Protector refuſed a Combat as not becoming him, *Warwick* offereth one: *Bring me word* (ſaid he to the Herald that brought the Protector a Challenge from the Lord *Huntley*) *that thy Maſter will perform the Combat with me, and thou ſhalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains.* But a publick Conduct becomes a General better then perſonal Valour; and he muſt ſo far onely remember he is a Souldier, as not to forget he is a Commander, and ſo a whole Army too.

Q. Mary

Againſt

Q. Mary. Againſt the Rebels in *Devonſhire* ſo happy he was that upon his diſcreet Overture of Pardon, (Mercie is a Vertue with Valour, and but a Weakneſs with Cowardize) and coming in perſon to aſſure them of it, they ſaying, They *knew him ſo honourable, that if he came himſelf they would embrace it* threw down their Arms, and ſubmitted to Mercie.

Againſt the French, that took the opportunity of thoſe Turmoyls, he was ſo proſperous, that he ſent them home from *Jerſey* and *Guernſey* with the loſs of two thouſand men.

Honour he had enough, and Power too, yet not what he aimed at; (our Souls are infinite as in their duration, ſo in their capacity.) Ambition is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earneſt, full of alacrity and ſtirring, if it be not ſtopped; but if it be ſtopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh aduſt, and thereby malign and venomous: So aſpiring men, if progreſſive and ſucceſsful (their paſſage to advancement being clear) are rather active then perilous; but if curbed with ſome obſtructions, their ſecret diſcontent caſts an evil aſpect upon all perſons and actions, and becomes rather dangerous than ſerviceable.

This great Earl's greater minde was uſeful, when proſperous abroad; but at home troubleſome, when finding a plain man in his way to height, great in his power, greater in his Soveraigns affections, and greateſt of all in his knowing Brother; whoſe *Spirit* bare up his Authority, as his Authority ſupported *His* Courage: In that *b* mans Breſt there was a Prudence that could reach, and a ſtoutneſs that could balance this at once cloſe and fierce man.

b *Viz. The Lord* Tho. Seymour.

Intereſt

Intereſt and Blood united theſe Brothers ſo ſtrongly, that there was no dividing of them, but by practiſing on their Wives, whoſe Humours were above their Intereſt, and Fancy above their Relation. Their precedence is made a queſtion at Court, where it bred firſt a diſtance, and upon an Interview contrived in this Lords houſe, a difference; that difference is improved to an animoſity, (he can do little that cannot blow up a ſpark in a Womans Breſt to a flame) that animoſity to malice, and malice cannot dwell long in thoſe weaker breſts without a miſchief; miſchief they cannot do themſelves: (The Ivy cleaves to the Oak, and theſe Women to their Husbands, though both ruine the things they cling to:) What ſuggeſtions! What inſinuations! What pretty fears and jealouſies! What little tales and paſſions! Yet *continual droppings wear a Stone:* The Womens diſcords derive themſelves into the Husbands hearts, until the Admiral falls, and leaves the Protector to his own Integrity: Whoſe large Truſt and infinite Buſineſs could not but bewray him to ſome Errour, as his great Power did to much Envy, that firſt deveſted him of that Power, and then of his Life. Q. *Mary*

There is not a more admirable Wiſdom directing the contrarieties of Nature to an Harmony, than there is a cloſe reach in ſome men to reconcile variety of Humours, Affections, Oppoſitions, Rancounters, Events and Changes to one Deſign. The Protectors eaſineſs is betrayed to confidence; his too late fears, to a confidence at firſt, and at laſt to irregularities: the hopes of ſome were encouraged; the grievances of others were aggravated and pitied; the envy of a third part was excited; and He the

Q. *Mary.* foul in all and every part of the action. "The Pro-
"tector was free-spirited, open-hearted, humble,
"hard to distrust, easie to forgive: The Earl was
"proud, subtle, close, cruel and implacable;
"and therefore it was *impar congressus* between
"them, almost with as much disadvantage as be-
"tween a naked and an armed person. Two nets
are laid to take the Protector; the one breaks, the
other holds: The Treason was onely to give a Re-
port, the Felony for designing the death of the Earl
of *Warwick*, a Privy Counsellour, did the execu-
tion.

He being removed out of the way, this Earl of *Warwick*, as his Predecessor, meditates the honour of King-making. To this purpose he joyns him-self by alliance to the best Families, and advanceth his children by employments to the greatest trusts; particularly (what Sir *Richard Baker* saith had been better if it had never been) his Son *Robert* (afterward Earl of *Leicester*) was sworn one of the six ordinary Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber: upon which particular the foresaid Historian observeth, "That after his coming into a place so near him,
"the King enjoyed his health but a while. The Duke of *Somerset* is trained by his enemies to such fears and jealousies, as transport him beyond his own good nature, to an attempt one morning upon the Earl of *Warwick*, now Duke of *Northumberland*, abed; where being received with much kindness, his heart relented, and he came off *re infecta*. At his coming out, one of his company asked him if he had done the deed? he answered, *No*. Then said he, *You are your self undone*. And indeed it so fell out: for when all other Accusations were refelled, this

onely

onely ſtuck by him, and could not be denyed; and ſo he was found guilty by a Statute of his own procurement, *viz.* Q. *Mary.*

That if any ſhould attempt to kill a Privy-Counſellour, although the fact were not done, yet it ſhould be Felony, and to be puniſhed with death.

This, notwithſtanding many Divertiſements uſed, went ſo near the conſumptive Kings heart, that he prepares for death. The Duke now within ken of his deſigne, conſidering the Kings affection for Reformation, the Lords and other Purchaſers kindneſs for Church-lands, the Judges fear, the Courtiers compliance, carried on a Will with a high hand, (trembling with anger, ſaith Judge *Mountague*, if any oppoſed him; yea, ſaying, *That he would fight in his Shirt with any that contradicted it*) wherein the Crown was beſtowed on *Jane Grey*, his fourth Sons Wife, (the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* being laid aſide.) But he forgot (as what man, though never ſo reaching, can conſider all things?) that there is an inviſible Power in *Right*, that there is a natural Antipathy in Engliſh men againſt Uſurpation, and as great an inclination for the ſucceſſion: "A Point they had conned ſo well "of late out of the Statute made for that purpoſe, "that they could not well be put out of it by this "new-ſtarted Deſigne. The People ſtand by Queen *Mary*: the Council notwithſtanding their Engagement to ſtand by him at his going away, (when he obſerved in *Shore-ditch* that the People gazed on him, but bid him not *God ſpeed*; and he

Q. *Mary.* told the Lords, *They might purchaſe their ſafety with his ruine.* To which one of the Lords replyed, *Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be: for which of us all can waſh his hands clear of this buſineſs?*) proclaimed the Queen at *London*, as he doth at *Cambridge*; where yet the Earl of *Arundel* (who offered his life at his feet when he marched out: O the Viciſſitudes of this lower world!) arreſts him reſolutely, and he ſubmits weakly, firſt to an Impriſonment, and then to a Tryal and Execution.

"The firſt night he came to *Cambridge*, all the "Doctors ſupped with him; and Doctor *Sandys* "is appointed to preach before him next day. The "Doctor late at night betakes himſelf to his Prayers "and Study, deſiring God to direct him to a fit "Text for that time. His Bible openeth at the firſt "of *Joſhua*, and (though he heard no voice with "St. *Auguſtine*, ſaying, *Tolle & lege*) a ſtrong fan-"cy inclined him to fix on the firſt words he be-"held, *v.* 16. *And they anſwered Joſhua, ſaying, "All that thou commandeſt us, we will do; and whi-"therſoever thou ſendeſt, we will go:* A Text he ſo "wiſely and warily handled, that his Enemies got "not ſo full advantage againſt him as they expe-"cted.

"The next day the Duke advanced to *Bury* with "his Army, whoſe feet marched forward while "their minds move backward. Upon the News "brought him, he returned to *Cambridge*, with "more ſad thoughts within him, then valiant Soul-"diers about him. Then went he with the Mayor "of the Town, and proclaimed the Queen; the "Beholders whereof more believing the grief in

"his

" his eyes when they let down tears, then the joy Q. *Mary*
" profeſſed by his hands when he threw up his Cap.
" *Slegge* Sergeant at Arms arreſts him in *Kings-Col-*
" *ledge*; and when the Proclamation of Pardon ſet
" him at liberty, the Earl of *Arundel* re-arreſts
" him, at whoſe feet he craves mercy; a low po-
" ſture in ſo high a perſon! But what more poor
" and proſtrate then Pride it ſelf, when reduced to Hiſt.
" extremity? Behold we this Duke as the Mirrour Camb.
" of Humane Unhappineſs! p. 131.

" As *Nevil* Earl of *Warwick* was the *make-King*,
" ſo this *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* was the *make-*
" *Queen*. He was Chancellour of the Univerſity,
" and Steward of the Town of *Cambridge*; two
" Offices which never before or ſince met in the
" ſame perſon.

" Thus as *Cambridge* was his Vertical Poynt,
" wherein he was in the heighth of Honour; ſo it
" was his Vertical, where he met with a ſuddain
" turn, and a ſad Cataſtrophe. And it is remark-
" able, that though this Duke (who by all means
" endeavoured to aggrand his Poſterity) had ſix
" ſons, all men, all *married*, none of them left a-
" ny iſſue behind them. *Thus far better it is to found*
" *our hopes of even earthly happineſs on* Goodneſs,
" *then* Greatneſs. Thus far the *Hiſtorian*.

It was *Lewis* the eleventh's Motto, *Pride and Preſumption go before, Shame and Loſs follow after.* In three ſorts of men Ambition is good:

1. In a Souldier, to quicken him.
2. In Favourites, to balance others.
3. In great States-men, to undertake invidious Employments: " For no man will take that part

Q. Mary. "except he be like a ſeeled Dove, that mounts and "mounts becauſe he cannot ſee about him. And in theſe men it's ſafe if they are mean in their original, harſh in their nature, ſtirring in many little, rather then in any *great* buſineſs. Greater in his own intereſt then in his Followers. Humility ſojourneth with ſafety and honour, Pride with danger and unworthineſs. No man below an Anointed One, is capable of an unlimited Power; a temptation too great for Mortality, whoſe higheſt Intereſt if indulged, is *Self*; and if checked, *Malice*. Dangerous is the *Power* of an aſpiring Perſon near a Prince, more dangerous his *Diſguiſe*, as who acts all things againſt his Maſter by his Authority.

Let no man upon this example ever repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle Counſel, Fidelity or Diſcretion, as to create in himſelf or others a diffidence of his own Judgement, which is likely to be moſt faithful and true to a mans own *Intereſt*. Let every man have ſome things that no man ſhall obtain, and ſome things that no man muſt dare ask; becauſe you ſee here, if we let all go without reſerve, our Reputation is loſt in the world by the Reputation our Favourite gains with us.

There was in *Rome* a certain man named *Enatius*, ſomewhat entred in Age, and of natural condition mutinous, ambitious, and troubleſome: *Adrian* being advertiſed that he was dead, fell into a great laughter, and ſware, That he could not but wonder he could intend to die, conſidering what great buſineſs he had night and day. Conſidering how many Affairs he had to manage, how many croſs accidents to accommodate, I wonder what time he had to die: And conſidering his many pre-

tences

tences for the Proteſtant Religion, eſpecially that for King *Edward*'s, I wonder with what face he could die a Papiſt. Q. *Mary.*

But I have forgot my ſelf: for there are two ſorts of perſons in *Machiavel* that muſt either not believe, or not profeſs any Religion: The firſt, the States-man, that acts in publick Affairs; the ſecond, the Hiſtorian, that writes them.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Peter.

HE was born in that great Nurſery of Parts, *Devonſhire*; and bred in a greater, *Exeter-Colledge*. That Colledge made him a Scholar, and *All-Souls* a Man. His capacity was contemplative, and his Genius active; obſerving, rather then reading; with his eye more on men, then Books; ſtudying behaviour, rather then notion; to be accompliſhed, rather then knowing; and not to erre in the main, rather then to be excellent in circumſtance. His Body ſet off his Parts with a grave dignity of preſence, rather then a ſoft beauty of aſpect: His favour was more taking then his colour, and his motion more then his favour; and all ſuch, as made his early Vices bluſh, and his riper Vertues ſhine.

The Earl of *Wiltſhire* firſt pitched upon him for his Sons Tutor, and then for his own Companion. *Noble Families ſet off hopeful Parts, and improve them.*

Cromwel's quick eye one day at my Lord, ſpyeth

Q. *Mary.* his Perſonage, and obſerves his Carriage. (*He was a man himſelf, and underſtood one.*) Nothing would ſatisfie him, but that the young Gentleman ſhould come to Court, and go to Travel. King *Henry* loved any *All-Souls* man, but was enamoured with him, in whom concurred the three Perquiſites of that Society.

1. A Gentile Extraction.
2. A graceful Behaviour.
3. Competent Learning.

The young man deſigned for buſineſs, was to travel for Education, and the Scholar for Experience.

1. His Penſion is allowed him, 125 *l.* a year.

2. His Tutor is aſſigned, who had been there before, and could inſtruct him what he ſhould ſee, where he ſhould go, what acquaintance to entertain, what exerciſe or diſcipline to undergo.

3. His Inſtructions were drawn up: as,

1. That he ſhould keep a Diary of what the chiefeſt places and the eminent perſons, either apart or in Conventions, yeilded worthy of Remarque and Obſervation.

2. To have before him a Map or Card of every place he goeth to.

3. Not to ſtay long in any one place.

4. To converſe with no Engliſhmen but Agents, Embaſſadors, or ſuch grave perſons as his Majeſty would direct him to.

5. To endeavour after Recommendations from perſons of quality in one place, to thoſe in another; keeping ſtill his correſpondence with the moſt publick and eminent perſons of every reſpective place.

With-

Within five years he returned a compleat Gentleman, correcting the Vices of one Country with the Vertues of another; and being one happy Compoſition of every Region. Sir *John Philpot* was not ſo much the worſe, as Sir *William* was the better for travel; *He* returning the ſhame of all Nations; of his own, by his weakneſs abroad; of others, by their follies at home: This coming home the honour of his own by his abilities abroad, of others by his perfections at home. Q. *Mary.*

Two things improved his travel:

1. An Artificial and careleſs freedome, that opened others.

2. A natural gravity, that ſhut him up, and was more capable of obſerving their Vertues, and eſcaping their Vices.

Peter Earl of *Savoy* came to do his homage to *Otho* the fourth in a double attire; on the one ſide Cloth of Gold, on the other ſhining Armour: the Emperour asked him what meant that Lindſey-Woolſey? he anſwered, *Sir, the attire on the right ſide is to* honour *your Majeſty, that on the left is to* ſerve *you.* Sir *William Peter* returns with thoſe Gayeties of carriages on the one hand that might adorn a Court, and with thoſe abilities on the other that might ſupport it. His firſt employment was the Charts, the Latine Letters, and the Forreign Negotiation; the next, was Prineipal Secretary: In which Office, *Wriothesley* was rough and ſtubborn, *Paget* eaſie, *Cecil* cloſe, *Maſon* plain, *Smith* noble; *Peter* was ſmooth, reſerved, reſolved, and yet obliging. Both the Laws he was Doctor of, and both the Laws he made uſe of; the Civil Law to direct

Q. *Mary.* direct Forreign Negotiations, and the other to give light to Domestick Occasions.

In the Kings absence in *France* 1544. *Cranmer* and *Thorleby* are to assist the Queen in matters of Religion, the Earl of *Hertford* in Affairs of War, the Lord *Parr* of *Horton*, and Doctor *Peter*, in the Civil Government; (whose Maxime it was, *It is the interest of the Kings of* England *to be the Arbiters of Christendome.*) Thus much he was to the Queen by *Henry* the eighth's Deputation, and no less to King *Edward* by his Will.

A man would wonder how this man made a shift to serve four Princes of such distant Interests as King *Henry*, King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*; until he recollects the French King, who enquired of a wise man how he might govern himself and his Kingdome? the wise man took a fair large sheet of Paper, and in stead of an infinite number of Precepts, which others use to offer upon that subject, he onely writ this word, *Modus*, *A Mean*. In King *Henry*'s time he observed his Humour, in King *Edward*'s he kept to the Law, in Queen *Mary*'s he intended wholly State-affairs, and in Queen *Elizabeth*'s he was religious, his years minding him of death, and his death of his faith. He moved with the first Movers in most transactions to his *apparent* danger, yet he had motions of his own for his *real* security. Able he was at home, and very dexterous abroad; particularly at *Bulloign*. The Philosophers exercising their Gifts before an Ambassador, he asked one that was silent what he should say of him? *Report to your King* (saith he) *that you found one among the Grecians that knew how to hold his tongue.* *Ah*, (said *Mounsieur Chastillon*) *we had gained*

gained the last 200000 *Crowns without Hostages, had it not been for the man that said nothing*, (meaning Secretary *Peter.*) Q. *Mary.*

Neither was he better at keeping his own counsel, then at discovering other mens; as appeared by the intelligence he had, that the Emperour had sent Ships to transport the Lady *Mary* into *Germany*, in case the King would not allow her the practice of her Religion, (though three men knew not that Designe in the German Court) whereupon he fetched her to *Leez*; and thence, under the notion of preparing for Sea-matters, he sent over five thousand pounds to relieve the Protestants.

Active he was about the Will in compliance with his duty to King *Edward*, but as nimble in his intelligence suitably to his Allegiance to Queen *Mary*; whom he assisted in two Particulars: 1. In making the Match: 2. In searching the bottom of *Wiat*'s Insurrection: therefore,

1. When the Church-lands went against her conscience, Sir *William Peter* must be sent for.

2. When the Pope sent another Legate to turn out *Pool*, he must be sent for; (who advised her to forbid him this Land, as she very resolutely did.)

As serviceable was he to Queen *Elizabeth*, till his Age not being able to go through the difficulties, and his Conscience being impatient of the severities of those busie and harsh times, he retired to *Essex*, where his Estate was great, and his Charity greater: both which he bequeathed his Son *John*, who was by King *James* made Baron of *Writtle* in that County.

Obser-

Observations on the Life of Cardinal Pool.

HIs Extraction was so high, that it awakened King *Henry* the Eighth's Jealousies and his Spirit so low, that it allayed it. When he reflected on his Royal * Relation, he was enjealousied to hard thoughts of restraint and security; when he observed his modest Hopefulness, he was obliged to those more mild of Education and Care, as more honourable than the other, and as safe: Religion and Study would enfeeble that Spirit to quiet contemplation, which more manlike exercises might ennoble for Business and Action. It was but mewing him up in a study with hopes of a *Mitre*, and there would be no danger of his ambition to the *Crown*. The Privacies of the School and Colledge made him a stranger to the transactions of Court; and he was to follow his Book, that he might not understand himself.

* *His Mother was Daughter to the Duke of Clarence, and Grandchild to* Edward *the IV*

His preferments were competent to content him, and yet but mean to expose him.

Three things concurred to his escape from King *Henry*'s Toyl.

1. His Relations ambition, that could not endure he should be wrapped in Black, that was born to be clothed in Purple.

2. His own Inclination to adde Experience to his Learning.

3. The Kings Policy, to maintain him abroad, who could not safely keep at home.

No

No ſooner arriveth he at *Paris*, than the Pope ca- Q. *Mary*
lleth him as a perſon fit to promote his Intereſt: The Houſe of *York* ſupports him, as one that kept up their Claim; and the general Diſcontent crieth him up as one that was now the Hope of *England*, and might be its Relief.

That he might not come ſhort of their Expectation, or his own Right, his large capacity takes in the Learning of moſt Univerſities, obſerveth the way of moſt Nations, and keeps correſpendence with all eminent men: The firſt of theſe improved his Learning, the ſecond his Experience, the third his Converſe.

The Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Lord *Mountacute*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Geoffery Poole*, would have made him a King, (but to gain him a *Crown*, they loſt their own *Heads*) and Pope *Julius* made him a Kings Fellow; but he was never Head of this Church ſince he put the Red Hat on this Cardinal.

The King had him declared for a Traytor in *England*, and he him excommunicated for a Heretick at *Rome*. His Friends are cut off by the King at home, and the Kings Enemies cheriſhed by him abroad.

But Princes are mortal, though their hatred not ſo: For before the Kings death, he would needs be reconciled to *Pool*, and as ſome thought, by him to *Rome*; wherefore he ſends to him now in great eſteem in *Italy*, deſiring his opinion of his late Actions clearly, and in few words: Glad was *Pool* of this occaſion to diſpatch to him his Book *de Unione Eccleſiarum*, inveighing againſt his Supremacy, and concluding with an advice to *Henry* to reconcile him-

Q. Mary. himself to the Catholick Church, and the Pope Head thereof. Our King having perused this, knowing it could not lie hid in *Italy* (though Po had promised not to publish it) sends for him Post to come into *England*, to explain some Passag thereof: but *Pool* knowing that it was declare Treason there to deny the Kings Supremacie, refu sed; desiring the King nevertheless in Letters t him and *Tonstal*, to take hold of the present time and redintegrate himself with the Pope; whereby he might secure his Authority, and advance it with the honour of being the cause of a Reformation o the Church in Doctrine and Manners.

King *Edward* is King of *England*, and the Car dinal like to be Pope of *Rome*, keeping pace with the Royal Family; He Head of the Church Catholick, They of that in *England*: But King *Edward's* weakness of Body suffered him not long to enjoy his Throne, and the Cardinals narrowness and emp ness of spirit suffered him not at all to sit in his chair.

For upon *Paul* the Third's death, the Cardinals being divided about the Election, the Imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their voice for Cardinal *Pool*; which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to chuse one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the Church. Upon this stop, some that were no friends to *Pool*, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, layed many things to his charge; among other things, That he was not without suspition of Lutheranism, nor without blemish of Incontinence: but he cleared himself so handsomely, that he was now more importuned to take the place then before,

before, and therefore one night (they say) the Cardinal came to him being in bed, and sent word they came to adore him, (a circumstance of the new Popes Honour) but he being waked out of his sleep, and acquainted with it, made answer, That *this was not a work of darkness, and therefore required them to forbear until next day, and then do as God should put in their mindes.* But the Italian Cardinals attributing this put-off to a kinde of stupidity and sloth in *Pool*, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterwards named *Julius* the Third. Q. *Mary.*

I have heard of many that would have been Popes, but could not; I write this man one that could have been one, but would not.

But though he would not be Pope of *Rome*, yet when *Mary* was Queen, he was one of *England*; where he *was Legate*, and if it had not been for the Emperour, *had been King:* For as soon as she was in the Throne of *England*, he was sent for out of *Italy* into the Chair of *Canterbury*; but *Charles* the Emperour, by the Popes power, secretly retarded his return, fearing it might obstruct the propounded marriage between his Son and the Queen. Indeed the Queen bare the Cardinal an unfeigned affection for six reasons:

1. For his grave and becoming presence, that endeared him no less to those that saw him, then his parts and prudence did to those that conversed with him: The Diamond is then orient, when set in Gold.

2. For his dispositition, as calm as her Majesties, and as meek as his Profession.

3. For

Q. Mary. 3. For his Age: being about ten years older, the proportion allowed by the Philosopher between Husband and Wife.

4. For Alliance: she being daughter to *Henry* the Eighth, and he Grandchild to *Edward* the Fourth.

5. For his Education with Her, under his Mother.

6. For his Religion, for which he was an Exile, as she was a Prisoner, and both Confessors.

But now when the marriage with Prince *Philip* was consummated, *Pool* at last got leave for *England*; and to wipe away all suspition of *Lutheranism*, wherewith he was formerly taxed, he became a cra-
Full. Hist. *el*, that he might be believed a *cordial* Papist: "For
Cent. 16. "meeting in *Brabant* with *Emanuel Tremelius*, re-
p. 14. "questing some favour from him, he not onely de-
"nied him relief, but returned him rayling terms;
"though formerly he was not onely his very fami-
"liar Friend, but his God-father too, when of a
"Jew he turned Christian. Arrived in *England*,
"(as the Historian goeth on) he was first ordained
"Priest, being but Deacon before, and then consi-
"crated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Queen be-
"ing present, at *Bow*; where rich in costly Robes,
"and sitting on a guilded Throne, his Pall was pre-
"sented to him: Adorned, he presently mounts the
"Pulpit, and makes a *dry Sermon* of the use and ho-
"nour of the Pall, without either Language or mat-
"ter; all admiring the jejuneſs of his Discourse,
"as if putting off his Parts, when putting on his
"Pall.

He made the breach formerly between *England* and

and *Rome*, by exasperating both sides: he now reconciles it, obliging many by his carriage, awing as many by his presence, dazling all by his pomp and splendour. Now he confirmeth the Institution of Clergy-men into their Benefices; he legitimateth the Children of forbidden marriages; he ratifieth the Processes and Sentences in matters Ecclesiastical; and his Dispensations were confirmed by Act of Parliament. Q. Mary.

Two things he was intent upon:

1. The Church-Priviledges; whereof one he procured was, That the Clergy should not shew their Horses with the Layty, but under Captains of their own chusing.

2. The *Spanish* Interest; and therefore *Paul* the fourth, who was as intent upon the *French*, and looked upon the Legate as the principal Promoter of the last War in *France*, sends Cardinal *Peto* to ease him of his Legantine Power in *England*. But the Queen so ordered the matter, that by her Prerogative she prohibited *Peto* entrance into *England*; and got the foresaid Power established and confirmed on Cardinal *Pool*, as she did likewise 1000 *l.* a year for his better support out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. The more he lived in *England*, the more he was Italianized; conversing with their Merchants, and practising their thrift; his Pomp being (saith my Author) rather gaudy then costly, and his attendance more ceremonious then expensive. Fearful he was of a Bank here, (if Queen *Mary* died) careful of one beyond Sea if he lived: therefore as he sends all his Estate to *Italy* by his Will when he died, so he did most of it by Bills of Exchange while he lived; the first was judged his,

Q. *Mary.* Policy, (the heart whereof is prevention) the second his Gratitude, bestowing his Superfluities on them who had relieved his Necessities. Of all his Estate, *Aloisius Priol* took but the Breviary he had always in his Pocket, so devout he was: and the Diary he had always in his Closet, so exact he was to observe what was done by others, and recollect what had escaped himself. Die he did not of Italian Physick wilfully taken by himself, as Mr. *Fox* suggests; nor of English Poyson, given him by the Protestants, as *Osorius* affirms; but of a *Quartain* Ague, then Epidemical in *England*, and malignant above the ordinary nature of that Disease. This man was a Catholick in his Interest and Charity, and a Protestant in his Conscience. *We cannot* (was his saying) *give too much to Gods grace, nor too little to our own merits.* He said when he came to *England*, *I came hither not to condemn, but reconcile; not to compel, but desire.* He would burn the Ashes of one or two Protestants when dead, to avoid the suspition of Heresie; but the Bodies of none when alive, to contract the real guilt of Cruelty. In Council sound were his Debates for the main; circumspect his Suggestions of Circumstances; reaching his foresight of Consequences; wary his Precautions of Impediments; moderate and soft his Advices; prompt and ready his Expeditions; happy his Memory; many his Observations; large his Reading; strong his Spirit; solid his Judgement; sharp his Apprehension; fluent, but weighed; full, but pertinent; grave, but quick his Discourse: what he pronounced, was a Decree with Queen *Mary*; what he said, was Law with King *Philip*. His naked Proposition was Demonstration; his

Word

Word Reaſon, fetched from the Principles of things, and grounded on their Cauſes. His Modeſty never ſued for Greatneſs, though that ſued for him: for great men he ſaid were slave to ſix things: 1. To mens humours; 2. To buſineſs; 3. To Fortune; 4. To their own Followers; 5. To Fame; and, 6. To the Publick. I will ſay no more of him, but that *Modeſty undoeth a Maid*, and is the fool onely that puts Vertue out of Countenance. Baſhfulneſs is at beſt but a weak and treacherous Vertue. Q. *Mary.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Ruſſel.

HIs Name and his Valour is as ancient as the Conqueſt; Vertue flowing in every Age of that Family with its Honour and Worth, keeping pace with their Advancements. In every man that we meet with, there are three things that immediately offer themſelves to our Conſideration:

1. The Mind.
2. The Behaviour. And
3. The Perſon.

His Mind was befriended by Nature with a quickneſs and a capaciouſneſs, helped by publick Education to a ſolidity and ſtayedneſs; improved in Travel with Obſervation, and raiſed by the ſlow, but happy degrees of his Preferments to Skill and Experience. *They had need be ſlow and wary in that place where there is no failing the ſecond time, the*

Q. *Mary*. *first errour being irremediable*: therefore well-ordered Policy imitateth Nature, which worketh slowly, and step by step, causing the Blade to come from the Grain, the Tree from the Graft, the Blossom from the Tree, and Fruit from the Blossom: so (saith my Author) ought Policy to raise great persons from one degree to another; to the end, that having made their Essays in meaner matters, they may finish their Master-pieces in more eminent Affairs. 2. He that demeans himself well, is ever ushered in by a friend that recommends him to the company that knew him not.

Sir *John* had a *moving* beauty that waited on his whole Body, as that standing one doth upon the Face and Complexion: Such a grace and comelineſs waited on his Noble Meen, as exacted a liking, if not a love from all that beheld him.

A midling Clarity and quickneſs is beſt in Wine, that is, neither too thick upon the Lees, nor yet too quick: our Knights comportment and carriage was neither dull nor vapouring, neither groſs nor affected, but of a becoming temper, at equal diſtance with the Clown and the Pedant, what's contemptible, and what's invidious. 3. But both theſe were ſet off with his Perſon, of a middle ſtature, neither tall to a formidableneſs, nor ſhort to a contempt: ſtraight and proportioned, vigorous and active, with that pure blood and ſpirits that flowed and flowred within his ſwelling Veins, and diſpoſed him to thoſe natural and innocent, thoſe manly and noble Exerciſes of Dancing, *&c.* Dancing, I ſay, which he was not exquiſite in, for that is vanity; nor ignorant of, for that's meanneſs: but a graceful exerciſe, (wherein he was careleſly eaſie,

as

as if it were rather natural motion, then curious and artificial practiſing) which endeared his ſeverer Vertues to that place where the worth that riſeth muſt be complaiſant and pleaſing, as well as ſerviceable and uſeful. But the favour which proceeds from perſonal grace and comelineſs, although it ſeem to be doubly united, yet it is that which is ſooneſt diſſolved and diſſipated, there being nothing ſo inconſtant as mens humours, which not onely change through Ages, but alſo by ſome ſmall occaſion or accident which may ariſe: Sir *John* therefore brought himſelf into Court by what humoured, but kept himſelf in there by thoſe things that did oblige him; and ſtood not upon his Majeſties pleaſure, but his Intereſt; adding to his more aiery Courtſhips, more ſolid Employments. From the ſofter Court therefore we muſt follow him to the Camp, and that before *Terwyn*, where we finde him daring and active: 1. In ſkirmiſhing the French every day; 2. In recovering the red Gun overthrown in a Lane from 10000 French, under the Earl St. *Paul* as General, with 250 reſolute Reformades under himſelf but Captain; although he was once taken Priſoner, as before *Calice*, where he redeemed himſelf from the Officer that had taken him for 250 Crowns, on condition he would conduct him ſafe from the French Quarter, as the man did, until they were gone ſo far, that Sir *John* takes him Priſoner, compelling him to the Reimburſement of his money, with 200 Crowns more, to be beſtowed on the Common Souldiers. As ſeverely active was he at the ſiege of *Tournay*, as the oldeſt Souldier; and yet as innocently pleaſant at the Mask there, as the youngeſt Courtier.

Q. *Mary.*

Q. *Mary.* One of the ſixty he was that went with the King to cut off the Paſſage between that City and the Army, and one of the eleven that went with his Majeſty to entertain the Ladies at *Liſle*. From ſerving one King in *France*, he had the honour as it was thought to kill another in *England*, (I mean *James* of *Scotland*) and challenge a third in *Paris*. The ſame thing raiſed him, that advanced *Wolſey*: for he being ſent to *Maximilian*, (after Treaſurer *Napbant* had brought him to Court) diſpatched his buſineſs ſo ſoon, that the King chid him for not being gone, when he was returned; and withal asked him, Whether he had ſeen the Poſt that he had ſent after him about a circumſtance that had eſcaped him? He anſwered, He met him in his return; but he had preſumed to adde that particular of his his own head, for which he asked his Majeſties pardon, and had his favour too for the Deanery of *Lincoln*, and the Almonerſhip. Sir *John* was commanded with 1500 men to cut off the Convoy to *Terwyn*: which he performed with that ſpeed and ſucceſs, that when the King ſaw him, he ſaid, *I, I,* Sir John, *while we are fooling, the Town is relieved. So it is indeed,* (ſaid he) *for I have ſent them* 2000 *Carcaſes, and they have ſpared me* 1200 *Wagons of Proviſion. I but,* ſaid the King, *I ſent after you to cut off the Bridge* Dreban. *That,* replyed the Knight, *was the firſt thing I did: wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majeſties grace and pardon. Nay then,* (ſaid the King) *by Lady, thou haſt not my pardon, but my favour too.* "He is the "man for a Princes ſervice, whoſe minde is preſent, "and prudence is ready to meet with ſuddain oc-"caſions, and accommodate unexpected emergen-"cies.

cies. The firſt effect of that favour, was his Nomination for one of the ſixteen that anſwered the French Challenge at the Lady *Mary*'s Marriage, at *Paris*, *November* 7, 1513. which ſhewed his manhood, and how valiant he was. The ſecond was, that he was one of the Forty five that were to be about his Majeſty at the inſtant of his Interview with the King of *France* at *Guiſnes*; which was an Argument of his preſence, and how goodly a man he was. The third was, that he was one of the Twenty two that with the Earl of *Surrey* Lord Admiral, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Vice-Admiral, propoſed that ſecret, and therefore ſucceſsful Deſigne upon *Britain*, under pretence of *Scowring the Narrow Seas*, (for now he is as good in the Sea as he had been in the Field) for which he and eight more of his fellow-Captains, Sir *Joh. Cornwallis*, &c. are Knighted by the aforeſaid Lord Admiral: which ſpeaks him a Sea-man, and indeed one of a general capacity. The fourth was, the great Truſt his Majeſty repoſed in him, when he was ſent in diſguiſe to widen the difference that was newly broken out between the Duke of *Bourbon*, the High Conſtable of *France*, and the *French* King; which he managed ſo well, that the diſcontented Duke declares for the Emperour and the King of *England*; to the great encouragement of the Engliſh, the ſatisfaction of his Majeſty, and the ſucceſs of his Deſigne upon *Anchor*, *Boungard*, *Bray*, and other places, where Sir *John* ſhewed himſelf as active now, as he was before cunning; as much ſurpaſſing the French Spirit in action, as he had over-reached their Prudence in Negotiation. Q. *Mary*'s

But in vain was it to ſerve that King, unleſs a

Q. Mary. man obliged the Cardinal, (he that courts the Virgin *Mary*, must not neglect her little Saints) him he attended in his second Journey to *France*, first to honour, and then to serve him. And now after his decease, when King *Henry* had done the work of mercy (which was most proper for himself, as being most popular) upon the *Lincolnshire* Rebels, he deputed the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Francis Brians* and Sir *John Russel* to perform that of Justice, which is most distastful: wherein yet he behaves himself with that exactness, that the Country was very well pleased, and the King as well satisfied; insomuch that we finde our Knight now called from a Commander in the Field, to be Controller at Court: where he managed his Masters Expences thriftily, reduced his Family discreetly, reformed his followers effectually, and filled up his place with the awe of his presence, and the influence of his Authority, that he was at once its support and its glory. Indeed Courts being those Epitomes wherethrough strangers look into Kingdomes, should be Royally set off as with Utensils, so with attendance, that might possess all Comers with reverence there, and fear elsewhere.

His Person graced his Imployment, and therefore his Majesty honoured his Person with the Order of the Garter, and the Title of Lord *Russel*; and that his Preferment might keep pace with his Honour, he is made Lord Privy Seal, and his Nephew Sir *John Gage* Controller. His Honour slacked not his Activity, but improved it; neither was his Vertue onely violent in Ambition, and dull in Authority. Power to do good, is the true and lawful end of aspiring; therefore my Lord to his *Staff*, added his Sword;

Sword; and to his Court-honour, his Field-ſervice, as Lieutenant-General before *Muttrel*, and Marſhal before *Buſloign*; to the relief of the firſt whereof, he drew Mounſieur * *Bies*, that his Majeſty might take the ſecond. In the Camp he drew up the Deſignes, in the Field he managed the Treaſure, and in Action to him was intruſted the Conduct and manage. In the Kings laſt Will and Teſtament he was the fifth perſon, and in his Sons Council the fifth; to whom he diſcovered a French Plot the *firſt* year of his Raign, and for whom he broke the *Devonſhire* Rebels, what with delays, what with ſtratagems, to divide them according to their ſeveral Inclinations, the *ſecond*, for which ſervice he was made Earl of *Bedford*; The *third*, in the Faction at home between the *Seymours* and the *Dudleys*, he was Neuter: in the Treaties abroad between the French King and his Majeſty of *England*, he was Principal; where he obſerved three Rules: 1. That there ſhould be a general Muſter at home, while this Treaty went on abroad. 2. That there ſhould be a blow given the *Scots* before there was a Peace made with the *French*. 3. That we ſhould firſt know the *French* Overtures before we made our own.

Q. *Mary*.

* *Governor of Bies.*

But while he was here, he diſcovered a Plot that the Emperour had to tranſport the Lady *Mary* over to his Dominions, and thereby bring her Brother to his terms: whereupon he with 200 men watcheth one Port, the Duke of *Somerſet* with 200 more a ſecond, and Maſter St. *Leiger* with 400 men a third, while the Lady was fetched by my Lord Chancellor to the King. But while he was ſerving his Maſter the King abroad, his Friend the

Pro-

Q. *Mary.* Protector wanted his advice and assistance at home he being of purpose sent out of the way, while the unfortunate Duke is first betrayed by his own folly, and then ruined by his Enemies Power. I finde his hand among the rest of the Counsellors in a Letter to Queen *Mary*, but not in Arms against her; He was concluded by the major Vote to a Commission for Peace, but not *to Action* for conscience sake. Faithful he is therefore to her in Council, and serviceable in *Spain* and *France*; from the first of which places he brought her a Husband, and from the second a Treasure. He understood her Right, and disputed not her Religion; regarding not so much her Opinion, as his own Duty; not what she was, but what he should be. And thus he behaved himself, until his dear Mistress *Elizabeth* took him for one of her Protestant Counsellours to balance her Popish ones: and not onely of her Council, but of her Cabinet: (for as every man must have his Friend to ease his heart, so Princes have their Favourites to partake of their cares) and the Marques of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir *William Cecil*, were the onely Persons to whom the Queen communicated her designe of Reformation, and correcting the Common-prayer; and they ordered affairs so, that the Protestants should be in hope, and yet the Papists should not be out of hope.

King *Philip* had a quarrel with the Queen for rejecting his suit, the King of *Sweden* for slighting his Son, the King of *France* in his Wives Right, the Queen of *Scots* in her Own, and the Pope for excluding his Supremacie; her Subjects were as unsettled in their Loyalty as in their Religion: What re-

remained? but that my Lord of *Bedford* and Sir *William Cecil* ſhould make up a well-tempered Houſe of Commons by their Intereſt, who ſhould carry along an *indifferent* Houſe of Lords by their *Reſolution*? Q. Mary.

When he had ſerved the Queen in Parliament for the ſettlement of her Kingdom at home, he ſerved the Kingdom in an Embaſſie to *Scotland*, to ſet up its correſpondence abroad.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* aimed at the Queen of *England*, and the Earl of *Bedford*, to divert him and ſecure *Scotland*, deſign'd him for the Queen of *Scots*; whom he watched for two things: 1. That ſhe ſhould either match with an Engliſh Subject, or 2. With a ſoft and weak Forreigner; that either the Scots might be in league with us, or have no peace at home.

His laſt ſervice I finde is a complement, when he was ſent by the Queen as her Deputy, with a font of maſſie Gold worth 1043 *l.* to hold King *James* at his Baptiſm; with expreſs command not to acknowledge my Lord *Darley* as King. This his ſervice was as laſting as his life, which ended in old Age and Renown. He conveyed his Vertue and Honour to the Excellent *Francis*, as he did to the Right Honourable *William* Earl of *Bedford*, now living.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Stephen Gardiner, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

THE tuition of the Earl of *Dorſet's* Children raiſed *Wolſey*; travelling with the Duke of *Norfolk's*, raiſed *Gardiner: Fox* his ſervice in the quality of Secretary, made the firſt; and his in the ſame quality, made *Gardiner.*

There are three kindes of Underſtanding: The one, that is adviſed by its ſelf; the ſecond, that underſtandeth when it is informed by another; the third, that neither is adviſed by its ſelf, nor by the aſſiſtance of another. If this Doctor failed in the firſt, and his own invention, he exceeded in the ſecond, of making uſe of others; for he was one of them that never heard or read what was not his own. His Profeſſion was the Civil Law, that guideth forreign Negotiations: His Inclination was that general Policy that manageth them.

His Eminencies were three:

1. His Reſervedneſs: Whereby he never did what he aimed at, never aimed at what he intended, never intended what he ſaid, and never ſaid what he thought; whereby he carried it ſo, that others ſhould do his buſineſs, when they oppoſed it; and he ſhould undermine theirs, when he ſeemed to promote it. A man that was to be traced like the Fox, and read like Hebrew, backward: If you would know what he did, you muſt obſerve what he did not.

2. His Boldneſs. Authority ſometimes meets with

with thoſe impediments, which neither power can overcome, nor good fortune divert, if Courage and Fortitude break not through and ſurmount them; and the motions of the iraſcible faculties, ſuch as Hope, Boldneſs and Choler, being well ordered, and conducted by Reaſon, engage thoſe difficulties ſhe encountereth in the execution of her deſigns: Reaſon diſcovered him his enterprizes, his Will enclined him to them, and the noble tranſports of his regular paſſions ſet out both with that ardour and vehemencie, as bear down obſtacles, and compaſs the deſign: A hope he had, that never raſhly engaged him in deſperate undertakings; an audacity that precipitated him not weakly into impoſſibilities; and a choler that led him not blindly to inevitable ruines: Conſideration managing the firſt, Diſcretion and Foreſight the ſecond, and Reaſon the third. What doth it avail a man to be wiſe, in knowing what is fit to be done; prudent, to invent means; juſt, to appropriate affairs to publick good; authorized and happy, to cauſe them to ſucceed; if a Courage, guided by Reaſon, accompanied with Prudence, ruled by Diſcretion, animated by a generous Boldneſs, be not diligent, quick and prompt for Execution? His Nature was generous and conſtant: His Education (like that of the Roman Youth among Stateſmen) manifold and ſolid: His Soul was free, and diſ-engaged from any particular Deſign. Q. Mary.

3. Eloquence: That added to his Parts what colours do to a Picture; ſtate, grace and light: Reaſon is the Ornament of a Man, Speech the Interpreter of Reaſon, and Elequence the grace of Speech; wherein the Orator excelleth other men, as much

Q. Mary. as they do other creatures. His Wisdom advised, his Prudence contrived, his Courage resolved, and his Eloquence perswaded; adding at once gracefulness to his Designs, and vigour to his Enterprizes; as that wherewith he could satisfie mens Reasons, and master their Passions, by which he carried them whither he pleased: His lively Expression animates his Reason, his Eloquence his Expression, and his Gesture his Eloquence; whereby he charmed the Senses, mollified Hearts, incited Affections, framed Desires, checked Hopes, and exercised a sacred Empire over every man he dealt with.

These qualities improved with Travel, raised the Doctor to be the Chancellour's Secretary, and the * Legantine Courts chief Scribe at home, a sly Agent in *Italy*, a successful Orator in *Germany*, and Leiger Embassador in *France*. In *Italy*, he with Doctor *Fox* (having the King of *France* his Agent to second them) gained the Popes Commission for hearing of the Cause between King *Henry* the VIII. and Queen *Katharine*.

* *Kept at* Black Fryars.

In *Germany* he undermined the French King, and in *France* the Emperour.

Upon the poor Pope (whom he found not worth 20 *l.*) perplexed between the King of *England*, who had set him at liberty, and the King of *Spain*, who had maintained him, he wrought so far, as to gain a dubious Letter in Cypher to the King, and a clear promise to the Cardinal, both about the suppression of some Monasteries, and the Divorce; which the crafty Agent extorted from the fearful man, with his *Necesse est*, &c. although all this while he palliated this his main business, with some impertinent overtures about King *Henry* the seventh's Ca-

noniza-

nonization: None better understanding the just degrees, seasons and methods of Affairs, then this Doctor: Where he spoke one word for his Majesties Divorce, he spoke two for the Cardinals Advancement, having the French Kings Letter with him to that effect, in *omnem eventum*: In order whereunto he threatned the Pope from *Germany*, and *Germany* from *Rome*; so that their mutual jealousies forced them to a compliance with his Royal and Sacred Master. A great Agent he was in this business while *Wolsey*'s Secretary, a greater when the Kings; in which capacity he writ, they say, one Book for the Pope's Supremacie in his Masters Name, and another for the Kings in his own. Q. *Mag.*

He draweth the Kingdom's Remonstrance against the Pope, and the Pope's against the Kingdom: He and Doctor *Fox* are employed to gain the Vote of *Cambridge* for the Divorce; where he brought it from the Negative to even Voices, and from even Voices to a Disputation, and upon that, to a Determination on the Kings side: for which we find him now Bishop of *Winchester*, Archbishop *Cranmer*'s Assistant at pronouncing the Divorce at the Priory of *Dunstable*, and one of the two Embassadors at the Interview between King *Francis* and King *Henry*. *upon Record in Sir* Rob. Cotton's *Library.*

As he had declared himself by writing, so he drew up a Form whereby others might declare themselves by oath for the Kings Supremacy: And as he owneth the Kings Authority, so he maintaineth it in his Apology for *Fisher*'s Death.

But because no power is lasting, when Religion is not venerable, the wary Bishop promotes the Statutes of six Articles in the House of Commons, in spight of *Cromwel* and *Cranmer*; and urgeth the retain-

Q. *Mary*. retaining of ſome eſſential Latin * words in the tranſlation, in the Convocation; Words, for their genuine and native meaning, and for the Majeſty of the matter in them contained, not to be Engliſhed. Though he could not keep the word from ſhining, yet had he wit enough to keep it in a dark Lanthorn, to keep the Laity at their diſtance, and bear up the Will-worſhip of *Rome*.

* As, Eccleſia, pœnitentia, Epiſcopus, Sacrificium, Pontifex.

Had he kept here, King *Henry* had been ſatisfied; but when his ſucceſs improved his boldneſs, and that precipitated his undertakings, he muſt be quarreling with the Proteſtant Queens, and ſo fall out with the Uxorious King, under whoſe diſpleaſure he continued while he lived, as he did under his ſons afterwards: (Firſt, for refuſing a confeſſion of his fault, and then for not ſubſcribing ſome Articles propoſed unto him, though he owned the Supremacy, the Reformation, and ſaid of the Common-Prayer, *That though he would not have made it ſo himſelf, yet he found in it ſuch things as ſatisfied his conſcience; and therefore he would both execute it himſelf, and cauſe others of his* * *Pariſhioners to do it: and if he were troubled in conſcience, he would reveal it to the Council, and not reaſon openly againſt it:*) ſo that he loſt his Liberty and his Biſhoprick, until he was reſtored to both by Queen *Mary*, (who kiſſed and called him her Priſoner in the Tower) and likewiſe advanced him to the Chancellourſhip; wherein he did more harm by others then himſelf; keeping alwayes behinde the Curtain, and acting in *Oxford* by Viſitors, in *London* by *Bonner*, and in his own Dioceſs by Suffragans: Onely in two Particulars he declared himſelf:

* Viz. *Thoſe of his Dioceſs.*

1. Againſt the Princeſs *Elizabeth*: ſaying, *In vain*

vain it is to lop the Branches, while the Root remains. Q. Mary.

2. Against the *Exiles:* Threatning that *he would watch their supplies, so that they should eat their nails, and then feed on their fingers ends.*

But *threatned Folks live long*; and before the Confessors were brought to that Bill of fare, the Bishop was eaten of worms himself, dying suddenly and strangely; wholly a Protestant in the point of merit, who had been in other things so zealous a Papist.

One piece at once of his Prudence and Resolution, and I have done: The Lord Protector by Letters sollicited *Gardiner* to resign *Trinity-Hall* to the Kings hand, who designed one Colledge out of that and *Clare-Hall:* "Most politick *Gardiner* (saith "my Author) not without cause suspecting some "design or casualty might surprize the Interval be"tween the dissolution of the old, and the erection "of this new Foundation, civilly declined the mo"tion, informing his Grace, That *the way to ad"vance the study of the Law, was by promoting the "present Professors of that Faculty, (now so generally "discouraged) and not by founding a new Colledge for "the future Students thereof; seeing* Trinity-Hall "*alone could breed more Civilians then all* England "*did prefer according to their deserts.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Herbert.

HIs Family had not endeared its ſelf to the antient Kings by its ſervice, nor his Grandfather himſelf to King *Henry* the Seventh by his Relation, more then *He* did *Himſelf* to King *Henry* the Eighth by his Merit. He was a great Pattern of antient Vertue, that in the greateſt Fortune enjoyed the leaſt Liberty: Vigilant and careful: One whoſe Power was attended with Sollicitude, (*there was an Eye in the ancient Scepters*) and his Sollicitude with Temperance; (he that commands himſelf, commands the World too.) While ſome mens imprudent integrity can do no harm, and others baſe cunning can do no good; Sir *William*'s Prudence and Integrity was equally able for both, as there was occaſion. Very cloſe and ſucceſsful were his and my Lord *Sheffield*'s Negotiations abroad: Very reſolute and manly his Conduct at home. He was one of the twenty four Counſellours to *Henry* the Eighth while he lived, and one of the ſixteen Executors of his Will when he died. All great Undertakers muſt avoid ſoftneſs and effeminacie, the bane of great Natures and Actions: For, where there is love and pleaſure, there is fear; and where there is fear, there is that which enchains Generoſity and confines Courage.

He had his double Diary; the firſt for Actions, the ſecond for Obſervations upon them: And indeed his and Sir *William Kingſton*'s Manuſcripts give

give a great light to the History of those times: In which Diary we finde what actions he did against the Scots by constant alarms with three thousand *Welch*, and what against *Ket*'s Rebels by notable stratagems with two thousand. The man is compleat that hath a Head and a Heart. Q. *Mary.*

As to the Faction in King *Edward*'s time, he would not concern himself, looking on accusations in a Commonwealth as great advantages to check ambition, and vent discontent; that the one may not aspire too dangerously, nor the other break out too irregularly. And as little concern'd was he in King *Edward*'s Will; his business being rather obeying the Soveraign *that was*, then determining who *should be.*

He was a throughly advised man: one that gazed not on the issues, but enquired into the reasons and springs of Actions.

Very useful he was in Queen *Mary*'s Council, and no less in King *Philip*'s Wars where he got St. *Quintin* for him, and a lasting Renown for himself: who died in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and left this plain Character behinde, *That he was a noble Gentleman, of a trusty, a free and an open Nature.*

Observations on the Lives of Sir Tho. Mannors, *and Sir* Ralph Euers.

I Joyn them both in my Observations, because they agreed both in their dispositions:

1. Both Nobly Religious, and so blessed themselves, and being a blessing unto others: Their

Q. Mary. Religion was attended with Magnanimity, Constancy, Wisdom, Prudence, Valour and Counsel, as the Products of it; and with Success as the Issue.

2. Both famous and renowned; having Honour, as the shadow doth the Sun, going before them in their younger years, to make their way to action; keeping even with them in their middle age, to countenance and credit their proceedings; and following them in old Age to eternize and embalm them: Both making their way to Honour as *Agesilaus* in *Plutarch*, or *Epictetus* in *Strabo*, by saying what was well, and doing what was better; or with *Socrates*, by being what they appeared, and appearing no more then they were: (Vertue, though obscure, may satisfie me; it must be renowned, or it cannot serve others:) But action is the life of things, and good dispositions are rather a mans Inclinations than his Vertue. Both therefore were in their Courage regular, in their Conduct observant, in their Addresses obliging, in their Passions even, in their Enjoyments severe, and in their Services equal.

* *In King H. 8's time, when they rise against the Reformation.*

Sir *Thomas Mannors* first weakened the * Northern Rebels, by such discreet Propositions as met with many of their Humours and Interests, and then resolved to engage them, but that the little Brook *Dun* swelled miraculously to a River, between both Armies: And at the same time Sir *Ralph Euers* held *Scarborough*-Castle, where he had no Souldiers but his own Servants, nor any sustenance for twenty days, but bread and water. For this service he is made Lord Warden of the Marches, as Sir *Thomas* is Lord Governour of the North.

Both did his Majesty as much service in Peace for his

his Revenue, as in War for his Security: Both against the Cardinal's way of raising Money, which was but the relieving of a present need by laying the foundation of a lasting inconvenience; being very careful that their Master did not lose in the president what he gained in the money. Q. *Mary.*

Observations on the Life of Sir John Baker.

THere is one of this Name *remarqueable* in every Kings Reign since the Conquest; here is one now *renowned* in this: 1. For Integrity, to be neither awed nor corrupted: 2. For a Spirit publick as Nature, neither moved with particular respects, nor terminated in a private Design.

The French were so insolent in *London* the eighth year of *Henry* the Eighth, that when one *Williamson* a Carpenter was about to pay for two Pigeons he bought, a Frenchman takes them out of his hand, saying, *They were no meat for Carpenters, but for my Lord Embassadour*; who concerned himself so much in the case, that he had *Williamson* imprisoned: Sir *John* sued to the Embassador for the man, who answered, *That the English Knave deserved to be hanged for denying any thing to a Frenchman.* Whereupon Sir *John* replied, *You know not that you are in London:* A notable reply, considering that the City was up next day against Strangers, in so desperate a tumult, that none could suppress but Sir *Thomas More*, and none settle but Sir *William*

Q. Mary. *Kingston* and Sir *John Baker*. No sooner had he allayed the disorder at home, but he with the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, are sent to appease a Rebellion abroad, I mean in *Denmark*, though in vain; when the Kings cruelty exceeded their apology, and *ruine* was more elegible with that people, then *duty* or *obedience*: Where he observed these six Maximes, in order to a newly-conquer'd-Kingdom:

1. That the Royal Line should be extinguished.

2. That the old Customs in Laws and Taxes should be observed.

3. The Prince must be there to observe their humours in person.

4. That the Officers be moderate and honest.

5. That there be Colonies planted in one or two places that are the Keys of the State.

6. That the Neighbours should be weakened and divided, and the In-land Forts demolished.

As he would have composed the troubles of forreign Princes, so he served the necessities of his own, being the most successful Commissioner for the Benevolence in the Countrey; and the most active Agent for the loan in *London*: Wherefore I finde him Chancellour of the Exchequer, *An.* 1545, and one of the assistants to the Trustees for King *Edward*, 1547.

Judge *Mountague* was the onely person that durst dispute King *Edward*'s Will: Judge *Hales* and Sir *John Baker* were the onely Counsellours that durst refuse it; the first whereof stood to the Law, against Power; the second, to his Allegiance against Intereſt; and both to the Rights of the Crown

Crown which are lasting, rather then the Designes of some Favourites that are as momentary as their Greatness, and as uncertain as their Grandeur. Q. *Mary*

This constant and firm resolution to stick to his Duty and Loyalty, brought him to his Grave in peace and honour; having been a faithful Counsellour and Servant to King *Henry* the eighth, King *Edward* the sixth, Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Kingston.

HE was one of the greatest Courtiers at Masks and Revels, one of the best Captains at Sea, and one of the most valiant and skilful Commanders by Land. None more pleasing to the English Ladies, none more terrible to the French King. Cunningly did he discover the King of *Spains* Designe upon *Navarre* to his Majesty, by pretending a Revolt to that King of *Spain*; and as cunningly did he draw the French Troops into a snare, by counterfeiting a retreat towards *Britany*. His Advice had saved the Admiral at *Brest*, and his Foresight did rescue Sir *Edward Belknap* near *Guisnes*. He was Knighted for his Service at *Tournay*, and made Marshal for his Success at *Flodden*. He was one of them that perswaded the City to its duty at * *Shoreditch*; and if that would not do, he was to command it from the *Tower*; being Commissioner in the first place, *Aug.* 2. and Lieutenant of the second, *September* 6. (*The Multitude is rather*

* *when the rising was there.*

Q. Mary. *ther to be awed then reasoned with.* Some Princes have disarmed their Subjects, others have divided them, a third sort have obliged them; others yet have kept up Plots amongst them: but all have built and commanded Fortresses to secure themselves.) It were well if *Love did*, it's necessary that *Fear should* guide this World. The King condescended one day to Just with him; and he, though invincible, to fall by his Majesty. (You must let a Prince be a Prince in every thing.) So complaisant he was, that he was one of the six Maskers at Court at 50; and yet so grave, that when divers young men that were familiar with the King after the French mode were banished, he kept his Station, as one of the *stayed men*, at 30. He was one of the 16 that attended the King in his first Interview with the Emperour; and one of the 40 that waited on him in the two last with the King of *France*; narrowly escaping at the last that poyson as some thought, or ill vapours, as others conclude, whereof the open-hearted Lord *Brooks*, the valiant Sir *Edward Poynings*, reserved Sir *John Pechy*, and active Sir *Edward Belknap*, died: whereupon with his advice, all French-men were put to their Fines, and all Scotch to their ransome. Neither was he onely for shew, but service too, leading the Right Wing of the Army at *Guisnes*, when Sir *Everard Digby* commanded the Left, the Lord *Sands* the Vanguard, Sir *Edward Guilford* then Marshal of *Callis* the Horse, Sir *Richard Wingfield* the Rear, and the Duke of *Suffolk* the main Battle. Where his Assaults on *Cappe* and *Roy* spake him a Souldier, as his underhand correspondence with the Lord *Isilstein* argued him a States-man.

Sir

Sir *Thomas Mannors* the firſt Earl of *Rutland* of that Name diſcovered, and Sir *William Kingſton* told his Majeſty the Cardinals Plots againſt the Kings Marriage with Queen *Anne*, and his Deſigne to marry him to the Dutcheſs of *Alanzon:* A Deſigne, that becauſe it ſeemed to over-reach his Majeſty in cunning, and really did croſs his Inclination in malice, that incenſed his Majeſty to a paſſion which could be appeaſed with no leſs a ſacrifice then the Cardinals fall: in order to which, the next ſervice of this Knight, is as Lieutenant of the Tower to take him to cuſtody: which he did at *Leiceſter* with a Noble reſolution, conſidering that mans greatneſs, with a due reverence regarding his calling, and with a tender compaſſion reſpecting his condition; perſwading him gently of the Kings *Favour*, at that very time when he was come to be an Inſtrument of his *Juſtice*. And what he did to a Cardinal now, he did to Queens afterwards: never Prince commanding higher ſervices then King *Henry*, nor ſubjects diſcharging them more undauntedly then Sir *William:* becauſe therefore he was ſo ſevere a Lieutenant in the Tower, he is made a Provoſt-Marſhal in the Field; in which capacity, after the *Devonſhire*-Rebels defeat, we have theſe two remarkable ſtories of him. Q. *Mary.*

1. One *Bowyer* Mayor of *Bodmin* in *Cornwal*, had been amongſt the Rebels, not willingly, but enforced: to him the Provoſt ſent word he would come and dine with him; for whom the Mayor made great Proviſion. A little before Dinner the Provoſt took the Mayor aſide, and whiſpered him in the Ear, that an Execution muſt that day be done in

Q. Mary. in the Town, and therefore he must set up two Gallows. The Mayor did so. After Dinner Sir *William Kingston* thanks him for his Entertainment, and then desires him to bring him to the Gallows: where when they were come, Sir *William* asked him, Whether they were strong enough? *I, I'll warrant thee,* saith the Mayor. *Then,* saith Sir *William, get you up upon them. I hope,* saith the Mayor, *you do not mean as you speak. Nay, Sir,* saith he, *you must die; for you have been a busie Rebel.* And so without any more ado hanged him.

2. A Miller that had been very active in the late Rebellion, fled, and left another to take his Name upon him. Sir *William Kingston* calls for the Miller, His Servant tells him that he was the Man. *Then,* saith he, *you must be hanged. Oh Sir,* saith he, *I am not the Miller. If you are not the Miller, you are a lying Knave: if you are the Miller, you are a traytorous one, and however you must die.* And so he did.

Punish the Multitude severely once, and you oblige them ever: for they love that man onely for his Good Nature, whom they fear for his Resolution.

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Cheyney.

THree things advanced men in King *Henry* the Eighth's days: 1. Their Extraction: 2. Their Wit: 3. Their Comelineſs and Strength. For the Firſt, his Name was up ſince *Battle-Abbey-Roll*; as to the ſecond, it was enough that he travelled with *Wolſey*: and touching the third, there need be no other inſtance then that at *Paris*, where upon the *Daulphin*'s Proclamation of ſolemn Juſts, the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, Sir *Edward Nevil* and He, anſwered the Challenge; as not long after he encountered King *Henry* himſelf at *Greenwich*, where he had the great Honour of a ſtrong and valiant Knight, and a greater of being overthrown by his Majeſty.

Having engaged his Majeſties Perſon at home, he had the Honour to repreſent it abroad; where his Commiſſion was to complement the French King about his Liberty, but his Buſineſs to obſerve the ſtate of that place: Where he ſaw that a Kingdom governed by a Prince who hath under him other independent Lords, as that of *France*, is no longer ſafe, than thoſe Lords are either in Humour, or in Purſe; being always in danger either from their diſcontent or corruption: 2. That Faction is always eager, while Duty is modeſt and temperate.

This Occaſion ennobled his Vertue, and his Vertue improved the Occaſion ſo well, that I finde him ſo eminent a Parliament-man the 22th of King *Hen-*

ry

Q. *Mary*, 17, that as Sir *Brian Tuke* had the Honour to open the ſeveral Boxes ſent from the reſpective Univerſities, with their opinions about the Kings Divorce: ſo Sir *Thomas* had the happineſs in a ſet Speech to inſiſt upon them all in general, and every one in particular. And at Queen *Anne*'s Coronation my Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Thomas*, and ten more, are made Knights of the Bath.

Having acquitted himſelf Nobly in Court and Council, he attends the Earl of *Hertford* againſt the Scots, as Commiſſary; and Sir *John Wallop* with Sir *John Rainsford*, as Marſhal: for his Services in both which capacities, he is made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in *England*; and with the Comptroller, Sir *John Gage*, made Field-Marſhal, and Treaſurer of the Army before *Bulloign*: And not long after, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and one of the Aſſiſtants for the Over-ſeeing of King *Henry*'s Will.

When ſome were joyning Others with the Protector, others for limiting him, Sir *Thomas* would ſay, That (as *Machiavel* ſaith, *No Laws*, ſo) *No good could be done by a Governour that was not abſolute, without either a Reſtraint or a Competitor.*

Upon the Reformation he would ſay, That *the diſeſteem of Religious Ceremonies argued the decay of the Civil Government: good Princes have firſt kept their People Religious, and thereby Vertuous and united: both old and new Rome ſtand by this.*

In a word, what makes all men, made him, A generous induſtry of Minde, and a well-ſet hardineſs of Body, which were attended while he lived with Honour and Succeſs, and ſince he is dead, with Repute and Renown.

Where

Where eminent and well-born Perſons out of a habit of ſloath and lazineſs, negleſt at once the Nobleſt way of employing their times, and the faireſt occaſions of advancing their fortunes; that State, though never ſo flouriſhing and glorious, wants ſomething of being compleatly happy: As ſoon as ever therefore the Kingdom is ſettled (ſedate times are the beſt to improve a Commonwealth, as his quiet hours are the beſt to improve a man) he and Sir *William Howard* addreſſed themſelves as vigorouſly to the opening of Commerce and Traffick, for the enriching of this Nation, as they had before to the exerciſe of Arms, to ſecure it: Purſuing the Deſigne with Reſolution, and keeping the frame of it in order with Induſtry, their conſtant Spirit ſurmounting all Difficulties that ſtood in the way of their own Glory, or their Countrey's Happineſs; working ſo well upon the *Ruſſians*, that they not onely obtained their Deſire, but gained ſo far upon the Affections of that People, that they obtained the greateſt Priviledges any Tradeſmen ever enjoyed in *Muſcovy*; which the *Ruſſians* were not eaſier in the promiſe of, then juſt in the execution of that promiſe: So that that Trade is advanced not onely beyond our hopes, but our very pretences too, by thoſe three Particulars that never fail of ſucceſs: 1. Union: 2. Conduct: 3. Courage in enterprizes vigorouſly begun and watchfully purſued: Until Queen *ELIZABETH* concerned her ſelf ſo far in the Undertaking, as to influence it with a Character peculiar to the Dignity of ſuch a Conſtitution: which carried that Commerce higher then Others could raiſe their Imaginations, as we ſee; whoſe profit by Q. *Mary.*

Q. *Mary.* by it is as remarqueable in this Age, as their zeal for it was in the last; When Fear and Diſtruſt, thoſe ignoble Paſſions that diſparage all great Undertakings, which judged that Deſign a Piece of extravagant Folly, ſeeth it now an Act of profound Wiſdom; eſpecially when it may be improved under CHARLES the Second and the Great, a Prince who by admirable order of his conduct, the juſt adminiſtration of his Revenue, and by his fatherly goodneſs towards his people, hath put himſelf into a condition to undertake without fear whatſoever may be put in execution with Honour or Juſtice.

The End of the Obſervations upon the Lives of the Stateſmen and Favourites of *England*, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

THE

THE STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND, IN The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

SIr *Nicholas Bacon*, a man full of wit and wiſdome, was a Gentleman, and a man of Law, and of great knowledge therein; whereby, together with his other parts of Learning and Dexterity, he was prompted to be Keeper of the Great Seal; and being kin to the Treaſurer *Burleigh*, was brought by his help into the Queens favour.

This Gentleman underſtood his Miſtreſs well, and the times better: He could raiſe Factions to ſerve the one, and allay them to ſuit the others. He had the deepeſt reach into Affairs of any man that

Q. *Eliz.* that was at the Council-table: the knottieſt Head to pierce into difficulties: the moſt comprehenſive Judgement to ſurround the Merit of a Cauſe: the ſtrongeſt memory to recollect all circumſtances of a Buſineſs to one View: the greateſt patience to debate and conſider; (for it was he that firſt ſaid, *Let us ſtay a little, and we will have done the ſooner:*) and the cleareſt reaſon to urge any thing that came in his way in Court or Chancery. His favour was eminent with his Miſtreſs, and his Alliance ſtrong with her States-men. No man ſerved his Soveraign more faithfully, none ſecured himſelf more wiſely. *Leiceſter* ſeemed wiſer then he was, *Bacon* was wiſer then he ſeemed to be; *Hunſdon* neither *was* nor *ſeemed* wiſe. Much Learning my Lord *Bacon* gained in *Bennets* Colledge in *Cambridge*, more Experience in *Paris* of *France*: His Dexterity and Diſpatch advanced him to the Court of Wards, his deep Experience made him Lord Keeper. Alliance was the Policy of that time. *Bacon* and *Cecil* married two Siſters; *Walſingham* and *Mildmay* two more: *Knowles*, *Eſſex* and *Leiceſter* were linked; the prudent Queen having all her Favourites Relations and Dependencies in her eye, and diſpoſing of them according to their ſeveral Intereſts. Great was this States-mans Wit, greater the Fame of it; which as he would ſay, *being nothing, made all things:* For Report, though but Fancy, begets Opinion; and Opinion begets Subſtance. He was the exacteſt man to draw up a Law in Council, and the moſt diſcreet to execute it in Court. When others urged the repeal of that Act whereby Queen *Elizabeth* was declared Illegitimate, he rather ſuppreſſed it, chuſing the cloſure of a feſtered Wound

more

more prudent then the opening of it; and judging it more wisdome to *satisfie* the world with the old Law, *That the Crown takes away all defects*; then to perplex it with new disputes, *Whether Queen* Elizabeth *were Legitimate*. State-miscarriages are rather to be privately connived at, then publickly redressed; the remedy it may be doing no more service then putting the people in minde of the mishap. He neither affected nor attained to Greatness: *Mediocria firma*, was his Principle and his Practice. When Queen *Elizabeth* asked him, *Why his House was so little?* he answered, *Madam, my House is not too little for me, but you have made me too big for my House. Give me*, said he, *a good Estate, rather then a great one. He had a very Quaint saying*, saith *Robert Naunton*, *and he used it often to very good purpose*, That he loved the Jest well, but not the loss of his Friend. *He would say, That though* unusquisq; suæ fortunæ faber, *was a true and good Principle; yet the most in number were those that marred themselves: but I will never forgive that man that looseth himself, to be rid of his Jest.* The Excellency of his Parts was set off with the Gravity of his Person; and the Queen would say, *My Lord* Bacon's *Soul lodgeth well.* His Account of *England* and all its Affairs, was punctual: his use of learned Artists, was continual: his correspondence with his fellow-States-men, exact: his apprehension of our Laws and Government, clear; his Model of both, methodical: his faithfulness to the Church, eminent: his industrious invention for the State, indefatigable. He was, in a word, a Father of his Country, and of Sir *Francis Bacon*. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* was that moderate man that was appointed

Q. *Eliz.*

Q. Eliz. to preſide at the Diſputation between the Proteſtant and Popiſh Doctors in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*. He was that Judicious States-man, to whom was truſted the management of that Parliament and Convocation: The ſatisfaction of the People and Kingdome, and thoſe Delatory Proceedings with *France*, *Spain* and *Rome*, that were at the bottom of the great work of Reformation, and ſettlement at that time.

Obſervations on the Life of William Cecil *Lord* Burleigh.

William a *Cecil* was born with the advantage of being *Richard Cecil*'s Son, (who was of the Robes to King *Henry*, and a Legatee in his Will) and bred with that of being Commoner of St. *Johns* in *Cambridge*, and Student at the *b* Innes of Court in *London*: whence he was advanced by his Pregnancy to ſerve the Duke of *Somerſet* in quality of Maſter of Requeſts, as he was afterwards by his Maſter to attend King *Edward* the ſixth, in the capacity of Secretary of State; where he furniſhed all Acts and Orders with Reaſons of State, as he had them fitted by able Lawyers with Arguments of Law. He loved always, they ſay, to wrap the Prerogative in the Laws of the Land. He was conſtant, but not obſtinate in his Advice. *c* As the Planets are whirled about dayly from Eaſt to Weſt by the motion of the *Primum Mobile*, yet have a contrary motion of their own from Weſt to Eaſt, which they ſlowly, yet ſurely move

a Deſcended of the Roman Cecilii, *ſay ſome.*

b Grays Inne.

c Fuller Holy State ex Ariſt. l. 2. de Cœlo, c. 4. & 10.

move at their leiſures: ſo our *States-man*, though yeilding in ſome things to Greatneſs of ſome Perſons in an Age wherein it was preſent drowning not to ſwim againſt the ſtream; Yet had he his counter-endeavours againſt the prevailing ſtrain, and privately advanced his rightful Intentions againſt others wrongful Ambitions. If diſſenting from his Superiours, he did it with all humility and moderation; yet chuſing always rather to diſpleaſe then betray. He was in much favour with King *Edward*, in ſome with Queen *Mary*, in moſt with Queen *Elizabeth*; who though ſparing of her Honours, yet heaped on him the truſt of Secretary of State, the Profits of the Maſter of the Wards, the Advancement of Lord Treaſurer, and the degree of Baron of *Burleigh*: for as he followed the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* in his *Employment*, ſo he did in his *Complyance*. When he was out of Place, he was not out of ſervice in Queen *Mary*'s days; his Abilities being as neceſſary in thoſe times as his Inclination; and that Queens Council being as ready to *advance* him at laſt, as they were to *uſe* him all her Reign. Q. Eliz.

In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time he ſetled the Crown by ſetling Religion; and by an utter ſeparation from *Rome*, ſtrengthened *England*. He made *equal* uſe of thoſe that were then Proteſtants by *Intereſt*, and they who were ſo in *Conſcience*: Thoſe that had affections for Church-lands, and thoſe that had affections for the Church. The Pope would by a Bull confirm the ſale of Abby-Lands; *But who*, ſaid Burleigh, *can confirm the Popes Bull?* The King of *Spain* ſecured the Queen in hope of her Bed, the Pope winked at her in hope of her Heart: *Burleigh*

Q. *Eliz.* over-reached the one by a fair complayſance, and the other by inſenſible alterations.

During the Queens ten years calm, *Cecil* provided for a tempeſt; and improved her Shipping and Ammunition to a dreadfulneſs at Sea, as he did her Army to a great skill and experience by Land. He made *Holland* our Stage of War, and our School of Diſcipline; where *England* gained the ſecurity and experience of War without its calamity and deſolations; always Offenſive, and once onely Defenſive.

His Intelligence abroad, was no leſs then his Prudence at home; and he could write to a friend in *Ireland* what the King of *Spain* could do for two years together, and what he could not do. His Advices from his Penſioners abroad, were preſented Queen *Elizabeth* once a fortnight; 1. clearly and plainly; 2. methodically and diſtinctly; 3. ſpeedily and ſeaſonably; 4. truly and fully. He exchanged his Intereſt for *Walſinghams* Intelligence, who commanded what he could *do*, as he did what the other *knew*. The Bull clapped at *London*-houſe, was firſt in our States-mans Study; where they might learn what they were to do, and Proteſtants what to expect, many years before any thing was viſible.

When *Leiceſter* would have no Equal, and *Suſſex* no Superiour, then *Cecil* as *Neuter* ſerved himſelf of them both. He would wreſtle with neither of them, yet he would trip them both: they having many rubs in their way, yet never ſaw who laid them. He never quarrelled with any; neither, ſaith *Cambden*, did he ever ſue, or was he ever ſued. *Prudens qui Patiens*, was his ſaying, before it was

Sir

Sir *Edward Cookes* Motto: and he had rather tire out Oppoſition by his Moderation, then improve it by his Impatience. Others were raiſed to balance Factions, he to ſupport the Kingdome: Fickle Favour toſſed them, conſtant Intereſt ſecured him. No fewer then the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Leiceſter* and *Weſtmorland* contrived his fall; but reaſon of State and his Miſtreſs kept up his ſtanding. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* adviſed them to clap him up, ſaying, *That then men would open their mouths to ſpeak freely againſt him:* but the Queen underſtanding hereof, and ſtanding, as I may ſay, *d* (ſaith my Author) in the very priſon-door, quaſhed all their Deſignes, and freed him from the miſchief projected againſt him. Great was the value the Queen ſet upon him, as her ableſt Miniſter of State: for coming once to viſit him being ſick of the Gout at *Burleigh*-houſe in the *Strand*, and being much heightned with her Head-attire then in faſhion, the Lords ſervant who conducted her through the door, ſaid, *May your Highneſs be pleaſed to ſtoop.* The Queen returned, *For your Maſters ſake I will ſtoop, but not for the King of* Spain. She would make him always ſit down in her preſence: ſaying, *My Lord, we make uſe of you not for your* bad Legs, *but your* good Head.

Q. *Eliz.*

d Camb. Eliz. anno 1579. 80.

He was a good friend to the Church as then eſtabliſhed by Law; adviſing his ſon *Thomas* never to build a great Houſe, or beſtow any great charge upon an Impropriation, as fearing the foundation might fail hereafter: yet conniving at ſober Nonconformiſts, to ſtrengthen the foundation at preſent, he checked the forwardneſs of private men,

Q. Eliz. and advanced the honour of the publick Eſtabliſhment on all hands. *Good my Lord*, (ſaith he in his Letter to Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, in the behalf of ſome ſqueamiſh Miniſters) *bear with my ſcribbling; I write with the teſtimony of a good Conſcience: I deſire the peace of the Church; I deſire concord and unity in the exerciſe of our Religion: I fear no ſenſual or wilful Recuſant. I would not make Offenders, neither would I protect them. And I pray your Grace bear this, (and perchance a fault) and yet I have ſharply admoniſhed them, that if they will be Diſturbers in their* Churches, *they muſt be corrected: and yet upon your Graces anſwer to me*, Ne ſutor ultra Crepidam: *neither will I put* Falcem in alterius Meſſem. (Was his Chaplain *Traverſe* his hand in all this?) And then again: *If I had known his fault*, (ſaith he of *Brown*) *I might be blamed for Writing for him.* Thus he carried matters without paſſion and prejudice prudently, as became ſo great a States-man. He was not *rigid*, yet he was *careful*: He would help the good-natured, yet puniſh the ſtubborn: He would rather be where nothing is lawful, then where all things are ſo. He would never skrue up the Law to the pitch of cruelty, nor unlooſe it to the remiſſneſs of Libertiniſm.

He was no leſs honourable a Patron of the Univerſity, then he was a faithful Son of the Church: (the Church ſtrengtheneth the State, and the Univerſities furniſh both:) particularly in the caſe of *Rent-corn*, which (ſaith my Author) firſt grew in Sir *Thomas Smiths* head, yet was ripened by *Burleighs* aſſiſtance; whereby, though the Rents of the Colledges ſtand ſtill, their Revenues increaſe.

He

He was not ſurer of all Church-men and Scho- Q. *Eliz.*
lars by his Obligations upon them, then he was of
all by his complaiſance and pleaſantneſs. None
more grave then he in Publick, none more free in
Private; eſpecially at his Table, where he drew
ſomething out of his heavieſt gueſts; having an ad-
mirable Dexterity in reading and obſerving men,
their own occaſional openings in common diſcourſe;
there being more hold to be taken of a few words
caſually uttered, then of ſet ſolemn Speeches,
which rather ſhew mens Arts then their Natures, as
indited rather of their brains then hearts. His
power awed many, his converſation obliged more.
He had his hour to put on his Gown, and his hour
to put it off: When he would ſay, *Lie thou there,*
Lord Treaſurer; and bidding *Adieu* to all State-af-
fairs, he diſpoſed himſelf to his quiet and reſt.

He laid the Deſignes of War by his own Theory,
and his friends Intelligence; yet he adviſed peace,
and died before the Queſtion was determined,
Whether a War with Spain? Others underſtood
the *Nature* of War, but he onely the Expediency
and *Convenieney*. If War was neceſſary, none more
forward to promote it, none more careful to main-
tain it: knowing, that in vain do the brows beat,
the eyes ſparkle, the tongue threaten, the fiſt bend,
and the arm ſtrike, if the belly be not fed, and the
back cloathed: and indeed this was his Maſter-piece,
that the Queen vying Gold and Silver with the
King of *Spain*, had Money or Credit when the o-
ther had neither; Her Exchequer, ſaith my Au-
thor, though but a Pond in compariſon, holding
water, when his River fed with a Spring from the
Indies, was dreined dry. It was with his advice,

Q. Eliz. that that Queen paid her Obligations in Preferments, rather then Money; giving away not above two Largesses of that nature in her life. In a word, when others set in a Cloud, he shined clear to his last: He saw *Essex* dead, *Leicester* slighted, *Mountjoy* discountenanced; and what with the Queens constant favour, which *lodged* where it *lighted*, and his own temper and moderation, when more violent men failed, he died as great a Favourite as he lived; leaving his son *Thomas* so much Estate as advanced him to the Earldome of *Exeter*; and his son *Robert* so much State-Discipline as raised him *successivè* to be Secretary of State, Master of the Court of Wards, Lord Treasurer, and Earl of *Salisbury*.

He was a very exact and a wary Observer of Forreign Transaction; witness this passage to Sir *Henry Norris* Embassador in *France*: *The rare manner of your Entertainment, hath moved the Queens Majesty to muse upon what score it should be, being more then hath been used in like cases to her Embassadors, and such as besides your own report hath been by others lately advertised. And for that in such things Guesses be doubtful, I pray you by your next advertise me what your self do think of it; and in the mean time I know you are not untaught to judge of the difference between* fair words *and* good deeds, *as the saying is*, Fortuna cum adblanditur Capitum advenit.

His thoughts of a Rebel that submitted, take in these words: *Of late* Shane Oneal *hath made means to the Lord Deputy of* Ireland *to be received into grace, pretending that he hath meant no manner of unlawfulness towards the Queen: by which is gathered that he groweth weary of his lewdness: yet I think he is no*

other-

therwiſe to be reformed then by ſharp proſecution, which is intended to be followed no whit the leſs for any his fair Writings, as reaſon is. Q. Eliz.

Of Intelligence he writes thus: *I doubt not but you ſhall have of his hand no lack of Intelligence, which you muſt credit as you ſee cauſe by proof of the event.*

About Embaſſadors Diſpatches he ſaith, *He muſt write apart to the Secretary in matters containing trouble and buſineſs, and to his Soveraign of Advice.*

In a particular Negotiation about Pyrates, he adviſed, *That the King of* France *and his Council might perceive that it is well known how the Pyrates are ſuffered to do what they will, notwithſtanding it be contrary to Proclamation. And yet you ſhall ſo order the matter,* (ſaith he to a French Ambaſſador) *as not that you ſhall finde fault with this manner of ſuffering: for that ought properly to be to the Spaniſh or Portugal Embaſſador, with whom you may ſometime deal, to underſtand how they do, know what is done, and how they do interpret it.*

Touching the King of Scots murther, he would ſay, *There are words ſpoken which I hold beſt to ſuppreſs: Neither would I have you* (ſaith he to his friend) *utter any of theſe things, not doubting but ſhortly God will cauſe the truth to be revealed.*

Of an underhand Traytor he writes to his friend, *I pray write unto me ſomewhat more particularly for the proof of his trayterous ſpeeches, whereby there might be ſome ground made how to have him demanded.*

Of the demanding of a Town promiſed in a Treaty; *Sir* Thomas Smith *went to demand* Calis, *not*

Q. Eliz. *not that we think the Governour will deliver it, but to avoid all cavillation which they might invent: (for by Law it must be demanded upon the very place; and being not delivered, the sum of* 500000 l. *is forfeited) Mr.* Winter *shall pass secretly with him to take possession thereof, if they deceive our expectation: but not past three of the Council know of* Winters *going.*

Concerning the unreasonable words of Princes, he saith, *If hereof the Embassador* (meaning the French) *shall make any sinister report, you may as you see cause well maintain the Queens answer to be very reasonable, as having cause to mislike the manner of Writing of the Queen thereon: which nevertheless you may impute to the unadvisedness of the Secretary: for so the Queens Majesty doth impute it.*

Of the troubles in *Scotland*, he observed the French made their present advantage to the damage of *England:* and you know that *Scotland* is the French King to it, as *Ireland* is the Spanish.

Of Forraign News he writes to Sir *Henry Norris*, *That he would be glad to have a Note of the Names of the chiefest Nobility of* France, *and with whom they be married: adding thereto any other thing that may belong to the knowledge of their lineage and degrees, as you shall think meet.*

He writes, That her Majesty being a Prince her self, is doubtful to give countenance to subjects. *I wish* (saith he) *to have a Kalendar of them who are with the Prince, and also to see the Edicts that have lately passed from the King against them, and that in these troublesome times, wherein accidents are so diversly reported, your advices were large and repeated,*

and

and that we had such Articles as pass on both sides. Q. Eliz.

Of France he saith, You must think that seeing all the parts of Christendome are intentive to hear of the matters of France, we cannot be careless to whom the same belongeth next of all, whatsoever the end thereof shall be.

Of the Distractions of France, thus to our Embassador in France: If you told the Queen-mother so as of your own head, as a thing you hear spread abroad in the world, I think you might do well, and speak truly: for as for the Popes Ministers, their Profession is to prefer the Weal of their own Church before the good state of any Kingdome on earth; and whatsoever come of any thing, they look onely to the continuance of their own ambitious Ruling. And as for other Ministers of Princes, or for men of War, it is a truth infallible, The more they do impoverish that Monarchy of France, the better they think their own Estates.

Of a plot discovered, he writes: We can truly bid no man, wherefore it is necessary that you speak again with the Party that gave you this Intelligence; and if the matter be of truth, and not a disguising to some other purpose, he can as well obtain you the knowledge of the party in certainty, as thus to give a guess at him: for as he hath his Intelligence of the matter which he uttered to you, so may he attain to a more perfect knowledge.

For the Protestants he saith, I pray you put them in comfort; that if extreamity shall happen, they must not be left: for it is so universal a cause, as none of the Religion can separate themselves one from another. We must all pray together, and stand fast together.

Of

Q. Eliz. Of a Professor he writes, *The Queens Majesty will in no wise hear of such matters, which she thinketh are but changeable, and without fruit; although I had earnestly moved her Majesty to have adventured some small piece of money upon such a man: therefore I see no remedy but to pay him as well as may be with good words.*

Touching the Plot again: *Methinks that the Parties that tell you such pieces of tales, if the whole were true, might as well tell you the whole, as such obscure parts; which if they do not, you might well alledge them to be but devices to breed unquietness and suspition; and as I wrote before unto you, they might be tempted with offer of rewards, that the truth of the matter might be disclosed: and surely me thinks still, since the Informers will not be known of the particulars in more certainty, that these things are intended to bring us into their places: but yet no diligence is to be omitted.*

Touching the delivery of an Embassie, he writes, *And I think if you would in the Translating thereof distribute it into sundry members by way of Articles, you should the better carry it in your minde; making thereby an account with your self of the better delivery thereof. And you shall do well to let some such as favour the intention of the Queens Message, to see the Copy of the Letter; whereby they may percase being called to give advice to the King, further the cause, to the benefit of them of the Religion. I would be glad to hear a Brief, or as they call it, a List of the Names of the principal persons that have a charge now in these Wars of* France *on both parts, with the Contents as near as you can of their numbers.*

Of the Queen of *Scots* Affairs, he concludes:

God ſend her Majeſty clear of theſe Scotiſh matters, Q. Eliz.
whereinto the entry is eaſie, but the paſſage within
doubtful; and I fear the end will be monſtrous: I
am thrown into a maze at this, that I know not how
to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mildmay *and I*
are ſent to the Scotiſh Queen, as by the Queens Maje-
ſties Letters you may ſee: God be our Guide; for
neither of us like the Meſſage.

1. Knowledge is the Treaſure of the Mind, Diſcretion is the Key: the Practick Part of Wiſdom is the beſt: a native Ingenuity is beyond the watchings of induſtrious Study.

There are no ſuch Guards of ſafety as Vertue and Wiſdome: Danger cannot make impreſſion on the Vertuous, nor Fortune ſubvert the Wiſe: The *Wiſe man cannot fall.* Prudence is a ſafe Conduct through the various Caſualties of Mortality. He declines in Wiſdome, that falls in Fortune. Diſcretion ſways the Stars and Fate.

Ad ſummum ſapiens uno minor eſt Jove; *dives,*
Liber, Honoratus, pulcher, Rex deniq; regum.

"*Take all; there's but one* Jove *above him: He*
"*Is Rich, Fair, Noble, King of Kings, and free.*

The World is a ſhop of Inſtruments, whereof the Wiſe man is Maſter; and a Kingdome but a Frame of Engines, whereunto he is the Wheel.

2. Smoothneſs declineth Envy and Danger, Humility advanceth to Honour, Moderation preſerves in it. Men come down by Domineering. Haſte undo-

Q. Eliz. undoeth that, which a just Delay ripeneth. Our Wise man would say, *Stay a little, and we will have done the sooner.* An Estate evened with these thoughts endureth. It's an excellent Motto:

Nolo Minor me timeat, despiciat ve Major.

"*My Inferiour shall not fear, my Superiour shall*
"*not despise me.*

3. Humility shuns Honour, and is the way to it: The purest Gold is most Ductile. It's commonly a good Blade that bends well. The Reed that bends and is whole, is better then the strong Oak that not bending breaks.

4. There is no such prevalent Work-man as Sedulity and Diligence: A man would wonder at the mighty things which have been done by degrees, and gentle augmentations. Patience, Diligence and Moderation are the common steps to Excellency. It's for Omnipotence to do mighty things in a moment; but degreeingly to grow to Greatness, is the course he hath left for Man.

Observa-

Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Walter Devereux *Earl of* Eſſex.

WAlter *Devereux* was by his * Mothers ſide born to, and by his Soveraigns favour poſſeſſed of the Earldom of *Eſſex*: His Spirit was as the time, martial and active, equally impatient of ruſt in his Soul, and in his Sword: Forreign Countreys bred then thoſe Souldiers that *England* employed: The Univerſity made a Scholar, the Court a Man, and *Flanders* the Souldier.

* Cicely, *Daughter of* Thomas Bourchier, *late Earl of* Eſſex.

His Actions brought him to the preſence, and his Preſence commended Him to the Heart of Queen *Elizabeth*: But the ſhadow doth not more naturally attend the Sun, then Envy doth Favour: Since he muſt riſe, its contrived he ſhould riſe ſo high, that he muſt fall: Yet he might have lived longer, it was thought, if his Wife had not there more favour then himſelf: *Abraham* was afraid *of*, and Sir *Walter* was undone *by* his *Sarah*'s Beauty: This is certain, he was no ſooner in his Grave, than the ſame great man whom he declared his Enemy at his Death, was his Succeſſor in his Marriage-Bed.

Ambitious was he of the Iriſh Service, and ſubtle were others to fill up his Sayls ſo wide, as to be over-turned; at once diving into, and ruining him by his Humour: Weary was he of the Court, and weary, as he obſerved, was that of him: In comes *Leiceſter* in this juncture, and advanceth him to

Q. *Eliz.* to the Soveraign Honour of maintaining an Army at his own charge, and the Royalty of *Clandboy* in *Ulster*; the first he knew would (as it fell out) undo him; the other was the Bears skin, when he could catch, kill and flay it; and the whole plot was but the supplanting of him out of *a real* Estate in *England* and *Wales*, to *an imaginary* one in *Ireland*. Over he goeth with as splendid a Retinue of Kindered, Friends, supernumerarie Voluntiers, as his Son to the same Service, or his Grandson to one more unhappy: Sir *William Fitz-William*'s Jealousie heard of his Parade, and his Industry out-reached him so far, that all that preparation amounted to no more honour, than to have been commissioned, after much importunity and attendance, by him; nor to any more advantage than the bare Government of *Ulster*: Little good did he in *Ulster*, (now under the discouraging and heartless impressions of discontent) less in the South of *Ireland*, whither he was remanded by the Deputy, whose design was not to see how successfully he would conquer, but how dutifully he would obey; in six months time spending 4000 *l.* to ruine himself: But alas! in vain doth he conquer, who was always forbid to pursue and improve his Victory: no sooner did his Fortune favour him in one place, but he was called to his Misfortune in another: for no sooner doth he by experience and acquaintance with the situation of any Place, the humour or interest of any People, the weaknesses and strengths of any Enemy, the advantages or disadvantages of any Undertaking, ripen circumstances towards success, but he is called off to a new and unacquainted scene of action, where he shall *lose* his Army, before he knoweth how to

employ

employ it. His friends at Court grew few and cold, his foes many and active; his affronts continual to diſorder him by paſſion, or ſink him in deſpair. Q. Eliz.

His Commiſſion was but ſhort before, but is none now; onely three hundred men ſtick to him: his Money failing, his Noble Followers withdrawing, his Common Souldiers mutiny, and he is recalled. And happy had he been, could he have been quiet: but nothing would compleat ſome mens Deſignes, but his Ruine; and nothing could ruine him but Honour, that at once pleaſed his humour, and waſted his Eſtate. Earl-Marſhal of *Ireland* he is made, and thither he goeth in great ſtate to die, *anno* 1576, and the 36 of his Age: a year fatal to that Family, which none of them exceeded but the laſt, who had been happy if he had died ſooner, or lived longer then he did. Although Sir *Walter Devereux* had not that ſucceſs over others which his *Valour* deſerved, yet he had that conqueſt of himſelf that *Vertue* onely gives; ſhewing himſelf as good at the Buckler, as at the Sword; at ſuffering, as well as acting. All his changes from without he bore with, none within; his even and ſolid minde that faſhioned its own fate, enjoying its conſtant calm amidſt all the tempeſts of malice and ambition. Thoſe ignoble courſes were not greater Arguments of his Enemies narrowneſs and degeneracy, then his reſolved Patience was of his largeneſs and generouſneſs of ſpirit; he being as much above thoſe ſmaller tricks, as they were below his Adverſaries. We make our ſelves more Injuries then are offered us; and the apprehenſion of wrong doth more harm then the ſmarteſt part of the wrong it ſelf. It's the Wiſe-mans glory, and the States-mans

Q. *Eliz.* prudence, to *paſs by Offences.* A Fool ſtruck *Cato* in the Bath; and when he was ſorry for it, *Cato* had forgot it: for, (ſaith *Seneca*) *Melius putavit non agnoſcere quam ignoſcere.* Light Injuries are made none by a not-regarding: which with a purſuing Revenge grow both to heighth and burden, and live to miſchief us, when they might die to ſecure us. *It's Princely* (ſaith one) *to diſdain a Wrong*, who when Embaſſadours have offered Undecencies, uſe not to chide, but deny them audience: as if ſilence were the way Royal to revenge a Wrong. The upper Region is moſt compoſed; *The wiſeſt Rage the leaſt*, knowing that Obſervation and Reſentment do but provoke and encourage that Malice which neglect and ſilence deads and diſſipates. And it was Sir *Walter*'s Fathers Maxime, That Diſcontent was the greateſt weakneſs of a generous Soul, which is always ſo intent upon its unhappineſs, that it forgets its remedies.

This Lord was a great inſtance of that Maxime, That it's an equal miſchief to diſtruſt all, as to believe all; although of the two, the ſafeſt is to *diſtruſt:* for Fear had ſecured this Noble Perſon, while Confidence ruined him; it being a Vertue onely when men were innocent, but ever ſince, the bane of thoſe that own it.

Three things undid this Earl:

1. That he could not imagine he was to be ruined by his Advancement.

2. That he never miſtruſted an Oath.

3. That he never conſidered, that as Princes, ſo Favourites, *have many eyes, and long hands.*

He that is ſo open as to reſerve nothing from friends,

friends, is renowned for Charity; but he that is ſo to lie at the mercy of all, is marked for ruine. Q. *Eliz.*

No ſooner underſtood my Lord of *Leiceſter Eſſex* his Diſpoſition, but the bitter Fool *Pace* could tell his Fortune, begging of my Lord at his departure the making of his Mourning; and adding, *You and I have done for this world.*

Walter Earl of *Eſſex* had been happy if he had not lived in my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s time: his ſon *Robert* renowned, had he not been Sir *Robert Cecil*'s Contemporary; and his Grandchilde an Heroe, had he not known my Lord *Say* and Mr. *Hampden*.

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Suſſex.

THomas *Radcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*, was of a very Noble and Ancient Lineage, honoured through many Deſcents by the Title of Viſcounts *Fitz-Walters*. He was a goodly Gentleman, and of a brave noble Nature, true and conſtant to his friends and ſervants, noted for honeſty: a very excellent Souldier, being one of the Queens Martialiſts, who did very good ſervice in *Ireland* at her firſt acceſſion, till ſhe recalled him to the Court, where ſhe made him Lord Chamberlain; and though he was not endowed with the cunningneſs and dexterity as others were, yet upon his Death-bed he gave his friends a caveat whom they ſhould beware. His words, (ſaith Sir *Robert Naunton*) are theſe: *I am now paſſing into another World, and muſt leave you to your Fortunes, and to*

Q. Eliz. *the Queens Graces: but beware of the Gypſie, for he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beaſt ſo well as I do.* His Proweſs and Integrity drew the Souldiers after him, *Leiceſter*'s Courtſhip and Cunning the Courtiers, *Cecil*'s Prudence and Service the States-men.

He ſucceeded his Father in his Fortune, and in his Favour; his Prudence and Reſolution promoting him to the Government of *Ireland* and the *North*; his good husbandry and skill in Surveying, making him Juſtice in *Eyre* of all the Parks beyond *Trent*; and his comely Preſence advancing him Lord Chamberlain. Queen *Elizabeth* poyzed her State by Factions abroad, and Parties at home; her chiefeſt wiſdome lying in her general correſpondence and complyance with each Party, as her Intereſt lay in their incomplyance and diſtance from one another. My Lord of *Suſſex* left this Memorial behind him, That for Riſing Men to ſtick to a ſide, is neceſſary; For Great Men to be indifferent, is wiſe: and this, That he and my Lord of *Leiceſter* cleared and purged the Court: their croſs Obſervations refining each perſon that was admitted to Court; none daring any injuſtice while *Leiceſter* obſerved him on the one hand, and *Suſſex* puniſhed him on the other. Then no deſerving Perſon could be excluded by the one, that could ſerve his Prince; nor any undeſerving one admitted, that might diſparage him: one Intereſt being ſure to receive the one, as the other was to exclude the other.

Divers perſons (ſaith one) of equal Authority, though *both wicked*, do in experience produce more Juſtice then a greater Probity in a ſingle individua

hath

hath been heard to pronounce; in a divided Court the Creatures of one Party being the Enemies of another, no leſs powerful; and ſo they both become liable to accuſation, or capable of defence: and from the ſparkles of this claſhing, not onely Perſons and Actions, but the Publick Councils came to be refined from the Ruſt and Cankers that grow by an Unanimity. Faction can be as little ſpared in a Monarchy, as an Eye or an Ear, as through which the Prince hath a clearer apprehenſion of his own and others Affairs, then he can have when his followers are all agreed: through the percuſſion of equal Factions, as through that of Flint and Steel, all things coming to light by Debates, that might either advance or eclipſe a Princes glory. Q. *Eliz.*

When my Lord of *Suſſex* could not overbear *Leiceſter* with Power, he did it with Policy; and by yeilding to him, conquered him: for (as he obſerved) when he and his friends retired, *Leiceſter* and his ſubdivided; and he was checked more by the Ambition he taught his own Followers, then by the competition of his Adverſaries.

When Factions are carried too high, and too violently, it is a ſigne of weakneſs in Princes, and much to the prejudice of their Authority and Buſineſs: The motions of Factions under Kings, ought to be like the motions (as the Aſtronomers ſpeak) of the Inferiour Orbs, which may have their proper Inclination, but yet are ſtill quietly carried by the higher motion of the *Primum Mobile*. Queen *Elizabeth* had an happy time of it, if it were but for this, That her Favourites Diviſions were her ſupport: for thereby ſhe attained the knowledge of all things that happened, ſo as no Suit or Deſigne paſſed the Verulam's Eſſays.

Q. *Elix* Royal Assent, before she understood as much of Reason as Enemies or Friends could bring for or against it.

The Character this third great Lord of his Family left behind him, was, *This year died a man of a great spirit and faithfulness to his Country*; and therefore none freer then he of his thoughts, none sounder then he in his counsels. Nor did this freedome of Communication betray his future Resolutions to the discovery of his Enemies, as they opened his heart to the observation of his Prince; for through a seeming unconstancy, not of words, but of action; not his weakness, but his nimbleness, (the Bird on the wing *is* safe) he could so often vary, as it was not easie to discover where or when he would be buzzing, and give the blow: by which unsteady carriage, He so befooled his Adversaries with their Spies and Pensioners, as they were at a loss what to inform their Patrons of, or themselves how to resolve. Fortune and Conduct set up this Favourite, it falling in his Character as at *Primero*, and other Plays, wherein Fortune is directed and conducted by Art. The best and subtilest Gamester may loose, if it cross him; but if it smiles and favours, he knoweth best how to manage and govern it.

Five things raised this person to a respect as great as his fortune; to be as high in the Queens favour, as he was in his Descent.

1. A Civility set off with State.

2. A pleasing Modesty of Countenance, and Affability of Speech, ennameled with Gravity.

3. A Boldness attended with Patience.

4. A

4. A great Capacity, enlivened with as great Dexterity. And Q. *Eliz.*

5. An Integrity ſecured with warineſs.

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Willoughby.

THe Lord *Willoughby* was one of the Queens firſt Sword-men: he was of the antient extract of the *Bartues*, but more ennobled by his Mother, who was Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*. He was a great Maſter of the Art Military, and was ſent General into *France*, and commanded the ſecond of five Armies that the Queen ſent thither in aid of the French. As he was a great Souldier, ſo was he of a ſuitable Magnanimity, and could not brook the obſequiouſneſs and aſſiduity of the Court at that time. He had more favour then he courted, and he courted more (rather to comply with the Queens humour, then his own inclination) then he deſired. He would ſay, and that ſaying did him no good, (ſaith Sir *Robert Naunton*) That he was none of the *Reptilia*, being made rather to march as a Souldier, then to creep as a Courtier. But Civility muſt allay Nature in a Courtier, Prudence regulate it in a States-man, and modeſt ſubmiſſion check and ſoften it in a Subject. It's as dangerous to be ſtubbornly *above* the Kindneſſes, as it is to be factiouſly *againſt* the Power of Princes. *Willoughby* got nothing, *Stanley* loſt all by his haughtineſs; which when it cannot be *obliged*, is *ſuſpected*. But his ſervice in *France*, *Holland*, and on the Bor-

Q. Eliz. ders, compounded for his roughneſs: ſo that to he who could not endure he ſhould be high at Court, were pleaſed he ſhould be ſo in the Field. Stiffneſs which diſpleaſed when looked on as Pride at home, took when heard to be Reſolution abroad. Each Nature is advanced in its own Element: *Leiceſter* among the Ladies, my Lord *Willoughby* among the Souldiers. It's a ſtep to Greatneſs to know our *own way* to it; to exerciſe and ſhew our proper Vertues as he did: his Magnanimity in theſe two inſtances, among many others.

1. When one challenged him then ſick of the Gout, he ſaid, *That though he were lame in his feet and hands, yet he would carry a Rapier in his teeth to fight his Adverſary.* Cambden Eliz. 13.

2. Having taken a *Spaniſh* Gennet deſigned a preſent to that King, and being offered either 1000*l.* or 100 *l.* a year in exchange for it, he nobly anſwered, *If it had been a Commander, he would have freely releaſed him; but being onely a Horſe, he ſaw no reaſon he could not keep a good Horſe as well as the King of* Spain *himſelf.* Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was to an exceſs a Courtier, and my Lord *Willoughby* ſo a Souldier.

Obſerva-

Observations on the Life of Sir Philip Sidney.

HE was Son to Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Prefident of *Wales*. A Perſon of great Parts, and in no mean grace with the Queen. His Mother was Siſter to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, from whence we may conjecture, how the Father ſtood up in the place of Honor and Employment; ſo that his Deſcent was apparently Noble on both ſides. For his Education, it was ſuch as Travel and the Univerſity could afford: for after an incredible proficiency in all the Species of Learning, he left the Academical life for that of the Court, whither he came by his Uncles invitation, famed aforehand by a Noble report of his Accompliſhments; which, together with the ſtate of his Perſon, framed by a natural propenſion to Arms, he ſoon attracted the good opinion of all men; and was ſo highly prized in the good opinion of the Queen, that ſhe thought the Court deficient without him: and whereas (through the fame of his deſerts) he was in the election for the Kingdome of *Poland*, ſhe refuſed to further his advancement, not out of Emulation, but out of fear to looſe the Jewel of her times. He married the Daughter and ſole Heir of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, then Secretary of State; a Lady deſtinated to the Bed of Honour, who (after his deplorable death at *Zutphen* in the *Netherlands*, where he was Governour of *Fluſhing*, at the time of his Uncles being there) was married

to

Q. *Eliz.* to my Lord of *Essex*, and since his death to my Lord of St. *Albans*; all persons of the Sword, and otherwise of great Honour and Vertue. He had an equal temperament of *Mars* and *Mercury*, Valour and Learning, to as high a pitch as Nature and Art could frame, and Fortune improve him: so Dexterous, that he seemed born for every thing he went about. His representations of Vertue and Vice, were not more lively in his Books, then in his Life: his Fancy was not above his Vertue: his Humours, Counsels and Actions, were renowned in the Romancer, Heroick in the States-man. His Soul was as large as his Parents, and his Complexion as Noble; an equal Line of both; the modesty of the Mother allaying the activity of the Father. A man so sweetly grave, so familiarly staid, so prettily serious he was above his years: Wisdome gained by travel, Experience raised from Observations, solid and useful Learning drawn from knowing *Languet* his three years Companion, and choicest Books, accomplished him for the love of all, and the reverence of most. His Converse was not more close at home, then his Correspondence abroad; equally mixed with Policy, Pleasure, Wisdome and Love: his Worth being penned up, and smothered within the narrowness of his fortune, sallied not out to discontent, but pleasure; sweetning the Affairs of State with the Debonnairness of the Stage; his Romance being but Policy played with *Machiavil* in jest, and State-Maximes sweetned to a Courtiers Palate. He writ men as exactly as he studied them, and discerned humours in the Court with the same deep insight he described them in his Book. His Infant-discourses teach *men*, O what had his riper years done!

He

He put Life into the dead Notions of Anceſtors, made Philoſophy practicable; joyned the Arts as cloſely in him, as they are in themſelves. His Book is below his Spirit: a Spirit to be confined with Kingdomes, rather then Studies; to do what was to be written, then onely to write what was to be done. All eyes were upon him but his own: at firſt, in all Affairs he was the laſt; at laſt, he was the firſt: obliging all men that ever he ſaw, and ſeeing all that were worth obliging. All were pleaſed with his *Arcadia* but himſelf, whoſe years advanced him ſo much beyond himſelf, as his Parts did beyond others: He condemned his *Arcadia* in his more retired judgement to the fire, which wiſe men think will continue to the laſt Conflagration. His private Correſpondence with *William* of *Naſſau* about the higheſt Affairs of *Europe*, was ſo exact and prudent, that he aſſured Sir *Fulke Grevil* he deſerved a Kingdom in Forreign Parts, though he had not an Office in *England*. The Earl of *Leiceſter* held his Authority in the Low-Countries by his Counſel when *alive*, and gave it over when he was *dead*. Q. Eliz.

Sir *Francis Walſingham* was ſo much overſhot by him in his own Bow, that thoſe with whom Sir *Philip* were acquainted with for his ſake, were his friends for Sir *Philips*. King *James* was honoured when King of *Scotland* with his friendſhip, *Henry* the fourth with his correſpondence, *Don Juan* highly obliged with his Viſits, the King of *Spain* himſelf concerned in his death, whom *England* (he ſaid) loſt in a *moment*, but could not breed in an *Age*. The Univerſities were proud of his Patronage, the Field of his Preſence: the Studious in all Parts communicated with him; the Hopeful were encouraged by

Q. Eliz. by him; all excellent Persons thronged to him; all serviceable men were entertained by him; and he among them a Prince, whose minde was great, but his spirit greater. He taught *England* the Majesty of Honest Dealing, the Interest of being Religious. He looked deep into men and Counsels, and found *no Wisdom without Courage*, no *Courage without Religion and Honesty*: with which solid and active reaches of his, I am perswaded (saith my Lord *Brooks*) he would have found or made a way through all the Traverses even of the most weak and irregular times. Although a private Gentleman, he was a publick Good; of a large, yet uniform dispostion: so good, that the great Monarch *might* trust; so great, that a little one *must* fear him; something he did for Fame, most for Conscience: His publick spirit, which might have enjealoused the cautious wisdome of other Princes, promoted the concerns of his own. He was sent to complement *Rodolph*, but he dealt really with the Protestant Princes, and raised a Ceremony to a piece of Interest. He shewed that long-breathed and cautious people, that imminent danger from *Romes* Superstition, joyned with *Spains* Power, their private confederacies and practices, their cruelty and designe; which awaked their drowzie wariness into an association for Conscience and Religion more solid, as he demonstrated, then a Combination out of Policy. He went against the stream and current about the French Match, which he diswaded from the consequent inconveniencies of Engagements and charge to *England*, and the little advantage from *France*; backing his Argument with a late experience; and so staying Queen *Elizabeths* Match by some

ſome reflexions on Queen *Mary's*: which was, *A five years Deſigne or Tax, rather then a Mrriage*: adding withal, *That in a Forreign Match, beſides the unequalneſs and danger of it, (when a ſtrange Prince hath ſuch an influence on our Conſtitution) the different Religion would make the Queen either quit the reputation of a good Proteſtant, or the honour of an obedient Wife.* Q. Eliz.

Ten ways he laid down a Forreign Prince might endanger our Religion by.

1. Oppoſing and weakning the reverend Fathers of our Church.

2. By diſgracing her moſt zealous Miniſters.

3. By Latitude and Connivance.

4. By a looſe and too free a behaviour, ſteering mens Conſciences which way he pleaſed, and ſetting up indifferency.

5. By decrying Cuſtomes and Statutes, and enhanſing Proclamations to the Authority of Laws.

6. By provoking the Engliſh with French Oppreſſions.

7. By entrenching on the Britiſh Liberties with *Gallicane* Prerogatives.

8. By breaking our League and Correſpondence with other Proteſtant States.

9. Frighting our Queen to a Complyance.

10. And at laſt attempting the Proteſtant cauſe.

He would ſay to his Friend the Lord *Brooke*, *That if the* Netherlands *joyn with* France, *they are terrible to* Spain: *if with* Spain, *they are dreadful to* France: *if with us, they ſupport the Reformation: if they ſtand on their own legs, they are too ſtrong to be forced to*

Pyracy

Q. *Eliz. Pyracy.* He, though a private perſon, oppoſed her Majeſty Queen *Elizabeth* in that Affair, with that ſincerity, with that ingenuity, that freedome, that duty and peaceableneſs, that angered and pleaſed her. His Opinion was not more *againſt* her humour, then his Manage of it was to her minde: in which Affair, when moſt were hood-winked with ignorance, and many captived with fear, he enjoyed the freedome of his own thoughts with dayly acceſs to her *Majeſty*, hourly converſe with the *French*, and conſtant reſpect from the people. None more dutiful to his Soveraign then Sir *Philip*, none more reſolute againſt Encroachers upon Gentlemen and Freemen, none more dear to the whole State: which when he had deſigned Sir *Francis Drake's* ſecond Voyage, and ſtollen to him at *Windſor*, commanded his ſtay by an Earl, and for his ſake the whole Fleets, although his ſtay diſturbed, and his death deſtroyed his moſt exact Model for the Conqueſt of *America*, the exacteſt *Europe* ever ſaw: A Conqueſt not to be enterprized but by Sir *Philips* reaching ſpirit, that graſped all circumſtances, and commanded all intereſts on this ſide the Line.

When his great Soul could not *improve Europe*, he *conſidered* it; and made that the Field of his meditation, that could not be the ſtage of his Actions. *England* he ſaw ſo humourſome and populous, that it was to be refined with War, and corrupted with Peace. Her intereſt was, he ſaid, to balance Neighbor-Princes. *France* he obſerved weak and effeminate, the Empire enſlaved and ſecure, the *Hanſes* too big, *Rome* ſubtle and undermining, *Spain* crept to the Power and Councils of *Europe*, the Proteſtant Princes enjealouſed and diſtruſtful, *Poland* divided,

Den-

Denmark ſtrong, *Sweden* inviroined or impriſoned, the *Muſcovite* diſtreſſed and ignorant, the *Switz* enemies, yet ſervants to Monarchs, (a dangerous body for the ſoul of any aſpiring Monarch to infuſe deſignes into) the Princes of *Italy* awed by their Superiours, and cautious againſt their equals; *Turkie* aſleep in the *Seraglio*; but *Spain* all this while Maſter of *Rome*, and the wiſeſt Council or Conclave in the Word; Lord of the Mines of *America*, and the Sword of *Europe*: Concluding, that while the *Spaniard* had Peace, Pope Money or Credit, and the World Men, Neceſſity or Humours, the War could hardly be determined upon this Low-Country-ſtage: And that there were but two ways to conquer *Spain*, the one, That which diverted *Hannibal*; and by ſetting fire on his own Houſe, made him draw his ſpirits to comfort his heart: The other, that of *Jaſon*, by fetching away his Golden Fleece, and not ſuffering any one quietly to enjoy that which every man ſo much affected. The aſſiſtance of *Portugal*, the ſurprize of *Cales* her key, and *Sevil* her treaſure; the drawing in of other Well-willers; the command of the Sea, an exact Intelligence; the Protection of *Rochel*, *Breſt*, *Bourdeaux*, or ſome other diſtreſſed Proteſtant, to balance the over-mytred Countries, the encouragement of religious or ambitious Roytolets to advance and ſecure themſelves, the engaging of the *French* and *Spaniards*, a League with *Venice* and the Maritime States: ſome temptations to *Italy* to remove their *French* and *Spaniſh* Gariſons, an opportunity to recover *Sicily*, ſome inſinuations to the Pope of the *Auſtrian* Greatneſs, the ſetting up of the World in an *Æquilibrium*, the invaſion of *America*, removing the Q. Eliz.

Q. *Eliz.* the diffidence, overpoyzing the Neutrality, and working upon the Complexions of Kings and Kingdomes, was this young, but great mans designe.

An Expedition to the *Indies* he would perswade with these motives:

1. That Honour was cheaper abroad then at home; at Sea, then at Land.

2. That the Spanish Conquests like the Jesuites Miracles, made more noise at distance then nearer hand.

3. That the Indians would joyn with the first Undertaker against their cruel Masters.

4. That *Spain* was too far for supply.

5. That the Spaniard was Undisciplined, and trusted more to the Greatness of his Name, then to Order, Policy or Strength.

6. That *England* was populous.

7. That it was an Action complyant with the present Humour, and not subject to Emulations.

8. That it would either cut off the Spanish treasure, or make it chargeable.

9. And at last set up a Free Trade by Sea, open a great Door to Valour or Ambition for new Conquests, and to Zeal for new Converts.

He said the Inquisition would overthrow *Spain*, being a designe upon Humane Nature, and freedome; to govern men at the rate of beasts. His great Abilities recommended him to *Leicester's* Cabinet, whose Horse he commanded in the Field, whose Counsel he guided at home. Prudent and valiant he was in contriving and executing the surprize of *Axil:* Liberal and Noble to his Souldiers at *Flushing*; wary and deep-sighted in his Counsel about

about *Graveline*; wise and stayed in the jealousies between *Leicester* and *Hollock*. His Patience and Resolution before *Zutphen*, his quiet and composed spirit at *Arneim*, his Christian and religious comportment in his sickness and death, made his Fame as lasting as his Life was wished. And why died he lamented by the Queen, mourned for by the Court, bemoaned by *Europe*, wept over by Religion and Learning, the Protestant Churches, celebrated by Kings, and eternized by Fame? because he was one whose Parts were improved by early Education, whose Education was raised by Experience, whose Experience was enlarged by Travel, whose Travel was laid up in Observations, whose Observations were knit up to a solid Wisdome, whose Wisdome was graced with his Presence; and the one was as much admired by Kings, as the other was by Queens. One whose Learning guided Universities, whose Alliance engaged Favourites, whose Presence filled Courts, whose Soul grasped *Europe*, whose Merit could fill a Throne, whose Spirit was above it. It was he who was deserving and quiet, neglected and patient, great and familiar, ingenious and devout, learned and valiant, sweet and solid, contemplative & active. It was he whom Queen *Elizabeth* called *her* * *Philip*, the Prince *Orange* his Master, and whose friendship my Lord *Brooke* was so proud of, that he would have no other Epitaph on his Grave then this, *Here lieth Sir* Philip Sidneys *Friend*. It was he whose last words were, *Love my memory, cherish my Friends; their faith to me may assure you they are honest: but above all, govern your will and affections by the Will and Word of your Creator. In me behold the end of this world, and all its vanities.*

Q. *Eliz.*

K. H. 4. K. James.

* *In Opposition to him of* Spain.

Q. Eliz.

In *Ll.*

THey that have known thee well, & ſeareh thy parts
Through all the chain of Arts:
Thy apprehenſion quick as active light,
Clear Judgement, without Night:
Thy Phanſie free, yet never wild or mad,
With wings to fly, but none to gad:
Thy Language ſtill in rich, yet comely dreſs,
Not to expoſe thy minde, but to expreſs.
They that have known thee thus, ſigh, and confeſs,
They wiſh they'd known thee ſtill, or known thee leſs.
To theſe, the wealth and Beauties of thy minde,
Be other Vertues joyn'd.
Thy modeſt Soul, ſtrongly confirm'd and hard,
Ne'er beckned from its Guard.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Perrot.

SIr *John Perrot* was a goodly Gentleman, and of the Sword: and as he was of a very ancient deſcent, as an Heir to many Exſtracts of Gentry, eſpecially from *Guy de Bryan* of *Lawhern*; ſo was he of a vaſt Eſtate, and came not to the Court for want. And to theſe Adjuncts he had the Endowments of Courage, and heighth of Spirit, had it lighted on the allay of temper and diſcretion: the defect whereof, with a native freedome and boldneſs of ſpeech, drew him into a Clouded ſetting, and laid him open to the ſpleen & advantage of his Enemies. He was yet a wiſe man, and a brave Courtier, but rough, and participating more of a-

&tive

Q. *Eliz.*

give then ſedentary motions, as being in his Conſtellation deſtinated for Arms. He was ſent Lord-Deputy into *Ireland*, where he did the Queen very great and many Services: Being out of envy accuſed of High Treaſon, and againſt the Queens will and conſent condemned, he died ſuddenly in the Tower. He was *Englands* profeſſed Friend, and Sir *Chriſtopher Hattons* profeſſed Enemy: He fell becauſe he would *ſtand* alone. In the Engliſh Court at that time he that held not by *Leiceſters* and *Burleighs* favour, muſt yeild to their frowns: What ground he gained in Forreign Merits, (as the Sea) he loſt in Domeſtick Intereſts. The moſt deſerving Receſſes, and ſerviceable abſence from Courts, is incompatible with the way of intereſt and favour. His boyſterous carriage rather removed then preferred him to *Ireland*, where he was to his coſt, what he would have been to his advantage; chief in Command, and firſt in Council. His ſpirit was too great to be ruled, and his Intereſt too little to ſway. He was ſo like a Son of *Henry* the *a* eighth, that he would not be Queen *Elizabeths* ſubject: but *Hattons* ſly ſmoothneſs undermined his open roughneſs; the one *dancing* at Court with more ſucceſs then the other *fought* in *Ireland*. He was born to enjoy, rather then make a Fortune; and to command, rather then ſtoop for reſpect. Boldneſs indeed is as neceſſary for a Souldier, as Action for an Orator; and is a prevailing quality over weak men at all times, and wiſe men at their weak times; yet it begins well, but continueth not; cloſing always with the wiſer ſorts ſcorns, and the vulgars laughter. Sir *John Perrot* was better at Counſel then Complement, and better at Execution then

a They ſay his father married a Familiar of King Henry's.

Q. *Eliz.* Counſel. None worſe to command firſt on his own head, none better to be ſecond, and under the direction of others. He could not adviſe, becauſe he looked not round on his dangers: he could not execute, becauſe he ſaw them not. His alliance to his Soveraign commended him at firſt to her favour, and gave him up at laſt to her jealouſie; being too near to be modeſt, and too bold to be truſted: and the more ſervice he performed, he was thereby onely the more dangerous, and withal unhappy; his Succeſſes onely puffing up his humor, and his Victories ripening his ambition to thoſe fatal Sallies againſt the Queens honour and Government, that had coſt him his life, had he not ſaved it with thoſe very Rants he loſt himſelf by: for when he had out of an innocent confidence of his cauſe, and a haughty conceit of his Extraction, exaſperated his Noble Jury to his Condemnation, he had no more to ſay for himſelf then *Gods death! will the Queen ſuffer her Brother to be offered up as a ſacrifice to the envy of my friſking Adverſaries?* On which words the Queen refuſed to ſigne the Warrant for his Execution, though preſſed to it from Reaſon and Intereſt, ſaying, *They were all Knaves that condemned him.* It's obſerved of him, that the Surpluſage of his ſervices in *Ireland* abated the merit of them; and that it was his overſight to have done too much there. His mortal words were thoſe in the great Chamber of *Dublin*, when the Queen ſent him ſome reſpectful Letters after her Expoſtulatory ones, with an intimation of the *Spaniards* Deſigne: *Lo, now* (ſaith he) *ſhe is ready to piſs her ſelf for fear of the* Spaniard; *I am again one of her white Boys.*

A great Birth and a great Minde are cruſhed in Commonwealths, and watched in Kingdomes: They who are too tall to ſtand, too ſtubborn to bow, are but too fit to break. Ruffling Spirits raiſe themſelves at the ſettlement of Governments, but fall after it; being but unruly Waves to a ſteady Rock, breaking themſelves on that ſolid Conſtitution they would break. Few aimed at Favourites as Sir *John* did at the Lord Chancellor, but their Arrows fell on their own heads; Soveraignty being always ſtruck through prime Counſellours, and Majeſty through its chief Miniſters. Sir *John Perrot* no ſooner claſhed with *Hatton*, then he loſt the Queen; and ever ſince he reflected on *his* Dancing, he loſt his *own* footing, and never ſtood on his legs. Q. *Eliz.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Francis Walſingham.

HE was a Gentleman (at firſt) of a good houſe, but of a better Education; and from the Univerſity travelled for the reſt of his Learning. He was the beſt Linguiſt of the times, but knew beſt how to uſe his own tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the chiefeſt Affairs of State. He was ſent Ambaſſadour into *France*, and ſtayed there a Leiger long, in the heat of the Civil Wars. At his return he was taken Principal Secretary, and was one of the great Engines of State, and of the times, high in the Queens favour, and a watchful ſervant over the ſafety of his Miſtreſs. He acted the ſame part in the Courts of *France* about

Q. Eliz. that Match, that *Gondamor*, if I be not mistaken, (saith Sir *Robert Naunton*) did in the Court of *England* about the *Spanish*. His apprehension was quick, and his Judgement solid: his Head was so strong, that he could look into the depth of men and business, and dive into the Whirlpools of State. Dexterous he was in finding a secret, close in keeping it: Much he had got by Study, more by Travel; which enlarged and actuated his thoughts. *Cecil* bred him his Agent, as he bred hundreds. His Converse was insinuating and reserved: He saw every man, and none saw him. His Spirit was as publick as his Parts; and it was his first Maxime, *Knowledge is never too dear*: yet as Debonnair as he was prudent; and as obliging to the softer, but predominant parts of the world, as he was serviceable to the more severe: and no less Dexterous to work on humours, then to convince Reason. He would say, he must observe the joynts and flexures of Affairs; and so could do more with a Story, then others could with a Harangue. He always surprized business, and preferred motions in the heat of other diversions; and if he must debate it, he would hear all; and with the advantage of aforegoing speeches, that either cautioned or confirmed his resolutions, he carried all before him in conclusion beyond reply. He out-did the Jesuites in their own bowe, and over-reached them in their own equivocation, and mental reservation; never telling a Lye, but warily drawing out and discovering truth. As the close Room sucketh in most Air, so this wary man got most intelligence, being most of our Papists Confessour before their death, as they had been their Brethrens before their treason. He

said

ſaid what another writ, *That an habit of ſecrecy is policy and vertue.* To him mens faces ſpake as much as their tongues, and their countenances were Indexes of their hearts. He would ſo beſet men with Queſtions, and draw them on, & pick it out of them by piece-meals, that they diſcovered themſelves whether they anſwered or were ſilent. This *Spaniſh* Proverb was familiar with him, *Tell a Lye, and finde a Truth*; and this, *Speak no more then you may ſafely retreat from without danger, or fairly go through with without oppoſition.* Some are good onely at ſome affairs in their own acquaintance; *Walſingham* was ready every where, and could make a party in *Rome* as well as *England.* He waited on mens ſouls with his eye, diſcerning their ſecret hearts through their tranſparent faces. Q. Eliz.

He ſerved himſelf of the Factions as his Miſtreſs did, neither advancing the one, nor depreſſing the other: Familiar with *Cecil*, allied to *Leiceſter*, and an Oracle to *Suſſex.* He could overthrow any matter by undertaking it, and move it ſo as it *muſt* fall. He never broke any buſineſs, yet carried many: He could diſcourſe any matter with them that moſt oppoſed; ſo that they in oppoſing it, promoted it. His fetches and compaſs to his deſigned ſpeech, were things of great patience and uſe. Twice did he deceive the French as Agent, once did he ſettle the *Netherlands* as Commiſſioner, and twice did he alter the Government of *Scotland* as Embaſſadour. Once did *France* deſire he might be recalled, becauſe he was too hard for the Counſel for the *Hugonots*; and once did *Scotland* requeſt his remand, becauſe he would have overturned their Conſtitution: 53 Agents did he maintain in

Q. *Eliz.* Forreign Courts, and 18 Spies: for two Piſtols an Order, he had all the private Papers of *Europe*: few Letters eſcaped his hands, whoſe Contents he could read and not touch the Seals. *Bellarmine* read his Lectures at *Rome* one moneth, and *Reynolds* had them confuted the next. So patient was this wiſe man, *Chiſelhurſt* never ſaw him angry, *Cambridge* never paſſionate, and the Court never diſcompoſed. Religion was the intereſt of his Country, (in his judgement) and of his Soul; therefore he maintained it as ſincerely as he lived it: it had his head, his purſe, and his heart. He laid the great foundation of the Proteſtant Conſtitution as to its policy, and the main plot againſt the Popiſh as to its ruine. He would cheriſh a plot ſome years together, admitting the Conſpirators to his own and the Queens preſence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully: his Spies waited on ſome men every hour, for three years; and leſt they could not keep counſel, he diſpatched them to forraign parts, taking in new Servants. His training of *Parry* who deſigned the murder of Queen *Elizabeth*, the admitting of him under the pretence of diſcovering a Plot to the Queens preſence, and then letting him go where he would, onely on the ſecurity of a Dark Sentinel ſet over him, was a piece of reach and hazard beyond common apprehenſion. But Kingdomes were acted by him, as well as private perſons. It is a likely report (ſaith one) that they father on him at his return from *France*, when the Queen expreſſed her fear of the *Spaniſh* deſigne on that Kingdome with ſome concernment, *Madam*, (ſaid he) *be content not to fear; the Spaniard hath a great appetite, and an excellent digeſtion: but I have fitted him with a bone*

for

for this twenty years, that your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to doubt him: Provided that if the fire chance to ſlack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then caſt in ſome Engliſh fuel which may revive the flame. He firſt obſerved the great Biſhop of *Winchester* fit to ſerve the Church, upon the unlikely Youths firſt Sermon at St. *Alhallows Barking*: He brought my Lord *Cooke* firſt to the Church upon ſome private diſcourſe with him at his Table. The Queen of *Scots* Letters were all carried to him by her own Servant, whom ſhe truſted, and decyphered to him by one *Philips*, as they were ſealed again by one *Gregory*, ſo that neither that Queen or her correſpondents ever perceived either the Seal defaced, or the Letters delayed to her dying day. *Video & Taceo*, was his ſaying, before it was his Miſtreſſes Motto. Q. Eliz.

He could as well fit King *James* his humour with ſayings out of *Xenophon*, *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*; as he could King *Henry's* with *Rablais*'s conceits, & the *Hollander* with Mechanick Diſcourſes. In a word, Sir *Francis Walſingham* was a ſtudious and temperate man; ſo publick-ſpirited, that he ſpent his Eſtate to ſerve the Kingdome; ſo faithful, that he beſtowed his years on his Queen; ſo learned, that he provided a Library for Kings Colledge of his own Books; which was the beſt for Policy, as *Cecil's* was for Hiſtory, *Arundels* for Heraldry, *Cottons* for Antiquity, and *Ushers* for Divinity: finally, he equalled all the Stateſmen former Ages diſcourſe of, and hardly hath been equalled by any in following Ages. *See his Negotiation in* France, *in his Letters to* Cecil *in* The compleat Embaſſador.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Leiceſter.

THE Lord *Leiceſter* was the youngeſt ſon then living of *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*: he was alſo one of the firſt to whom Queen *Elizabeth* gave that honour to be Maſter of the Horſe. He was a very goodly perſon, and ſingular well featured, and all his youth well favoured, and of a ſweet aſpect, but high foreheaded, which was taken to be of no diſcommendation: but towards his latter end grew high-coloured and red-faced. The Queen made him Earl of *Leiceſter* for the ſufferings of his Anceſtors ſake, both in her Fathers and Sifters Reigns. The Earl of *Eſſex* his death in *Ireland*, and the marriage of his Lady yet living, deeply ſtains his commendation. But in the Obſervations of his Letters and Writings, there was not known a Stile or Phraſe more religious, and fuller of the ſtreams of Devotion. He was ſent Governour by the Queen to the United States of *Holland*, where we read not of his wonders; for they ſay, *Mercury*, not *Mars*, in him had the predominancy. To the Policy he had from *Northumberland* his Father, and the Publican *Dudley* his Grandfather, he added, they ſay, Magick and Aſtrology; and to his converſe with Wiſe men, his familiarity with Wizards. Indeed he would ſay, *A States-man ſhould be ignorant of nothing, but ſhould have all notices either within his own or his Confidents command.*

His

His Brother *Ambroſe* was the Heir to the Eſtate, and he to the Wiſdome of that Family. He was the moſt reſerved man of that Age, that ſaw all, and was inviſible; carrying a depth not to be fathomed but by the *Searcher of Hearts*. Many fell in his time, who ſaw not the hand that pulled them down; and as many died that knew not their own Diſeaſe. He truſted not his Familiars above a twelve-month together, but either tranſported them for Forreign ſervices, or wafted them to another world. His Ambition was of a large extent, and his Head-piece of a larger. Great was his Influence on *England*, greater on *Scotland*, and greateſt of all on *Ireland* and the *Netherlands*; where this cloſe *Genius* acted inviſibly, beyond the reach of friends, or the apprehenſion of enemies. Declining an immediate oppoſition in Court-factions, the wary Sir raiſed always young Favourites to outſhine the old ones: ſo balancing all others that he might be Paramount himſelf. The modern policy and practices were but ſhallow to *his*; who by promoting the Queens Match, could hinder it; who could decoy *Hunſdon* to *Berwick*, *Pembroke* to *Wales*, *Sidney* to *Ireland*; while what with his great Train, what with his growing Popularity, he was called the *Heart* of the Court. Q. *Eliz.*

To make his Baſis equal to his Heighth, he enlarged and ſtrengthened his Intereſt by Alliance with the chief Nobility, to whom he was related. By his Patronage of Learning, over which he was Chancellour; by kindneſs to the Clergy, whoſe Head he ſeemed to be; by his command over all men, whom either his favours had won, or his frowns awed; every body being either within the Obli-

Q. *Eliz.* Obligation of his Courteſies, or the reach of his Injuries. He adviſed ſome complyance with *Philip* of *Spain* for the Match he propoſed; while by degrees he altered Religion ſo, as it muſt be impoſſible; deſigning Queen *Elizabeth* for his own Bed, while ſhe made his way to the Queen of *Scots*: whoſe refuſal of him he made as fatal to her, as his Marriage would have been advantageous; (The Queen of *England* promiſing to declare her next Heir to the Crown of *England*, in caſe ſhe failed of Iſſue, upon that Match.) *Leiceſter* trepans *Norfolk* to treat a Match with the Scotch Queen; and her to accept it, to both their ruine: both being engaged in ſuch fooliſh Enterprizes by their enemies practices, as made *Leiceſter* able in the head of a new Aſſociation in the Queens defence, to take off *Norfolk* and his Ladies head. He was always beforehand with his Deſignes, being a declared enemy to After-games.

His Intereſt was Popery, until my Lord *North* put him upon Puritaniſm, but his Religion neither: He promoted the French and Poliſh Match at Court, and diſparaged them in the Country. When Cardinal *Chatillian* advertized her Majeſty how *Leiceſter* drave Royal Suiters from her Court, he was ſent to another World. He that would not hold by his favour, muſt fall by his frown; Archbiſhop *Grindal* not excepted. His hand beſtowed all favours, and his brows all frowns: the whole Court was at his Devotion, and half the Council at his beck. Her Majeſty ſuſpected, but durſt not remove him. His Intelligence was good in *Scotland*, better in *Ireland*, beſt in *Spain*. The Country was governed by his Allies, and the Court by him-

himſelf. The *Tower* was in his ſervants hands, *London* under his Creatures Government, and the Law managed by his Confidents. His treaſure was vaſt, his gains unaccountable, all paſſages to preferment being in his hand at home and abroad. He was never reconciled to her Majeſty under 5000 *l.* nor to any Subject under 500 *l.* and was ever and anon out with both. All Monopolies are his, who commanded moſt mens Purſes, and all mens Parts. A man was oppreſſed if he complyed with him, and undone if he oppoſed him. In a word, his deſigne was thought a Crown, his Parts too large for a Subject, his Intereſt too great for a Servant, his depth not fathomable in *thoſe* days, and his Policy not reached in *theſe*.

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Hatton.

SIr *Chriſtopher Hatton* was a Gentleman, who for his activity and Perſon was taken into the Queens favour. He was firſt made Vice-Chamberlain, and ſhortly after advanced to the place of Lord Chancellour: A Gentleman, that beſides the Graces of his Perſon, and Dancing, had alſo the Adjectments of a ſtrong and ſubtile capacity: one that could ſoon learn the Diſcipline and Garb both of Times and Court. The truth is, he had a large proportion of Gifts and Endowments, but too much of the ſeaſon of Envy. As he came, ſo he continued *in* the Court in a Mask. An honeſt man he was, but reſerved. Sir *John Perrot* talked, and

Q. Eliz. and Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* thought. His features ſet off his body, his gate his features, his carriage his gate, his parts his carriage, his prudence his parts, and his cloſe patience his prudence. The Queen loved him well for his activity, better for his parts, beſt of all for his abilities, which were as much above his experience, as that was above his learning, and that above his education. The little the wary man *did*, was ſo exactly juſt and diſcreet; and the little he *ſaid*, was ſo prudent and weighty, that he was choſen to keep the Queens Conſcience as her Chancellour, and to expreſs her ſenſe as her Speaker: the Courtiers that envyed the laſt capacity, were by his power forced to confeſs their errours; and the Sergeants that would not plead before him in the firſt, by his prudence to confeſs his abilities. The Chancellourſhip was above his Law, but not his Parts; ſo pregnant and comprehenſive, that he could command other mens knowledge to as good purpoſe as his own. Such his humility, that he did nothing without two Lawyers: ſuch his ability, that the Queen did nothing without him. Two things he ſaid he was jealous of, His Miſtreſſes the Queens *Prerogatives*, and his Mother the Churches Diſcipline: the one, that Majeſty might be at liberty to do as much good; and the other, that Iniquity might not be free to as much evil as it pleaſed. His enemies advanced him, that they might weaken him at Court by his abſence, and kill him at home by a ſedentarineſs. This even and clear man *obſerved* and *improvid* their practices, cloſing with Malice it ſelf to his own advancement, and tempering the moſt perverſe enmity to the greateſt kindneſs.

None

None Nobler, none leſs aſpiring: none more buſie, yet none more punctual in his hours and orders. Corpulent he was, but temperate; a Batchelor, (and the onely one of the Queens Favourites) yet chaſte: quick were his Diſpatches, but weighty; *many* his Orders, and *conſiſtent*: numerous were the Addreſſes to him, and eaſie the acceſs. Seldome were his Orders reverſed in Chancery, and ſeldomer his Advice oppoſed in Council. So juſt he was, that his ſentence was Law with the Subject; ſo wiſe, that his Opinion was Oracle with his Soveraign: ſo exact was Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe called upon him for an old debt, though it broke his heart; ſo loving, that ſhe carried him a Cordial-broath with her own hand, though it could not revive him. Q. *Eliz.*

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Hunſdon.

THe Lord *Hunſdon* was of the Queens neareſt Kindred; and on the deceaſe of *Suſſex*, both he and his Son took the place of Lord Chamberlain. He was a faſt man to his Prince, and firm to his friends and ſervants, downright, honeſt, and ſtout-hearted, having the charge of the Queens Perſon both in the Court, and in the Camp at *Tilbury*. The integrity of his temper allayed the greatneſs of his birth; which had rendred him dangerous, if the other had not vouched him faithful. He ſpoke big, but honeſtly; and was thought rather reſolute then ambitious. His words were as his thoughts,

Q. *Eliz.* thoughts, and his actions as his words. He had Valour enough to be an eminent Souldier in ruffling times, and a renownedly honeſt man in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign. His Latine, ſaith Sir *Robert Naunton*, and his diſſimulation, were both alike. His cuſtome of ſwearing, and obſcenity in ſpeaking, made him ſeem a worſe Chriſtian then he was, and a better Knight of the Carpet then he ſhould be. The Polititians followed *Cecil*, the Courtiers *Leiceſter*, and the Souldiers *Hunſdon*, whoſe hands were better then his head, and his heart then both. He led ſo brave a Train of young Gallants, as after another threatned a Court, but after him ſecured it; whoſe Greatneſs was not his Miſtreſſes jealouſie, but her ſafeguard. One of his blunt Jeſts went further then others affected Harangues; the one being Nature, the other forced. His faithfulneſs made him Governour of *Berwick*; a place of great ſervice: and General of the Engliſh Army; a place of great Truſt. He had ſomething of *Leiceſters* Choler, but none of his Malice. A right Noble Spirit, not ſo ſtupid as not to reſent, not ſo unworthy as to retain a ſenſe of Injuries. To have the Courage to obſerve an Affront, is to be even with an Adverſary: to have the patience to forgive it, is to be above him. There goeth a ſtory of him, that when his Retinue, which in thoſe times was large, would have drawn on a Gentleman that had returned him a box on the ear, he forbad them in theſe Souldier-like words: *You Rogues, cannot my Neighbour and my ſelf exchange a box on the ear, but you muſt interpoſe?*

He might have been what he would, for relieving Queen *Elizabeth* in her diſtreſs: he would be but what

what he *was*: Other Intereſts were offered him to ſtand upon; he was contented with his own. He ſuppreſſed the Court-Factions, and the Nothern Commotions; the one by his Intereſt, the other by his Valour: for the one, he had always the Queens Heart; for the other, he had once a moſt Gracious Letter. Q. *Eliz.*

His Court-favour was as laſting as his Integrity. One hath left this remarque concerning him: That he ſhould have been twice Earl of *Wiltſhire* in right of his Mother *Bollen*. And the Queen, when he was on his Death-bed, ordered his Patent and Robes to his bed-ſide: where he who could diſſemble neither well nor ill, told the Queen, *That if he was not worthy of thoſe Honours when* living, *he was unworthy of them when* dying. *See* Fuller *in his Worthies.*

In a word, Sir *William Cecil* was a wiſe man; *Bacon* was reaching, *Leiceſter* cunning; *Walſingham* was a Patriot, and my Lord *Huntſdon* was honeſt.

Obſervations on the Life of Nicholas Heath, *Archbiſhop of* York, *and Lord Chancellour of* England.

AT once a moſt wiſe and a moſt learned man, of great Policy, and of as great Integrity; meek and reſolute: more devout to follow his own Conſcience, then cruel to perſecute others. It is enough to intimate his moderate temper, equal, and diſ-engaged from violent extreams; that the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the

Q. *Eliz.* Diſputation between the Papiſts and Proteſtants, he was choſen by the Privy-Council one of the Moderators, when Sir *Nicholas Bacon* was the other.

The Civility he ſhewed in Proſperity, he found in Adverſity: for in Queen *Elizabeths* time he was rather eaſed, then depoſed, [like another *Abiathar*, ſent home by *Solomon* to his own fields in *Anathoth*] living cheerfully at *Cobham* in *Surry*, where he devoted his Old Age to Religion and Study, being much comforted with the Queens Viſits and kindneſs, and more with his own good conſcience; that (as he would often ſay) he had been ſo intent upon the *ſervice*, as never to enjoy the *greatneſs* of any place he was advanced to.

Sir *Henry Wotton* being bound for *Rome*, asked his Hoſt at *Siena*, a man well verſed in men and buſineſs, What Rules he would give him for his Port, Conduct and Carriage? *There is one ſhort remembrance* (ſaid he) *will carry you ſafe through the world; nothing but this*, (ſaid he) Gli Penſiere ſtretti, & el viſo Sciolto: (i. e.) *Your Thoughts cloſe, and your Countenance looſe.*

The Character of this Prelate, a man of a calm and reſerved minde, but of a gravely obliging carriage: wiſe and wary; and that a ſolid wiſdome rather then a formal; well ſeaſoned with practice, and well broken to Affairs: of a fine Compoſition, between Frugality and Magnificence: A great Cheriſher of Manual Arts, eſpecially ſuch as tended to ſplendour or ornament; entertaining the moſt exquiſite Artiſts with a ſetled Penſion. Equally divided he was between the Prieſt and the States-man; Great with his double Power, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil: by Nature more reſerved then popular,

popular, with Vertues fitter to beget eſtimation then love. In his Chancellourſhip he was ſerved with able followers, rather by choice then number, and with more neatneſs and ſervice then noiſe. As Midland Countries in buſie times are moſt ſecure, as being fartheſt, and moſt participating of the common Intereſt: ſo your moderate and middle men in troubleſome and perplexed times, are moſt quiet, as leaſt concerned in the reſpective Controverſies, and moſt intent upon the common good. Q. *Eliz.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Pickering.

HIs Extraction was not noble, his Eſtate but mean; yet was his Perſon ſo comely, his Carriage ſo elegant, his Life ſo gravely reſerved and ſtudious, and his Embaſſies in *France* and *Germany* ſo well managed, that in King *Edwards* days he was by the Council pitched upon as the Oracle, whereby our Agents were to be guided abroad; and in Queen *Elizabeths*, deſigned by common vote for the Prince by whom we were to be governed at home. He received extraordinary favours, no doubt, ſo deſerving he was: he was wiſhed to more, he was ſo popular: and when his ſervice was admitted to her Majeſties boſome, all fancies but his own placed his perſon in her Bed. And I find him a Prince in this, That retiring from thoſe buſie Buſlings in the State, wherein he might be matched or out-done, he devoted his large Soul to thoſe more ſublime and noble reſearches in his

Q. *Eliz.* Study, wherein he ſate Monarch of Hearts and Letters. Anxious Poſterity no doubt enquires what great Endowments could raiſe ſo private a man to ſuch publick honour and expectation; and it muſt imagine him one redeemed by the Poliure of good Education, from his younger vanities and ſimplicities, his Ruſtick ignorance, his Clowniſh confidence, his Bruitiſh dulneſs, his Country ſolitude, his earthly ploddings, his Beggerly indigencies, or covetous neceſſities; racked and refined from the Lees of ſenſual and inordinate luſt, from ſwelling and ſurly pride, from baſe and mean deſignes, from immoderate affections, violent paſſions, unreaſonable impulſes, and depraved aſpects; of a ſtrong and handſome body, a large and publick Soul, of a gentle and patient acceſs, of benign and juſt reſentments, a grand awful preſence. This is he that is born to teach the world, *That* * *Vertue and Warineſs make Kings as well as Gods.*

* Cauſa virtus à Deo, vel ipſe Deus.

Obſervations on the Life of Cuthbert Tonſtal, *Biſhop of* Durham.

A Man paſſing well ſeen in all kind of poliſhed Literature; who having run through many degrees of honour at home, and worthily performed ſeveral Embaſſies abroad, was very hot againſt the Popes Primacy in his young days, very moderate for it in his middle years, and very zealous in his old age: like the waters in *Curtius*, that are hot at midnight, warm in the morning, and cold at noon. In the Reign of Queen *Mary* he ſpake more

more harſhly againſt the Proteſtants, (calling Biſhop *Hooper Beaſt* for being married) then he acted, being politickly preſumed to bark the more, that he might bite the leſs; and obſerved to threaten much in *London*, and do little in his own Dioceſs: for I meet (ſaith my Author) with a Marginal Note in Mr. *Foxe*, which indeed juſtly deſerved even in the faireſt letters to be inſerted in the body of his Book: *Note, that Biſhop* Tonſtal *in Queen* Mary's *days was no great bloody Perſecutor: for Mr.* Ruſſel *a Preacher was before him, and Dr.* Hinmer *his Chancellor would have had him examined more particularly: the Biſhop ſtaid him, ſaying*, Hitherto we have had a good report among our Neighbours; I pray you bring not this mans blood upon my head. Q. *Eliz.* Vol. 3. P. 958.

When the more violent Biſhops were confined to cloſe priſons, *primo Elizabetha*, he lived in *Free Cuſtody* at my Lord of *Canterbury's*, in ſweet Chambers, warm Beds, by warm Fires, with plentiful and wholeſome Diet at the Archbiſhops own Table: differing nothing from his former Grandeur, ſave that that was at his own charges, and this at anothers; and that he had not his former ſuit of ſuperfluous Servants, that long Train that doth not *warm* but *weary* the Wearer thereof. In a word, his cuſtody did not ſo much ſowre his freedome, as his freedome ſweetned his cuſtody; where his Soul was moſt free, uſing not once thoſe Oracles of *Seneca*, *That the good things of Proſperity are to be wiſhed, and the good things of Adverſity to be admired.* It's true Greatneſs to have at once the frailty of a man, and the ſecurity of a god. Proſperity (ſaith my Lord *Bacon*) is the bleſſing of the Old Teſtament, and Adverſity of the new: the firſt wants not its

Q. Eliz. fears and diſtaſtes, therein therefore our Prelate was temperate; nor the ſecond its comforts and hopes, and therein he was reſolved: in the one (*---virtus vel in boſte*) he was not vicious, under the other he was vertuous.

Obſervations on the Life *of Sir* Francis Talbot, *Earl of* Shrewsbury.

NObility without Vertue is a diſgrace, Vertue without Nobility low; but Nobility adorned with Vertue, and Vertue embelliſhed by Nobility, raiſeth a man high as Nature reacheth: and he in whom theſe two concur, hath all the glory a man can attain unto, *viz.* both an *Inclination* and a *Power* to do well.

This is the man whoſe Greatneſs was but the ſervant to his Goodneſs, and whoſe Honour the Inſtrument of his Vertue; who was reverenced like the Heavens he bore, for his Beneficence, as well as for his Glory. He ſaw four troubleſome Reigns, but not troubled himſelf, as one that was ſo eſpouſed to the common and grand Concerns of Mankinde, as to be unintereſted in the particular and petty Deſigne of any party of *it*.

He had friends (and none more ſure to them, or more devoted to that ſacred thing called Friendſhip) to eaſe his heart to, to ſupport his judgement by, to reform, or at leaſt obſerve his defect in, to compoſe his mind with; but none to countenance in a Faction, or ſide with in a quarrel: *Uſefulneſs* is a Bond that tieth great and good men, and not *reſpects*.

How

How low Learning ran in our Land among our Native Nobility ſome two hundred years ſince, in the Reign of King *Henry* the ſixth, too plainly appeareth by the Motto in the Sword of the Martial Earl of *Shrewsbury*, (where (ſaith my Author) at the ſame time a man may ſmile at the ſimplicity, and ſigh at the barbarouſneſs thereof) *Sum Talboti pro occidere inimicos meos:* the beſt Latine that Lord, and perchance his Chaplain too in that Age could afford. The caſe was much altered here, where this Lords Granchilde was at once the chiefeſt * Councellour, and the moſt eminent Scholar of his Age. It's a reverend thing to ſee any ancient piece ſtanding againſt Time, much more to ſee an ancient Family ſtanding againſt Fortune. Certainly Princes that have able men of their Nobility, ſhall finde eaſe in employing them, and a better ſlide into their buſineſs: for people naturally bend to them, as born in ſome ſort to command.

Q. Eliz.

* Camb. Eliz. 1560.

Bacon Eſſ. 7.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Challoner.

THis Gentlemans birth in *London* made him quick, his Education in *Cambridge* knowing, and his travail abroad expert. In *Henry* the eighth's time he ſerved *Charles* the fifth in the expedition of *Algier*: where being ſhip-wracked, after he had ſwum till his ſtrength and arms failed him, at the length catching hold of a Cable with his teeth, he eſcaped, not without the loſs of ſome of his teeth. (We are conſecrated by dan-

Q. *Eliz.* gers to ſervices; and we know not what we can *do*, until we have ſeen all we can *fear*.) In *Edward* the ſixth's Reign, he behaved himſelf ſo manly at *Muſcleborough*, that the Protector honoured him with a Knighthood, and his Lady with a Jewel; the *delicate* and valiant man at once pleaſing *Mars* and his *Venus* too. The firſt week of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, he is deſigned an Embaſſadour of Honour to the Emperour; ſuch his port and carriage! and the ſecond year, her Leiger for buſineſs in *Spain*; ſuch his truſt and abilities! The firſt he performed not with more Gallantry, then he did the ſecond with Policy; bearing up King *Philips* expectation of the Match with *England* for three years effectually, until he had done the Queens buſineſs abroad, and ſhe had done her own at home. In *Spain* he equally divided his time between the Scholar and the States-man, his recreation and his buſineſs: for he refreſhed his more careful time with a pure and learned Verſe, *de rep. Anglorum inſtauranda*, in five Books, whilſt as he writes in the Preface to that Book, he lived *Hieme in furno, æſtate in Horreo*: i. e. Wintered in a Stove, and Summered in a Barn. He underſtood the Concerns of this eſtate well, and thoſe of his own better; it being an uſual ſaying, engraven on all his Plates and Actions, *Frugality is the left hand of Fortune, and Diligence the right. Anthony Brown* Viſcount *Mountacute* urged with much Zeal and many Arguments the *Danger* and *Diſhonour* of revolting off from the Catholick and Mother-Church: Sir *Thomas Challoner* with more Eloquence enlarged on the juſt Cauſe for which we deceded from the Errours of *Rome*, the true Authority by which we deceded from the Uſurpation of

of *Rome*, and the Moderation in what we deceded from the Superſtition of *Rome*. Q. *Eliz.*

When the Spaniſh-Embaſſadour urged that ſome Catholicks might with the Queens leave remain in *Spain*; he anſwered him in a large Declaration, *That though the inſtance ſeemed a matter of no great moment, yet ſeeing the Parties concerned would not receive ſo much advantage by the licenſe as the Commonwealth would damage by the Preſident, it was neither fit for the King of* Spain *to urge, or for the Queen of* England *to grant.* He was very impatient of Injuries, preſſing his return home when his Coffers were ſearched; but admoniſhed by his Miſtreſs, *That an Embaſſadour muſt take all things in good part that hath not a direct tendency to the Princes diſhonour, or his Countries danger.* His death was as honourable as his life, Sir *William Cecil* being chief Mourner at his Funeral, St. *Pauls* containing his Grave, and he leaving a hopeful * Son that ſhould bring up future Princes, as he had ſerved the preſent; being as worthy a *Tutor* to the hopeful Prince *Henry*, as his Father had been a faithful Servant to the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*. Oct. 15. 1565. * *Sir* Tho.

Obſervations in the Life of Sir Edward Waterhouſe.

SIr *Edward Waterhouſe* was born at *Helmſtedbury Hartfordſhire*: of an ancient and worſhipful Family, deriving their deſcent lineally from Sir *Gilbert Waterhouſe* of *Kyrton* in *Low-Lindſey* in the County of *Lincoln*, in the time of King *Henry*

Q. Eliz. ry the third. As for our Sir *Edward*, his Parents were,

John Waterhouſe Eſquire, a man of much fidelity and ſageneſs, Auditor many years to King *Henry* the eighth; of whom he obtained (after a great Entertainment for him in his houſe) the grant of a weekly Market for the Town of *Helmſted*.

Margaret Turner of the ancient Houſe of *Blunts-Hall* in *Suffolk*, and *Cannons* in *Hertfordſhire*.

By the learned, induſtrious and ingenious *Edward Waterhouſe* Eſquire, of Sion-College.

"*The King at his departure honoured the children* "*of the ſaid* John Waterhouſe, *being brought before* "*him, with his praiſe and encouragement, gave a* Ben- "jamins *portion of Dignation to this* Edward; *fore-* "*telling by his Royal Augury, that he would be the* "*Crown of them all, and a man of great honour and* "*wiſdome, fit for the ſervice of Princes. It pleaſed* "*God afterwards to ſecond the word of the King, ſo* "*that the ſprouts of his hopeful youth onely pointed at* "*the growth and greatneſs of his honourable Age.* "*For, being but twelve years old, he went to* Oxford; "*where for ſome years he gliſtered in the Oratorick* "*and Poetick ſphere, until he addicted himſelf to con-* "*verſation, and obſervance of State-affairs, wherein* "*his great proficiency commended him to the favour* "*of three principal Patrons. One was* Walter De- "vereux *Earl of* Eſſex, *who made him his boſome-* "*friend; and the ſaid Earl lying on his death-bed* "*took his leave of him with many kiſſes:* Oh my *Ned*, "Oh my *Ned*, (*ſaid he*) Farewel: thou art the "faithfulleſt and friendlieſt Gentleman that ever I "knew. *In teſtimony of his true affection to the dead*

"*Fa-*

" *Father in his living Son, this Gentleman is thought* Q. Eliz.
" *to have penned that moſt judicious and elegant Epi-*
" *ſtle, (recorded in* Holinſhed's *Hiſtory, pag.* 1266.)
" *and preſented it to the young Earl, conjuring him by*
" *the Cogent Arguments of Example and Rule to pa-*
" *trizare.*

" *His other Patron was Sir* Henry Sidney, *(ſo of-*
" *ten Lord Deputy of* Ireland) *whereby he became in-*
" *corporated into the familiarity of his Son Sir* Phi-
" lip Sidney; *between whom and Sir* Edward *there*
" *was ſo great friendlineſs, that they were never bet-*
" *ter pleaſed then when in one anothers companies, or*
" *when they correſponded each with other. And we*
" *finde after the death of that worthy Knight, that*
" *he was a cloſe-concerned Mourner at his Obſequies,*
" *as appeareth at large in the printed Repreſentation of*
" *his funeral Solemnity.*

" *His third Patron was Sir* John Perrot, *Deputy*
" *alſo of* Ireland; *who ſo valued his counſel, that in*
" *State-affairs he would do nothing without him. So*
" *great his Employment betwixt State and State, that*
" *he croſſed the Seas thirty ſeven times, until deſer-*
" *vedly at laſt he came into a port of honour, wherein*
" *he ſundry years anchored and found ſafe Harbour.*
" *For he receiving the honour of Knighthood, was ſworn*
" *of her Majeſties Privy-Council for* Ireland, *and*
" *Chancellour of the Exchequer therein. Now his*
" *grateful ſoul courſing about how to anſwer the*
" *Queens favour, laid it ſelf wholly out in her ſer-*
" *vice; wherein two of his Actions were moſt remark-*
" *able. Firſt, he was highly inſtrumental in Model-*
" *ling the Kingdome of* Ireland *into Shires, as now*
" *they are; ſhewing himſelf ſo great a lover of the Po-*
" *lity under which he was born, that he advanced the*

" *Com-*

Q. Eliz. "Compliance therewith (as commendable and neceſ-
"ſary) in the Dominions annexed thereunto. His
"ſecond ſervice was, when many in that Kingdome
"ſhrowded themſelves from the Laws, under the Tar-
"get of power; making Force their Tutelary Saint,
"he ſet himſelf vigorouſly to ſuppreſs them. And
"when many of the Privy-Council, terrified with the
"greatneſs of the Earl of Deſmond, durſt not ſub-
"ſcribe the Inſtrument wherein he was proclaimed
"Traytor, Sir Edward amongſt ſome others boldly
"ſigned the ſame, (diſavowing his, and all Treaſons
"againſt his Friends and Country) and the Council
"did the like, commanding the publication thereof.
"As to his private ſphear, God bleſſed him, being but
"a third Brother, above his other Brethren. Now,
"though he had three Wives, the firſt a Villiers, the ſe-
"cond a Spilman, the third the Widow of Herlakenden
"of Wood-church in Kent, Eſquire; and though he
"had ſo ſtrong a brain and body, yet he lived and
"died childleſs, intercommoning therein with many
"Worthies, who are, according to Ælius Spartianus,
"either improlifick, or have children in Genitorum
"Vituperium & famarum Læſuram. God thus de-
"nying him the pleaſure of poſterity, he craved leave
"of the Queen to retire himſelf, and fixed the
"reſidue of his life at Wood-church in Kent, living
"there in great Honour and Repute, as one who had
"no deſigne to be popular, and not prudent; rich, and
"not honeſt; great, and not good. He died in the
"56 year of his Age, the 13 of October 1591. and
"is buried at Wood-church under a Table-Marble-
"Monument, erected to his memory by his ſorrowful
"Lady ſurviving him.

Queen

Q. Eliz.

Queen *Elizabeth* on the Lord *Willoughby.*

Good Peregrine,

WE are not a little glad that by your Journey you have received ſuch good fruit of amendment; ſpecially when we conſider what great vexations it is to a mind devoted to actions of honour, to be reſtrained by any indiſpoſition of body from following thoſe courſes, which to your own reputation and our great ſatisfaction you have formerly performed. And therefore (as we muſt now out of our deſire of your well-doing) chiefly enjoyn you to an eſpecial care to encreaſe and continue your health, which muſt give life to all your beſt Endeavours; ſo we muſt next as ſeriouſly recommend to you this conſideration, That in theſe times, when there is ſuch appearance that we ſhall have the tryal of our beſt noble Subjects, you ſeem not to affect the ſatisfaction of your own private contentation beyond the attending of that which Nature and Duty challengeth from all perſons of your Quality and Profeſſion. For if neceſſarily (your health of body being recovered) you ſhould Eloign your ſelf by reſidence there from thoſe Employments whereof we ſhall have too good ſtore, you ſhall not ſo much amend the ſtate

of

Q. Eliz. *of your body, as happily you ſhall call in queſtion the reputation of your mind and judgement, even in the opinion of thoſe that love you, and are beſt acquainted with your Diſpoſition and Diſcretion.*

Interpret this our plainneſs we pray you to our extraordinary eſtimation of you; for it is not common with us to deal ſo freely with many: and believe that you ſhall ever finde us both ready and willing in all occaſions to yeild you the fruits of that intereſt, which your Endeavours have purchaſed for you in our Opinion and Eſtimation: Not doubting, but when you have with moderation made tryal of the ſucceſs of theſe your ſundry Peregrinations, you will finde as great comfort to ſpend your days at home as heretofore you have done: of which we do wiſh you full meaſure, howſoever you ſhall have cauſe of abode or return. Given under our Signet at our Manor of Nonſuch, *the ſeventh of* October 1594. *in the* 37 *year of our Reign.*

Your moſt loving Soveraign,

E. R.

Obſervs-

Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of the Duke of Norfolk.

HIs Predeceſſors made more noyſe it may be, but he had the greater fame: their Greatneſs was feared, his Goodneſs was loved. He was Heir to his Uncles Ingenuity, and his Fathers Valour; and from both derived as well the *Laurel* as the *Coronet*.

His God and his Soveraign were not more taken with the ancient ſimplicity that lodged in his plain breaſt, then the people were endeared by that noble humility that dwelt in his plainer cloaths and carriage. (The moſt honourable Perſonages, like the moſt honourable Coats of Arms, are leaſt gawdy.) In the election of the firſt Parliament of Queen *Elizabeth*, and as a conſequent to that in the ſettlement of the Kingdome, Sir *William Cecils* Wiſdome did much, the Earl of *Arundels* Induſtry more, but the Duke of *Norfolks* Popularity did moſt. Never Peer more dread, never more dear: as he could engage the people to comply with their Soveraign at home, ſo he could lead them to ſerve her abroad. That Martial but unfortunate Gentleman *William* Lord *Grey*, draweth firſt towards *Scotland*, (for the firſt Cloud that would have darkened our glorious Star, came from the North, *Whence all evil*, is equally our Proverb and our experience) as Warden of the middle and Eaſt Marches: but he is ſeconded by the Duke, as Lieutenant-General of the North-parts; where his preſence

Q. Eliz. ſence commands a Treaty, and his Authority a League, Offenſive and Defenſive, to balance the French Intereſt, to reduce the North parts of *Ireland*, and keep the peace of both Kingdomes. Now as the watchful Duke diſcovered by ſome private Paſſages and Letters that *Scotland* was to be invaded by the French: ſo he writ to his Soveraign, That notwithſtanding the Spaniſh & French Embaſſadors Overtures, ſhe would proceed reſolutely in her preparations for *Scotland*; as ſhe did under his Conduct, until the young Queen was glad to ſubmit; and the King of *France*, by *Cecil* and *Throgmortons* means now buſied at home, to come to terms.

He brought the Kingdome to Muſters, the People to ply Husbandry, the Nobility to keep Armories, and the Juſticers to Salaries. The Enſignes of St. *Michael* were beſtowed upon him as the Nobleſt, and on *Leiceſter* as the deareſt Perſon at Court: Now *Arundel*, who had ſpent his own Eſtate in hope of the Queens, under pretence of recovering his health, travelled abroad to mitigate his grief. When the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Leiceſter* were openly for the Queens Marriage, for the future ſecurity of our preſent happineſs; the Duke, though privately of their mind, yet would diſcourſe,

1. That Succeſſors take off the peoples eyes from the preſent Soveraign.

2. That it was the ſafeſt way to keep all Competitors in ſuſpence.

3. That Succeſſors, though not deſigned, may ſucceed.

4. Whereas when known, they have been undone by the Arts of their Competitors.

5. And that moſt men (whatever the buſie Agitators

tators of the Succeſſion pretended) have no more feeling in publick matters then concerneth their own private intereſt. But he had a private kindneſs for the Queen of Scots, which he diſcovered in all the Treaties wherein ſhe was concerned. 1. In Love-Letters to her, notwithſtanding that Queen *Elizabeth* bid him take care what pillow he *reſted his head on.* 2. In his Mediations at Court ſo importune for her, that the Queen would ſay, *The Queen of* Scots *ſhall never want an Advocate while* Norfolk *lives.* And, 3. By ſome private tranſaction with the Pope and Spaniard: to which *Leiceſters* craft trepanned him againſt his friend *Cecils* advice, which in a dangerous juncture coſt him his life. For the people wiſhing (for the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion in a Proteſtant and an Engliſh hand) that the good Duke were married to the Mother, and his onely Daughter to her young Son; ſubtile *Leiceſter* and *Throgmorton* laid a Train for the plain man by Conferences with *Murray, Cecil, &c.* until a Plot was diſcovered: and the Duke, notwithſtanding *Cecils* advice to marry a private Lady, retiring to *Norfolk* to finiſh the Match with the Queen, was upon Letters taken with *Roſſe* ſurprized, and committed to the Tower, he ſaying, *I am betrayed, and undone by mine own, whilſt I knew not how to miſtruſt, which is the ſtrength of wiſdome.* After a ſolemn Tryal, he is beheaded for Indiſcretions rather then Treaſons, looſing his head becauſe he wanted one. Never any fell more beloved, or more pitied: ſuch his ſingular Courteſie, ſuch his magnificent Bounty, not unbecoming ſo great a Peer. High was his Nobility, large his Intereſt, ſingularly good his Nature, comely his Perſon, manly his

Q. *Eliz.*

Q. Eliz. Countenance, who (ſaith *Cambden*) might have been a great ſtrength and Ornament to his Country, had not the cunning practices of his malicious Adverſaries, and ſlippery hopes, under colour of publick good, diverted him from his firſt courſe of life. His death was a blot to ſome mens Juſtice, to all mens Diſcretion that were concerned in it, as generally odious, though quietly endured: which proves (ſaith one) *That the common people are like Rivers, which ſeldome grow ſo impetuous as to tranſcend the bounds of Obedience, but upon the overflowing of a general Oppreſſion.*

Obſervations on the Life *of Sir* Nicholas Throgmorton.

SIr *Nicholas Throgmorton*, fourth Son of Sir *George Throgmorton* of *Coughton* in *Warwickſhire*, was bred beyond the Seas, where he attained to great experience. Under Queen *Mary* he was in *Guild-hall* arraigned for Treaſon, (in compliance with *Wiat*) and by his own wary pleading, and the Juries upright Verdict, hardly eſcaped. Queen *Elizabeth* employed him her Leiger a long time, firſt in *France*, then in *Scotland*, finding him a moſt able Miniſter of State: yet got he no great Wealth; and no wonder, being ever of the oppoſite party to *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer: Chamberlain of the Exchequer, and Chief Butler of *England*, were his higheſt Preferments. I ſay, Chief Butler; which Office, like an empty-covered Cup, pretendeth to ſome State, but affordeth no conſiderable

derable profit. He died at Supper with eating of Sallats: not without ſuſpicion of poyſon; the rather, becauſe it happened in the houſe of one no mean Artiſt in that faculty, *R.* Earl of *Leiceſter*. His death, as it was ſudden, was ſeaſonable for him and his, whoſe active (others will call it turbulent) ſpirit had brought him unto ſuch trouble as might have coſt him, at leaſt, the loſs of his Perſonal Eſtate. He died in the 57 year of his Age, *Febr.* 12. 1570. and lieth buried in the South-ſide of the Chancel of St. *Martin Cree-church London*. Q. Eliz.

A *ſtout* and a wiſe man, that ſaw through pretences, and could look beyond dangers. His skill in Heraldry appears in his *grim* Arguments againſt the King of *France*, in right of his Queen of *Scots* Uſurping of the Arms of *England*; and his experience in Hiſtory, in his peremptory Declarations of the Queen of *Englands* a Title in right of her twelve Predeceſſors to thoſe of *France*. But his Policy much more, by putting *Montmorency*, the great Enemy of the *Guizes*, upon perſwading his Maſter out of the humour of wearing thoſe Arms, with this Argument, *That it was below the Arms of* France *to be quartered with thoſe of* England; *thoſe being comprehenſive of theſe and all other of his Majeſties Dominions*. An Argument more ſuitable to that Prince his ambition, then convincing to his Reaſon. Wiſe men ſpeak rather what is moſt *fit*, then what is moſt *rational*; not what *demonſtrates*, but what *perſwades* his, and *takes*. But being endangered in his Perſon, affronted in his Retinue, and ſerved with nothing at his Table but what had the Arms of *England* quartered with thoſe of *France*, he deals underhand with the Earl of *Northum-*

a *which he made out from Dr.* Wottons *Diſcourſe on that ſubject at* Cambray,

Q. Eliz. *thumberland*, to understand the scope the Reformed propounded to themselves, their means to compass what they aimed at, and (if at any time they were assisted) upon what terms a League might be concluded between the two Kingdomes. The Advices collected from all his Observations he sent to the Queen, were these:

1. That she should not rest in *dull Counsels* of what is *lawful*, but proceed to *quick Resolutions* of what is *safe*.

2. That to prevent, is the policy of all Nations; and to be powerful, of ours. *England is never peaceable but in Arms.*

3. That how close soever they managed their Affairs, it was a Maxime, *b That* France *can neither be poor, nor abstain from War three years together.*

b *To which Queen* Elizabeth *addeth a saying of* Valentinians, Have the French for thy Friend, not for thy Neighbor.

Francis Earl of *Bedford* bore the state of the French Embassy, and Sir *Nicholas* the burden, who gave dayly Directions to Sir *Thomas Challoner* in *Spain*, Sir *Henry Killigrew* in *Germany*, and Sir *Thomas Randolph* and Sir *Peter Mewtas* in *Scotland*: to the two first, to enjealous the Princes of those Countries; and to the last, to unite the Nobility of *Scotland*; he in the mean time suffering himself to be taken prisoner by the Protestants at the battle of *Dreux*, that he might with less suspition impart secret Counsels to them, and receive as secret Advices from them; until discovering their lightness and unconstancy, they secured him as a person too cunning for the whole Faction, and too skilful in raising Hurley-burleys and Commotions. When the young Queen of Scots would needs marry the young Lord *Darley*, he told her that was long to be deli-

deliberated on which was to be done *but once*. And when that would not do, he adviſed, 1. That an Army ſhould appear upon the borders: 2. That the Eccleſiaſtical Laws ſhould be in force againſt Papiſts: 3. That *Hertford* ſhould be ſecured: and, 4. That the Lord *Dudley* ſhould be advanced. But the Queen being married to the Lord *Darley*, an eaſie and good-natured man, whom Queen *Elizabeth* wiſhed to her Bed next *Leiceſter*, and affronted by her ſubjects, *Throgmorton* diſputes the Queens Authority and non-accountableneſs to any againſt *Buchanans* damned [c] Dialogue of the Peoples power *over Kings*; until ſmelling their deſigne of revolt to the French, and cruelty upon the Queen, he perſwaded her to reſigne her Government, ſaying, *That her Reſignation extorted in Priſon, which is a juſt fear, was utterly void.* The next news we hear of this buſie man, was in his two Adviſoes to the Queen of Scots friends: 1. To clap up [d] *Cecil*, whom they might then (he ſaid) deal with: 2. To proclaim the Queen of Scots ſucceſſion; and in the Train he laid to ſerve *Leiceſter* in the Duke of *Norfolks* ruine. But he was too familiar with that Politicians privacy, to live long: *anno* 1570, he died. A Man, ſaith Mr. *Cambden*, *of great experience, paſſing ſharp wit, and ſingular diligence*; an over-curious fancy, and a too nimble activity: like your too fine Silks or Linen, and more for ſhew then ſervice; never bleſſing their Owners but when allayed with ſomething of the *heavy* and the *wary*; nor *riſing*, but when *ſtayed*.

Q. *Elix.*

[c] De jure Reg. apud Scotos.

[d] *About moneys tranſported beyond Sea.*

Obſervations on the Life of Edward *Earl of* Derby.

HIs Greatneſs ſupported his Goodneſs, and his Goodneſs endeared his Greatneſs; his Heighth being looked upon with a double aſpect: 1. By himſelf, as an advantage of Beneficence: 2. By others, as a ground of Reverence. His great Birth put him above private reſpects, but his great Soul never above publick ſervice. Indeed he repaired by ways thrifty, yet Noble, what his Anceſtors had impaired by neglect. Good Husbandry may as well ſtand with great Honour, as Breadth may conſiſt with Heighth. His Travel when young, at once gained experience, and ſaved expences; and his marriage was as much to his profit as his honour. And now he ſheweth himſelf in his full Grandeur, when the intireneſs of his Minde, complyed with the largeneſs of his Soul.

1. In a ſpreading Charity. Other Lords made many poor by Oppreſſion; he and my Lord of *Bedford*, as Queen *Elizabeth* would jeſt, made all the Beggers by his liberality.

2. In a famous Hoſpitality: wherein, 1. His Houſe was orderly; a Colledge of Diſcipline, rather then a Palace for Entertainment; his Servants being ſo many young Gentlemen trained up to govern themſelves by obſerving him; who knew their Maſter, and underſtood themſelves. 2. His Proviſion Native, (*all the Neceſſaries of* England *are bred in it*) rather plentiful then various, ſolid then dainty, that

that coſt him leſs, and contented his gueſts more. His Table conſtant and even, where all were welcome, and none invited. 3. His Hall was full moſt commonly, his Gates always; the one with the honeſt Gentry and Yeomen, who were his Retainers in love and obſervance, bringing good ſtomacks to his Table, and reſolved hearts for his ſervice; the holding up of his hand in the Northern buſineſs, being as effectual as the diſplaying of a Banner: The other with the, 1. Aged, 2. Maimed, 3. Induſtrious Poor, whoſe craving was prevented with doles, and expectation with bounty; the firſt being provided with meat, the ſecond with money, and the third with employment. In a word, Mr. *Cambden* obſerves, That Hoſpitality lieth buried ſince 1572, in this Earls Grave: whence may that Divine Power raiſe it, that ſhall raiſe him; but before the laſt Reſurrection, when there will be plenty to beſtow in one part of the world, and no poor to be relieved; poverty in the other, and no bounty to relieve. Q. Eliz.

Neither was he Munificent upon other mens charge: for once a moneth he looked into his Incomes, and once a week to his Diſburſements, that none ſhould wrong him, or be wronged by him. The Earl of *Derby*, he would ſay, *ſhall keep his own Houſe:* wherefore it's an Obſervation of him and the ſecond Duke of *Norfolk*, That when they were buried, not a Trades-man could demand the payment of a Groat that they owed him, nor a Neighbour the reſtitution of a peny they had wronged him. They ſay, The Graſs groweth not where the Grand Seigniors *Horſe treads*; nor doth the People thrive where the Noble-men inhabit: But here every Tenant was a Gentleman, and every

Q. Eliz. Gentleman my Lords Companion; such his Civility towards the one, and great penyworths to the other. Noblemen in those days esteemed the love of their Neighbours more then their fear, and the service and sealty of their Tenants more then their Money. Now the Landlord hath the sweat of the Tenants brow in his Coffers, then he had the best blood in his Veins at his command.

That grand word, *On mine Honour*, was security enough for a Kingdome, and the onely Asseveration he used. It was his priviledge, that he *need* not swear for a testimony; and his renown, that he *would* not for his honour. Great was this Families esteem with the people, and eminent their favour with their Soveraigns; as which ever bestowed its self in obliging their Liege-people, improving their interest, and supporting their Throne: for though they were a long time great Kings of *Man* and Hearts, yet were they as long faithful subjects to *England*.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Fitz-Williams.

A Childe of Fortune from his Cradle, made up of confidence and reputation: never unwarily shewing his Vertue or Worth to the world with any disadvantage.

When *Britain* had as little sleepiness and sloath as night, when it was all day, and all activity; He, as all young Sparks of that Age, trailed a Pike in the *Netherlands*, (the Seminary of the English Soldiery, and

and the School of *Europes* Diſcipline) as a Souldier, and travelled as a Gentleman; until that place graced him civilly with a Command, which he had honoured eminently with his ſervice. His friends checked him for undertaking an Employment ſo boyſterous; and he replyed upon them, That it *was* as neceſſary as it *ſeemed* irregular: for if ſome were not Souldiers, all muſt be ſo. He ſaid, He never durſt venture on War with men, till he had made his Peace with God: A good Conſcience breeds great Reſolutions, and the innocent Soul is impregnable: None more fearful of doing evil, none more reſolved to ſuffer: there being no hardſhip that he would avoid, no undecency that he would allow. Strict he was to his Commiſſion, and yet obſervant of his advantage: never tempting a danger, never flying it: careful of his firſt *life* and himſelf, but more of his *other* and his name. When the methods of Obedience advanced him to the honour of commanding, ſix things he was Chronicled for. Q. Eliz.

1. Never making the Aged, the Young, or the Weak, the Objects of his Rage, which could not be ſo of his Fear.

2. That he never baſely killed in *cold* blood, them that had nobly eſcaped his Sword in *hot*.

3. That he never led the Souldiers without pay, or quartered in the Country without money.

4. That though he was ſecond to none that acted in War, ſuch his Valour! yet he was the firſt that ſpake for Peace, ſuch his ſweet Diſpoſition!

5. That he would never ſuffer that a Clergyman ſhould be abuſed, a Church violated, or the Dead be unburied.

6. That

Q. Eliz. 6. That he would never force an Enemy to a neceſſity; always ſaying, *Let us diſarm them of their beſt Weapon, Deſpair*; nor fight an Enemy before he had skirmiſhed him, nor undertake a deſigne before he conſulted his God, his Council, his Friends, his Map and his Hiſtory.

His own Abilities commended, and his alliance with Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy, whoſe Siſter he married, promoted him to the Government of *Ireland*. Once did the Queen ſend him thither for his Brothers ſake, four times more for his own ſake; a ſufficient evidence (ſaith my Friend) of his Ability and Integrity, ſince Princes never truſt *twice*, where they are *once* deceived in a Miniſter of State. He kept up his Miſtreſſes Intereſt, and ſhe his Authority; enjoyning the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſo much above him in honour, to truckle under him in Commiſſion when Governour of *Ulſter*, and he Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. *Defend me*, ſaid *Luther* to the Duke of *Saxony*, *with your Sword, and I will defend you with my Pen. Maintain my Power*, ſaith the Miniſter of State to his Soveraign, *and I will ſupport your Majeſty*.

Two things he did for the ſettlement of that Kingdome:

1. He raiſed a Compoſition in *Munſter*.

2. He eſtabliſhed the Poſſeſſions of the Lords and Tenants in *Monahan*.

Severe he was always againſt the Spaniſh Faction, but very vigilant in ----88, when the diſperſed Armado did look, but durſt not land in *Ireland*, except driven by Tempeſt, and then finding the ſhore worſe then the Sea. But *Leiceſter* dieth, and he ſails; when his Sun was ſet, it was preſently night with

with him. *Tra la ſoga con el Calderon*; where goeth the Bucket, *there goeth the Rope*; where the Principal miſcarrieth, all the Dependants fall with him: as our renowned Knight, who died where he was born, (there is a Circulation of all things to their Original) at *Milton* in *Northamptonſhire*, 1594. Q. *Eliz.*

Obſervations on the Life *of the Earl of* Pembroke.

AN excellent Man, and one that faſhioned his *own Fortune*: His Diſpoſition got favour, and his Prudence wealth, (the firſt to grace the ſecond, and the ſecond to ſupport the firſt) under King *Henry* the eigth, whoſe Brother-in-law he was by his wife, and Chamberlain by his place. When others were diſtracted with Factions in King *Edwards* Reign, he was intent upon his Intereſt, (leaning (as he ſaid) *on both ſides the ſtairs to get up*) for his ſervice, being promoted to the Maſter of the Horſes place; for his relation to the Queen-mother, to the Order of St. *George*; and in his own Right, to the Barony of *Caerdiffe*, and the Earldome of *Pembroke*.

Under Queen *Mary* his Popularity was very ſerviceable when General againſt *Wiat*; his Authority uſeful, when Preſident of *Wales*; and his Vigilancy remarkable, when Governour of *Calice*: And under Queen *Elizabeth*, for his Fidelity and ancient Honeſty he was made great Maſter of the Houſhold. But herein he failed, That being more

Q. Elix. more intent upon the future ſtate of the Kingdome under the ſucceſſion, then his own under the preſent Soveraign, he was cajoled by *Leiceſter* to promote the Queen of *Scots* Match with *Norfolk* ſo far, (neither with an ill will, (ſaith the Annaliſt) nor a bad intent) as to looſe his own favour with the Queen of *England*, who diſcovered thoſe things after his death that made him weary of his life: which was an inſtance of my Lord *Bacons* Rule, That ancient Nobility is more innocent, though not ſo active as the young one; this more vertuous, but not ſo plain as that; there being rarely any riſing but by a commixture of good and evil Arts. He was richer in his Tenants hearts then their Rents: Alas! what hath not that Nobleman, that hath an univerſal love from his Tenants? who were obſerved to live better with their encouraged induſtry upon his Copyhold, then others by their ſecure ſloath on their own Free-land. 2. His Chaplains, whoſe Merits were preferred freely and nobly to his excellent Livings, without any unworthy Gratuities to his *Gehazi*'s or Servants, or any unbecoming Obligations to himſelf. 3. His Servants, whoſe youth had its Education in his Family, and Age its Maintenance upon his Eſtate, which was favourably Let out to Tenants, and freely Leaſed to his Servants; of whom he had a Train upon any occaſion in his Family, and an Army in his Neighbourhood: an Army, I ſay, in his Neighbourhood; not to enjealous his Prince, but to ſecure him; as in *Wiats* caſe, when this *King of Hearts* would be by no means a *Knave of Clubs*.

Obſerva-

Observations on the Life of Sir Walter Mildmay.

WAlter *Mildmay*, that upright and most advised man, was born at *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, where he was a younger son to *Thomas Mildmay* Esquire. He was bred in *Christs-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he did not (as many young Gentlemen) study onely in Complement, but seriously applyed himself to his Book. Under King *Henry* the eighth, and King *Edward* the sixth, he had a gainful Office in the Court of Augmentations: during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, he practised the Politick Precept, *Bene vixit, qui bene latuit.* No sooner came Queen *Elizabeth* to the Crown, but he was called to State-employment; and it was not long before he was made Chancellour of the Exchequer. It is observed, That the Exchequer never fareth ill but under a good Prince; such who out of Conscience will not oppress their People, whilst Tyrants pass not for that they squeeze out of their Subjects. Indeed Queen *Elizabeth* was very careful not to have her Coffers swelled with the Consumption of her Kingdome, and had conscientious Officers under her; amongst whom, Sir *Walter* was a principal one. This Knight, sensible of Gods blessing on his Estate, and knowing that, *Omne beneficium requirit Officium*, cast about to make his return to God. He began with his Benefactions to *Christs-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, onely to put his hand into practice: then his Bounty embraced Cambden Eliz. 1566

Q. Eliz. braced the Generous Resolution, (which the painful piety of St. *Paul* propounds to himself, *viz.*) *Not to build on another mans foundation*, but on his own cost he erected a new Colledge in *Cambridge*, by the name of *Immanuel*. A right godly Gentleman he was; a good Man, and a good Citizen; though some of his back friends suggested to the Queen that he was a better Patriot then Subject: and he was over-popular in Parliaments, insomuch that his Life set *sub nubecula*, under a Cloud of a Royal Displeasure: yet was not the Cloud so great, but that the beams of his Innocence meeting those of the Queens Candour, had easily dispelled it, had he survived longer, as appeared by the great grief of the Queen, professed for the loss of so grave a Councellour, who leaving two Sons and three Daughters, died *anno Domini* 1589.

This Gentleman being employed by vertue of his place to advance the Queens Treasure, did it industriously, faithfully, and conscionably, without wronging the Subject, being very tender of their Priviledges; insomuch that he complained in Parliament, *That many Subsidies were granted, and no Grievances redressed:* which words being represented to his disadvantage to the Queen, made her to disaffect him, setting in a Court-Cloud, but (as he goeth on) in the Sun-shine of his Country, and a *clear Conscience*, (though a mans Conscience can be said no otherwise clear by his opposition to the Court, then a man is said to have a good heart when it is but a bold one.) But coming to Court after he had founded his Colledge, the Queen told him, *Sir* Walter, *I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation. No, Madam*, said he, *far be it from me to counte-*

countenance any thing contrary to your eſtabliſhed Laws: But I have ſet an Acorn; which when it comes to be an Oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit of it. Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Forteſcue.

AN upright and a knowing man, a great Maſter of *Greek* and *Latine*, and Overſeer of the Qu: Studies in both the Languages; Maſter of the Wardrobe, one whom ſhe truſted with the Ornaments of her ſoul and body: ſucceeding Sir *Walter Mildmay* in his prudence and piety, and in his place of Chancellor and Under-treaſurer of the Exchequer.

Two men Qu: *Eliz.* would ſay out did her expectation; *Forteſcue* for *Integrity*, and *Walſingham* for *Subtlety*, as *Cambden* writes, and *Officious ſervices*. His and *Rawleigh*'s failure was their deſign of Articling with K. *James* at his firſt coming, not ſo much (ſay ſome in their behalf) for himſelf, as for his followers, in regard of the known feud between the Nations. However, conditions unworthy of *Engliſh* Subjects to offer, and below the K. of *Great Britain* to receive, who is to make no more terms for his Kingdome than for his Birth. The very ſolemn asking of the Peoples conſent, which the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* in all the corners of the ſtage at a Coronation makes, importing no more than this; *Do you the People of* England *acknowledge, that this is the Perſon who is the Heir of the Crown?* They being abſolutely obliged to ſubmit to the Government

ment upon ſuppoſition that they abſolutely believe that he is the King.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Drury.

"SIr *William Drury* was born in *Suffolk*, where "his Worſhipful Family had long flouriſhed "at *Haulſted*. His name in *Saxon* ſoundeth "a Pearl, to which he anſwered in the pretiouſ-"neſſe of his diſpoſition, clear and heard, inno-"cent and valiant, and therefore valued deſer-"vedly by his Queen and Country. His youth was "ſpent in the *French* Wars, his middle-Age in *Scot-"land*, and his old Age in *Ireland*. He was Knight-"Marſhal of *Barwick*, at what time the *French* had "poſſeſſed themſelves of the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, "in the minority of King *James*. Queen *Eliza-"beth* employed this Sir *William* with 1500 men to "beſiege the Caſtle; which ſervice he right wor-"thily performed, reducing it within few days to "the Owner thereof. *Anno* 1575. he was ap-"pointed Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, whither he "went with competent Forces, and executed im-"partial Juſtice in deſpight of the Oppoſers there-"of. For as the Signe of *Leo* immediately prece-"deth *Virgo* and *Libra* in the Zodiack; ſo I hope "not that Innocency will be protected, or Juſtice "adminiſtred in a barbarous Country, where power "and ſtrength do not firſt ſecure a paſſage unto "them. But the Earl of *Deſmond* oppoſed this "good Preſident, forbidding him to enter the "County

" County of *Kerry*, as a Palatinate peculiarly ap- Q. *Eliz.*
" propriated unto himself. Know by the way, as
" there were but four Palatinates in *England*, *Che-*
" *ster*, *Lancaster*, *Durham* and *Ely*, (whereof the
" two former many years since were in effect inve-
" sted in the Crown) there were no fewer then eight
" Palatinates in *Ireland*, possessed by their respe-
" ctive Dynasts claiming Regal Rights therein, to the
" great retarding of the absolute Conquest of that
" Kingdome. Amongst these, (saith my Author)
" *Kerry* became the Sanctuary of Sin, and Refuge
" of Rebels, as outlawed from any Jurisdiction.
" Sir *William* no whit terrified with the Earls threat-
" ning, and declaring that no place should be a pri-
" viledge to mischief, entred *Kerry* with a compe-
" tent Train, and there dispenced Justice to all per-
" sons, as occasion did require. Thus with seven-
" score men he safely forced his return through se-
" ven hundred of the Earls, who sought to surprize
" him.

In the last year of his Life he was made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; and no doubt had performed much in his place, if not afflicted with constant sickness, the forerunner of his death, at *Waterford*, 1598.

He was one of that Military Valour which the Lord *Verulam* wisheth about a Prince in troublesome times, that held a good esteem with the Populacy, and an exact correspondence with the Nobless; whereby he united himself to each side by endearments, and divided them by distrust; watching the slow motions of the people, that they should not be excited and spirited by the Nobility; and the ambition of the Great Ones, that it should not be

Q. *Eliz.* befriended with the turbulency, or ſtrengthened with the aſſiſtance of the Commonalty. One great Act well followed did his buſineſs with the Natives, whom he ſometimes *indulged*, (giving their Diſcontents liberty to evaporate) and with the ſtrangers, whom he always *awed*. In thoſe that were commended to his ſervice, he obſerved two things: 1. That they were not advanced for their dependence, becauſe they promote a Party; which he noted to be the firſt ground of Recommendation: 2. Nor for their weakneſs, becauſe they cannot hinder it; which he remarked to be the ſecond.

Obſervations on the Life *of Sir* Thomas Smith.

SIr *Thomas Smith* was born at * *Saffron-Walden* in *Eſſex*, and bred in Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*; where ſuch his proficiency in Learning, that he was choſen out by *Henry* the eighth to be ſent over, and to be brought up beyond the Seas. It was faſhionable in that Age that pregnant Students were maintained on the coſt of the State, to be Merchants for experience in Forreign Parts; whence returning home with their gainful Adventurers, they were preferred according to the improvement of their time to Offices in their own Country. Well it were if this good old Cuſtome were reſumed: for if where God hath given five talents, Men would give but pounds, I mean, encourage hopeful Abilities with hopeful Maintenance, able perſons would never be wanting, and

* Cambd. Eliz. anno 1577.

and poor men with great Parts would not be excluded the Line of Preferment. This Sir *Thomas* was first Servant and Favourite to the Duke of *Somerset*, and afterwards Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, and a grand Benefactor to both Universities. Q. *Eliz.*

Anno 1577, when that excellent Act passed, whereby it was provided, *That a third part of the Rent upon Leases made by Colledges, should be reserved in Corn, paying it either in kind or in money, after the rate of the best prices in* Oxford *or* Cambridge-*markets, the next Market-days before* Michaelmas *or our* Lady-day: For the passing of this Act, Sir *Thomas Smith* surprized the House; and whereas many conceived not the difference between the payment of Rents in Corn or Money, the knowing Patriot took the advantage of the present cheap year, knowing that hereafter Grain would grow dearer, Mankinde dayly multiplying, and License being lately given for Transportation; so that now when the Universities have least Corn, they have most Bread. What his foresight did now for the University, his reach did the first year of Q. *Eliz.* for the Kingdome: for the first sitting of her Council he advised twelve most important things for the publick safety.

1. That the Ports should be shut.

2. That the Tower of *London* should be secured in good hands.

3. That the Deputy of *Ireland*'s Commission should be renewed and enlarged.

4. That all Officers should act.

5. That no new Office should be bestowed in a moneth.

6. That Ministers should meddle with no Controversies.

Q. Eliz. 7. That Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Forreign Princes.

8. That no Coyn ſhould be tranſported beyond Sea.

9. That no perſon of quality ſhould travel for ſix weeks.

10. That the Train-bands ſhould be muſtered.

11. That *Ireland*, the Borders, and the Seas, ſhould be provided for.

12. And that the diſſenting Nobility and Clergy ſhould be watched and ſecured. Adding withal a Paper for the Reading of the Epiſtle, the Goſpel, and the Commandments in the Engliſh Tongue, to encourage the Proteſtants expectation, and allay the Papiſts fear. In the ſame Proclamation that he drew up the Sacrament of the Altar was to be reverenced, and yet the Communion to be adminiſtred in both kinds, He adviſed a Diſputation with the Papiſts one day, (knowing that they could not diſpute without leave from the Pope, and ſo would diſparage their Cauſe; yet they could not ſay but they might diſpute for the Queen, and ſo ſatisfie the People) and is one of the * five Counſellours to whom the Deſigne of the Reformation is opened, and one of the * eight to whom the management of it was intruſted. There you might ſee him a Leading man among the States-men, here moſt eminent among Divines; at once the moſt knowing and pious man of that Age. As his Induſtry was taken up with the eſtabliſhment of our Affairs at home, ſo his Watchfulneſs (upon Sir *Edward Carnes* depoſition of his Embaſſie) was intent upon the plots of *France* and *Rome* abroad: in the firſt of which places he made a Secretary his own, and in the

* *The Marqueſs of* Northampton, *the Earl of* Bedford, John Grey *of* Pyrgo, Sir William Cecil, *and Sir* Tho. Smith

* *The Doctors* Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, Pillington, *and Sir* Tho. Smith

the ſecond a Cup-bearer. At the Treaty of *Cambray* my Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, the Lord Chamberlain, and he, brought the King of *Spain* to the Engliſh ſide in the buſineſs of *Calice*: 1. That *France* might be weakened: 2. That his *Netherlands* might be ſecured: 3. That the Queen his Sweet-heart might be obliged, until he diſcovered Queen *Elizabeths* averſeneſs to the marriage: whereupon had it not been for the Viſcount *Mountacute* (who was not ſo much a Papiſt as to forget that he was an Engliſh-man) and Sir *Thomas*, the *Spaniard* had ſtoln over *Catharine Grey*, Queen *Elizabeths* Neece, for a pretence to the Crown, as the *French* had the Queen of *Scots* her Cozen. After which, he and Sir *William Cecil* adviſed her Majeſty to that private Treaty apart, without the *Spaniard*, which was concluded 1559; as much to the *honour* of *England*, now no longer to truckle under *Spain*, as its *intereſt*, no longer in danger from *France*. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was the Metal in theſe Treaties, and Sir *Thomas Smith* the Allay: the ones mildneſs being to mitigate that animoſity which the others harſhneſs had begot; and the others ſpirit to recover thoſe advantages which this mans eaſineſs had yeilded. Yet he ſhewed himſelf as much a man in demanding, as Sir *William Cheyney* in gaining *Caliee*; replying ſmartly upon Chancellour *Hoſpitals* Diſcourſe of ancient Right, the *late* * *Treaty*; and upon *Montmorency*'s Harangue of Fears, *Conſcience*. Pitying the neglected ſtate of *Ireland*, he obtained a Colony to be planted under his baſe Son in the Eaſt-Coaſt of *Ulſter*, called *Ardes*, at once to civilize and ſecure that place. So eminent was this Gentleman for his Learning, that he

Q. Eliz.

* At Cambray.

Q. *Eliz.* was at once Steward of the Stannaries, Dean of *Carliſle*, and Provoſt of *Eaton* in King *Edward*'s time, and had a Penſion (on condition he went not beyond Sea, ſo conſiderable he was!) in Queen *Mary*'s.

Well he deſerved of the *Commonwealth* of Learning by his Books; 1. Of *The Commonwealth of* England, 2. Of *The Orthography of the Engliſh Tongue*, and of the Pronunciation of Greek; and 3. an exact Commentary of matters, ſaith Mr. *Cambden*, worthy to be publiſhed.

Obſervations on the Lives of Dr. Dale, *the Lord* North, *Sir* Thomas Randolph.

I Put theſe Gentlemen together in my Obſervations, becauſe I finde them ſo in their Employments: the one Agent, the other Leiger, and the third Extraordinary Embaſſador in *France*; the firſt was to manage our Intelligence in thoſe dark times, the ſecond to urge our Intereſt in thoſe troubleſome days, and the third to repreſent our Grandeur. No man underſtood the French correſpondence with the Scots better then Sir *Thomas Randolph*, who ſpent his active life between thoſe Kingdomes: none knew better our Concerns in *France* and *Spain* then *Valentine Dale*, who had now ſeen ſix Treaties; in the firſt three whereof he had been Secretary, and in the laſt a Commiſſioner: None fitter to repreſent our ſtate then my Lord

Lord *North*, who had been two years in *Walſingham's* houſe, four in *Leiceſters* ſervice; had ſeen ſix Courts, twenty Battles, nine Treaties, and four ſolemn Juſts; whereof he was no mean part, as a reſerved man, a valiant Souldier, and a Courtly Perſon. So ſly was *Dale*, that he had a ſervant always attending the Queen-mother of *France*, the Queen of Scots, and the King of *Navarre*: ſo watchful Sir *Thomas Randolph*, that the ſame day he ſent our Agent in *Scotland* notice of a deſigne to carry over the young King, and depoſe the Regent, he adviſed our Queen of a Match between the King of Scot's Uncle and the Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*'s Daughter; and gave the Earl of *Huntington*, then Preſident of the North, thoſe ſecret inſtructions touching that matter, that (as my Lord *Burleigh* would often acknowledge) ſecured that Coaſt. My L. *North* watched the ſucceſſes of *France*, Dr. *Dale* their Leagues; and both took care that the Prince of *Orange* did not throw himſelf upon the Protection of *France*, always a *dangerous* Neighbour, but with that *acceſſion* a dreadful one. Sir *John Horſey* in *Holland* propoſed much, but did nothing; Sir *Thomas Randolph* in *France* performed much, and ſaid nothing: yet both with Dr. *Dales* aſſiſtance made *France* and *Spain* the Scales in the balance of *Europe*, and *England* the tongue or holder of the balance, while they held the Spaniard in play in the *Netherlands*, watched the French Borders, and kept conſtant Agents with *Orange* and *Don John*. Neither was Sir *Thomas* leſs in *Scotland* then in *France*, where he betakes himſelf firſt to *reſolution* in his *Proteſtation*, and then to *cunning* in his *Negotiation*; encouraging *Morton* Q. *Eliz.*

Q. Eliz. on the one hand, and amuſing *Lenox* on the other; keeping fair weather with the young King, and yet practiſing with *Marre* and *Anguſe*. Nothing plauſible indeed, ſaith *Cambden*, was he with the wiſe, though youthful King *James*; yet very dexterous in Scotiſh humours, and very prudent in the Northern Affairs; very well ſeen in thoſe intereſts, and as ſucceſsful in thoſe Negotiations; witneſs the firſt and advantageous League 1586. *Video & rideo*, is Gods Motto upon Affronts; *Video & Taceo*, was Queen *Elizabeths*; *Video nec video*, was Sir *Thomas Randolphs*. Theſe three men treated with the *Spaniard* near *Oſtend* for Peace, while the *Spaniard* prepared himſelf on our Coaſt for War. So much did Sir *James Crofts* his affection for Peace exceed his judgement of his Inſtruction, that he would needs ſteal over to *Bruſſels* to make it, with no leſs commendation for the prudent Articles he propoſed, then cenſure for the hazard he incurred in the Propoſal. So equal and even did old *Dale* carry himſelf, that the Duke of *Parma* ſaw in his Anſwers the Engliſh ſpirit, and therefore (ſaith my Author) durſt not try that Valour in a Nation, which he was ſo afraid of in a ſingle perſon; That he had no more to ſay to the old Gentleman, then onely this, *Theſe things are in the hand of the Almighty.*

None more inward with other men then Sir *Francis Walſingham*, none more inward with him then Sir *Thomas Randolph*: well ſtudied he was in *Juſtinians* Code, better in *Machiavils* Diſcourſes; both when a learned Student of *Chriſt-church*, and a worthy Principal of *Broadgates*: thrice therefore was he an Embaſſadour to the Lords of *Scotland* in

in a Commotion; thrice to Queen *Mary* in times of Peace; ſeven times to *James* the ſixth of *Scotland* for a good underſtanding; and thrice to *Baſilides* Emperour of *Ruſſia* for Trade: Once to *Charles* the ninth King of *France*, to diſcover his deſigne upon *Scotland*; and once to *Henry* the third, to open a Conſpiracy of his Subjects againſt him: Great Services theſe, but meanly rewarded; the ſerviceable, but moderate and modeſt man, (though he had as many children at home as he had performed Embaſſies abroad) being contented with the Chamberlainſhip of the Exchequer, and the Poſtermaſters place; the firſt but a name, and the ſecond then but a noyſe: to which were added ſome ſmall Farms, wherein he enjoyed the peace and innocence of a quiet and retired *Life*; a Life, which upon the reflexions of a tender Conſcience, he wiſhed a great while, as appears by his Letters to his dear *Walſingham*, wherein he writes, *How worthy, yea, how neceſſary a thing it was, that they ſhould at length bid Farewel to the ſnares, be of a Secretary, and himſelf of an Embaſſadour; and ſhould both of them ſet their mindes upon their Heavenly Country; and by Repenting, ask Mercy of GOD.* Q. Eliz.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Amias Poulet.

* *Who put Cardinal* Wolſey, *then but a Schoolmaſter, in the Stocks.*

SIr *Amias Poulet*, born at *Hinton St. George* in *Somerſetſhire*, Son to Sir *Hugh*, and Grandchilde to Sir * *Amias Poulet*, was Chancellour of the Garter, Governour of the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Gernſey*, and Privy-Councellour to Queen *Elizabeth*. He was ſo faithful and truſty, that the Queen committed the keeping of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* to his cuſtody, which he diſcharged with great fidelity.

As *Cæſar* would have his Wife, ſo he his Spirit, above the very ſuſpicion of unworthineſs; equally conſulting his *Fame* and his *Conſcience*. When he performed his laſt Embaſſie, with no leſs ſatisfaction to the King of *France*, then honour to the Queen of *England*, (at once with a *good humor* and a *great ſtate*) he would not accept a Chain (and all Gifts are Chains) from that King by any means, until he was a League from *Paris*: *then* he took it, becauſe he would *oblige* that Prince; and not till then, becauſe he would not be obliged by any but his Soveraign, ſaying, *I will wear no Chains but my Miſtreſſes*. It is the Intereſt of Princes, that their *Servants Fortune* ſhould be above the temptation; it is their happineſs, that their *Spirits* are above the reſpects of a private concern.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Lives of Sir James Crofts, John Grey *of* Pyrgo, *Sir* Henry Gates.

EMblems of Honour derived from Anceſtors, are but rotten Rags, where ignoble Poſterity degenerates from their Progenitors: but they are both glorious and precious where the children both anſwer and exceed the Vertues of their extraction; as in theſe three Gentlemen, whoſe Anceſtors fill both Pages of former Kings Chronicles, as they do the Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*: Three Gentlemen whom it's pity to part in their *Memoires*, ſince they were always together in their Employments. All three were like to die in Queen *Mary*'s days for the profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, all three ſpending their Lives in Queen *Elizabeth*'s for the propagation of it: 1. Sir *Henry Gates* lying in *Rome* as a Spy, under the Notion of Cardinal *Florido*'s Secretary, ſix years; *John Grey* drawing up the whole Proceedings and Methods of the Reformation for ten years; and Sir *James Crofts* being either the vigilant and active Governour of *Berwick*, or the prudent and ſucceſsful Commiſſioner in *Scotland* for ſeven years. When the French threatned us by the way of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Northumberland* was ſent Northward for his intereſt, as Warden of the middle March; Sir *Ralph Sadler* for his wiſdome, as his Aſſiſtant and Councellour; and Sir *James Crofts* for his Conduct,

Q. *Eliz.* duct, as both their Guide and Director-general. An Eſtate in the *Purſe*, *credits* the Court; Wiſdome in the *Head*, *adorneth* it; but both in the *Hand*, *ſerve* it. Nobly did he and *Cuthbert Vaughan* beat the French that ſallied out of *Edinburgh* into their Trenches, but unhappily ſtood he an idle Spectator in his quarter the next Scalado, while the Engliſh are overthrown, and the Duke writes of his infidelity to the Queen, who diſcharged him from his Place, though not from her favour: for in ſtead of the more troubleſome Place, the Government of *Berwick*, ſhe conferred on him that more honourable, the Controllerſhip of her Houſhold. Great Service did his Valour at *Hadington* in *Scotland* againſt the French, greater his Prudence in *Ulſter* againſt the Spaniards. Although his Merit made his Honour due to him, and his Blood *becoming*: though his Cares, Travels and Dangers deſerved *pity*; his quiet and meek Nature *love*: though he riſe by wary degrees, and ſo was unobſerved; and ſtood not inſolently when up, and ſo was not obnoxious: yet Envy reflected as hot upon him as the Sun upon the riſing ground, which ſtands firm though it doth not flouriſh, as this Gentleman's reſolved Honeſty did; overcoming Court-envy with a ſolid worth; waxing old at once in years and reverence, and *dying* (as the Chronicle wherein he *dieth* not but with Time, reports it) in good favour with his Prince, and ſound reputation with all men, for three infallible ſources of Honour: 1. That he aimed at Merit more then Fame: 2. That he was not a Follower, but an Example in great Actions: and, 3. That he aſſiſted in the three great Concerns of Government, 1. in Laws, 2. in Arms, and 3. in Councils.

In

In *Æſop* there is a ſlight Fable of a deep Moral: it is this: *Two Frogs conſulted together in the time of Drowth (when many plaſhes that they had repaired to were dry) what was to be done; and the one propounded to go down into a deep Well, becauſe it was like the water would not fail there: but the other anſwered, Yea, but if it do fail, how ſhall we get up again?* Mr. *Grey* would Nod, and ſay, *Humane affairs are ſo uncertain, that he ſeemeth the wiſeſt man, not who hath a ſpirit to* go on, *but who hath a warineſs to* come off; *and that ſeems the beſt courſe, that hath moſt paſſages out of it.* Sir *James Crofts* on the other hand hated that irreſolution that would do nothing, becauſe it may be at liberty to do any thing. *Indeed*, ſaith one, *Neceſſity hath many times an advantage, becauſe it awaketh the powers of the minde, and ſtrengtheneth Endeavour.* Sir *James Crofts* was an equal Compoſition of both; as one that had one fixed eye on his *Action*, and another indifferent one on his *retreat*. Q. *Eliz.*

Obſervations on the Life of William *Lord* Grey *of* Wilton.

THat great Souldier and good Chriſtian, in whom Religion was not a *ſoftneſs*, (as *Machiavil* diſcourſeth) but a *reſolution*. *Hannibal* was *ſworn* an Enemy to *Rome* at nine years of Age, and my Lord *bred* one to *France* at fourteen. *Scipio*'s firſt ſervice was the reſcue of his Father in *Italy*, and my Lord *Grey*'s was the ſafety of his Father in *Germany*. He had *Fabius* his ſlow way, and long

Q. *Eliz.* long reach, with *Herennius* his fine Polices, and neat Ambuſcadoes; having his two Companions always by him, his Map and his Guide: the firſt whereof diſcovered to him his more obvious advantages, and the ſecond his more cloſe dangers. His great Conduct won him much eſteem with thoſe that heard of him, and his greater preſence more with thoſe that ſaw him. Obſervable his Civility to Strangers, eminent his Bounty to his Followers; obliging his Carriage in the Countries he marched through, and expert his Skill in Wars, whoſe end he ſaid was Victory, and the end of Victory Nobleneſs, made up of pity and munificence. It loſt him his Eſtate to redeem himſelf in *France*, and his Life to bear up his Reputation in *Berwick*. Having lived to all the great purpoſes of life but Self-intereſt, he died 1563, that fatal year; no leſs to the publick ſorrow of *England* which he *ſecured*, then the common joy of *Scotland*, which he *awed*. Then it was ſaid, *That the ſame day died the greateſt Scholar, and the greateſt Souldier of the Nobility*; the right honourable *Henry Manners* Earl of *Rutland* in his Gown, and the honourable Lord *Grey* in his Armour; both, as the Queen ſaid of them, *Worthies that had deſerved well of the Commonwealth by their Wiſdome, Counſel, Integrity and Courage.*

Two things my Lord always avoided: the firſt, To give many Reaſons for one thing; the heaping of Arguments arguing a needineſs in every of the Arguments by its ſelf; as if one did not truſt *any* of them, but fled from one to another, helping himſelf ſtill with the laſt. The ſecond, To break a Negotiation to too many diſtinct particulars, or to couch

couch it in too compact generals: by the firſt whereof we give the parties we deal with an opportunity to look down to the bottom of our buſineſs; and by the ſecond, to look round to the *compaſs* of it. Happy are thoſe Souls that command themſelves ſo far, that they are equally free to full and half diſcoveries of themſelves, always ready and pliable to the preſent occaſion. Not much regarded was this gallant Spirit when alive, but much miſſed when dead: we underſtand what we want, better then what we enjoy; and the beauty of worthy things is not in the face, but the back-ſide, endearing more by their departure then their addreſs. Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Edmund Plowden.

EDmund *Plowden* was born at *Plowden* in *Shropſhire*; one who excellently deſerved of our Municipal Law in his learned Writings thereon. A plodding and a ſtudious man; and no wonder if knowing and able: Beams in reflexion are hotteſt, and the Soul becomes wiſe by looking into its ſelf. But ſee the man in his *Epitaph!*

Conditur in hoc Tumulo corpus Edmundi Plowden Armigeri. Claris ortus Parentibus, apud Plowden in Comitatu Salop, natus eſt; à pueritia in literarum Studio liberaliter eſt educatus, in Provectiore vero ætate Legibus, & Juriſprudentiæ operam dedit. Senex jam factus, & annum ætatis ſuæ agens 67. Mundo

do Valedicens, in Christo Jesu Sancte obdormivit, die Sexto Mensis Februar. anno Domini 1584.

I have the rather inserted this Epitaph inscribed on his Monument on the North-side of the East-end of the Quire of Temple-Church in *London*, because it hath escaped (but by what casualty I cannot conjecture) Master *Stow* in his *Survey of London*. We must adde a few words out of the Character Mr. *Cambden* gives of him:

His Eliz. 1584.

Vitæ integritate inter homines suæ professionis nulli secundum. As he was singularly well learned in the Common Laws of *England*, whereof he deserved well by writing; so for integrity of life he was second to none of his profession. And how excellent a Medley is made, when Honesty and Ability meet in a man of his Profession! Nor must we forget how he was Treasurer for the honourable Society of the Middle-Temple, *Anno* 1572, when their magnificent Hall was builded; he being a great Advancer thereof. Finding the Coyn embased by *Henry* the eighth, so many ways prejudicial to the State, as that which first dishonoured us abroad; secondly, gave way to the frauds of Coyners at home, who exchanged the best Commodities of the Land for base Moneys, and exported the current moneys into Forreign parts; and thirdly, enhanced the prizes of all things vendible, to the great loss of all Stipendiaries: He offered, 1. That no man should melt any Metal, or export it: 2. That the Brass-money should be reduced to its just value: 3. That it should be bought for good; by which silent and just methods, that defect of our Govern-

ment

ment for many years was remedied in few moneths, Q. *Eliz.*
without any *noiſe*, or (what is proper to alterations of this nature) *diſcontent*.

The middle Region of the *Air* is cooleſt, as moſt diſtant from the direct beams that warm the higheſt, and the reflexed that heat the loweſt: the mean man, that is as much below the favour of the Court, as above the buſineſs of the Country, was in our Judges opinion the moſt happy and compoſed man; this being the utmoſt of a knowing mans wiſh in *England*, That he were as much out of the reach of contempt, as to be above a Conſtable; and as much out of the compaſs of trouble, as to be below a Juſtice. A Mean is the utmoſt that can be preſcribed either of Vertue or Bliſs, as in our Actions, ſo in our State.

Great was the Capacity, and good the Inclination of this Man; large the Furniture, and happy the Culture of his Soul; grave his Meen, and ſtately his Behaviour; well-regulated his Affections, and allayed his Paſſions; well-principled his Mind, and well-ſet his Spirit; ſolid his Obſervation, working and practical his Judgement: and as that Romane Heroe was more eminent whoſe image was miſſing, then all the reſt whoſe Portraictures were ſet up; ſo this accompliſhed Gentleman is more obſervable becauſe he was not a States-man, then ſome of thoſe that were ſo. There is a glory in the obſcurity of worthy men, who as that Sun (which they equal as well in common influence as luſtre) are moſt looked on when *eclipſed*.

Obſervations on the Life *of Sir* Roger Manwood.

SIr *Roger Manwood* born at *Sandwich* in *Kent*, attained to ſuch eminency in the Common Law, that he was preferred ſecond Juſtice of the Common Pleas by Queen *Elizabeth*: which Place he diſcharged with ſo much Ability and Integrity, that not long after he was made chief Baron of the Exchequer: which Office he moſt wiſely managed, to his great commendation, full fourteen years, to the day of his death.

Much was he employed in matters of State, and was one of the Commiſſioners who ſate on the tryal of the Queen of *Scots*. He wrote a Book on the Foreſt-Laws, which is highly prized by men of his Profeſſion. In vacation-time he conſtantly inhabited at St. *Stephens* in *Canterbury*, and was bounteouſly liberal to the poor Inhabitants thereof: and ſo charitable was he, that he erected and endowed a fair Free-ſchool at *Sandwich*, dying in the 35 of Queen *Elizabeth*, *anno Dom.* 1593.

Cloaths for neceſſity, warm Cloaths for health, cleanly for decency, laſting for ſtrength, was his Maxime and Practice, who kept a State in decent plainneſs; inſomuch that Queen *Elizabeth* called him her Good-man-Judge. In *Daviſon*'s Caſe, *Mildmay* cleared the man of malice, but taxed him with unskilfulneſs and raſhneſs: *Lumley* ſaid he was an ingenuous and an honeſt man, but preſumptuous. *I will ever eſteem him an honeſt and good man,*

man, ſaid *Grey*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* approved the fact, commended the man, but diſallowed of the manner and form of his proceedings. *Manwood* made a narrative of the Queen of Scots proceedings, confirmed the ſentence againſt her, extolled the Queens clemency, pitied *Daviſon*, and fined him 10000 *l.* Q. *Eliz.*

A man he was of a pale conſtitution, but a clear, even, and ſmooth temper; of a pretty ſolid conſiſtence, equally ſanguine and flegmatique: of a quiet ſoul, and ſerene affections: of a diſcreet ſweetneſs, and moderate manners; ſlow in paſſion, and quick enough in apprehenſion; wary in new points, and very fixed and judicious in the old. A plauſible, inſinuating, and fortunate man; the Idea of a wiſe man; having (what that elegant Educator wiſheth) *that great habit which is nothing elſe but a promptneſs and plentifulneſs in the ſtore-houſe of the mind, of clear imaginations well fixed:* which was promiſed in his erect and forward ſtature, his large breaſt, his round and capacious forehead, his curious and obſerving eye, (the clear and ſmart argument of his clearer and quicker ſoul, which owned a livelineſs equally far from volatileneſs and ſtupidity) his ſteady attention and his ſolid memory, together with what is moſt conſiderable, a grand Inclination to imitate and excel. What *Plutarch* ſaith of *Timoleon* with reference to *Epaminond*, that we may ſay of this Gentleman, *That his Life and Actions are like* Homer's *Verſes, ſmooth and flowing, equal and happy:* eſpecially in the two grand Embeliſhments of our Nature, Friendſhip and Charity. 1. Friendſhip, that ſacred thing whereof he was a paſſionate Lover, and an exact Obſerver, promoting it among

Q. *Eliz.* all men he converſed with. Surely there is not that Content on Earth like the Union of Minds and Intereſts, whereby we enjoy our ſelves by reflexion in our Friend; it being the moſt dreadful Solitude and Wildneſs of Nature, to be friendleſs. But his Friendſhip was a contracted beam to that Sun of Charity, that bleſſed all about him. His Salary was not more fixed then his Charity; He and the Poor had one Revenue, one Quarter-day: In ſtead of hiding his face from the Poor, it was his practice to ſeek for them; laying out by Truſtees for Penſioners, either hopeful or indigent, whereof he had a Catalogue that made the beſt Comment upon that Text, *The liberal man deviſeth liberal things.* This is the beſt Conveyance that ever Lawyer made, **To have and to hold** *to him and his Heirs for* **ever.**

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Chriſtopher Wray.

SIr *Chriſtopher Wray* was born in the ſpacious Pariſh of *Bedal*, the main motive which made his Daughter *Francis*, Counteſs of *Warwick*, ſcatter her Benefactions the thicker in that place. He was bred in the ſtudy of our Municipal Law; and ſuch his Proficiency therein, that in the ſixteenth of Queen *Elizabeth*, in *Michaelmas*-Term, he was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the Kings Bench. He was not like that *Judge*, *who feared neither God nor man*, but onely *one Widow*, (*leſt her importunity ſhould weary him*;) but he heartily feared God in his religious Converſation. Each man he reſpected with

with his due diſtance off of the Bench, and no man on it to byaſs his Judgement. He was *pro tempore*, Lord Privy Seal, and ſat Chief in the Court when Secretary *Daviſon* was ſentenced in the Star-Chamber. Sir *Chriſtopher* collecting the cenſures of all the Commiſſioners, concurred to Fine him: but with this comfortable concluſion, *That, as it was in the Queens Power to have him puniſhed; ſo, Her Highneſs might be prevailed with for mitigating or remitting of the Fine:* and this our Judge may be preſumed no ill Inſtrument in the procuring thereof. Q. *Eliz.*

He bountifully reflected on *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Cambridge*; which Infant-foundation had otherwiſe been ſtarved at Nurſe for want of Maintenance. We know who ſaith, *The righteous man leaveth an inheritance to his childrens children*; and the well-thriving of his third Generation, may be an evidence of his well-gotten Goods. This worthy Judge died *May* the eighth, in the thirty fourth of Queeen *Elizabeth*. When Judge *Mounſon* and Mr. *Dalton* urged in *Stubs* his Caſe, (that Writ againſt Queen *Elizabeth*'s marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*) That the Act of *Philip* and *Mary* againſt *the Authors and ſowers of ſeditious Writings* was miſtimed, and that it died with Queen *Mary*; my Lord Chief Juſtice *Wray*, upon whom the Queen relied in that caſe, ſhewed there was no miſtaking in the noting of the time; and proved by the words of the Act, that the Act was made againſt thoſe which ſhould violate the King by ſeditious writing; and that the King of *England* never dieth: yea, that that Act was renewed *anno primo Eliz.* during the life of her and the heirs of her body.

Q. *Eliz.* Five Particulars I have heard old men ſay he was choice in: 1. His Friend, which was always wiſe and equal; 2. His Wife; 3. His Book; 4. His Secret; 5. His Expreſſion and Garb. By four things he would ſay an Eſtate was kept: 1. By underſtanding it; 2. By ſpending not until it comes; 3. By keeping old Servants; 4. By a Quarterly Audit. The properties of Infancy, is Innocence; of Childhood, Reverence; of Manhood, Maturity; and of Old Age, Wiſdome: Wiſdome! that in this grave Perſon acted all its brave parts; *i. e.* was mindful of what is paſt, obſervant of things preſent, and provident for things to come. No better inſtance whereof need be alledged then his pathetick Diſcourſes in the behalf of thoſe two great *Stays* of this Kingdome, Husbandry and Merchandize: for he had a clear diſcerning Judgement, and that not onely in points of Law, which yet his Arguments and Deciſions in that Profeſſion manifeſt without diſpute; but in matters of Policy and Government, wherein his Gueſs was uſually as near Prophecy as any mans: as alſo in the little myſteries of private manage, by which upon occaſion he hath unravelled the ſtudied cheats and intrigues of the Cloſetmen: to which when you adde his happy faculty of communicating himſelf, by a free and graceful elocution, to charm and command his Audience, aſſiſted by the attractive dignity of his preſence, you will not admire that he managed his Juſticeſhip with ſo much ſatisfaction to the Court, and that he left it with ſo much applauſe from the Country: for theſe two Peculiarities he had, That none was more tender to the Poor, or more civil in private; and yet none more ſtern to the Rich, I mean Juſtices of Peace,

Peace, Officers, *&c.* or more ſevere in publick. He delighted indeed to *be loved*, not *reverenced:* yet knew he very well how to aſſert the Dignity of his Place and Function from the Approaches of Contempt. Q. *Eliz.*

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Worceſter.

THE Lord of *Worceſter*, (a no mean Favourite) was of the ancient and noble Blood of the *Beauforts*, and of the Queens Grandfathers line by the Mother; which ſhe could never forget, eſpecially where there was a concurrency of old Blood with Fidelity, a mixture which ever ſorted with the Queens Nature. He was firſt made Maſter of the Horſe, and then admitted of her Council of State. In his Youth (part whereof he ſpent before he came to reſide at Court) he was a very fine Gentleman, and the beſt Horſe-man and Tilter of the Times, which were then the manlike and noble recreations of the Court: and when years had abated theſe exerciſes of Honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound Counſellour. He was the laſt Liver of all the Servants of her favour, and had the honour to ſee his renowned Miſtreſs, and all of them laid in the places of their reſt; and for himſelf, after a life of a very noble and remarkable reputation, he died in a peaceable Old Age, full of Riches and Honour. His Fathers temperance reached to 97 years of Age, becauſe he never eat but one Meal a day; and his ſpa-

Q. *Eliz.* ringneſs attained to 84, becauſe he never eat but of one Diſh. He came to the Queens favour, becauſe as her Father ſo ſhe loved *a man*; he kept in, becauſe as her Father too ſo ſhe loved *an able man*. His Manlike Recreations commended him to the Ladies, his prudent Atchievments to the Lords. He was made Maſter of the Horſe becauſe active, and Privy Counſellour becauſe wiſe: His Miſtreſs excuſed his Faith, which was Popiſh; but honoured his Faithfulneſs, which was Roman; it being her uſual ſpeech, that my Lord of *Worceſter* had *reconciled* what ſhe thought *inconſiſtent*, *a ſtiff Papiſt to a good ſubject*. His Religion was not pompous, but ſolid; not the ſhew of his life, but the comfort of his ſoul. A great Maſter he was of others affections, and greater of his own paſſions: many things diſpleaſed, nothing angered my Lord of *Worceſter*, whoſe Maxime was, *That he would not be diſordered within himſelf, onely becauſe things were out of order without him*: He had this Maxime whence he had his Nature, from his prudent Father Sir *Charles Somerſet*, the firſt Earl of *Worceſter* of that Name, whoſe temper was ſo pliable, and nature ſo peaceable, that being asked (as it is uſually reported of him) How he paſſed ſo troubleſome a Reign as King *Henry*'s, ſo uncertain as King *Edward*'s, ſo fierce as Queen *Mary*'s, and ſo unexpected as Queen *Elizabeth*'s, with ſo quiet, ſo fixed, ſo ſmooth, ſo reſolved and ready a mind and frame? anſwered, It was becauſe he underſtood the *Intereſt* of the Kingdome, while others obſerved its *Humours*. His firſt Publick Service was to repreſent the Grandeur of his Miſtreſs at the Chriſtening of the *Daulphine* of *France*, and his laſt *the like* at the marriage of the King of Scots,

Scots, whom he honoured with the Garter from his Miſtreſs, and adviſed to beware of Papiſts from the Council. Q. *Eliz.*

The frame of this Noble Mans body, (as it is delineated by Sir *W. P.*) ſeems ſuited to the Noble uſe it was deſigned for, The entertaining of a moſt pure and active Soul; but equally to the advantage of ſtrength and comelineſs, befriended with all proportionate Dimenſions, and a moſt grave, yet obliging Carriage. There was a clear ſprightfulneſs in his Complexion, but a ſad reſervedneſs in his Nature; both making up that bleſſed compoſiton of a wiſe and winning man, of as great hardſhip of body, as nobleneſs of ſpirit. Of a quick ſight, and an accurate ear; a ſteady obſervation, and ready expreſſion; with the Torrent whereof he at once pleaſed King *James*, and amazed King *Henry*, being the moſt natural Orator in the world. Among all which Endowments, I had almoſt forgot his memory, that was very faithful to him in things and buſineſs, though not punctilio's and formalities. Great Parts he had, the range and compaſs whereof filled the whole circle of generous Learning in that Perſon, as it hath done in the following Heroes of that Family to this day.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Killigrew.

TRavellers report, That the place wherein the body of *Abſalom* was buried is ſtill extant at *Jeruſalem*, and that it is a ſolemn cuſtome of Pilgrims paſſing by it to caſt a ſtone on the place: but a well-diſpoſed man can hardly go by the memory of this worthy perſon without doing grateful homage thereunto, in beſtowing upon him one or two of our Obſervations. It's a queſtion ſometimes whether the Diamond gives more luſtre to the Ring it's ſet in, or the Ring to the Diamond: This Gentleman received honour from his Family, and gave renown to it. Writing is the character of the ſpeech as that is of the mind. From *Tully* (whoſe Orations he could repeat to his dying day) he gained an even and apt ſtile, flowing at one and the ſelf-ſame heighth. *Tully's Offices*, a Book which Boys read, and men underſtand, was ſo eſteemed of my Lord *Burleigh*, that to his dying day he always carried it about him, either in his boſome or his pocket, as a compleat piece that, like *Ariſtotle's* Rhetorick, would make both a Scholar and an Honeſt man. *Cicero's* magnificent Orations againſt *Anthony*, *Catilin* and *Verres*; *Caſar's* great Commentaries that he wrote with the ſame ſpirit that he fought; flowing *Livy*; grave, judicious and ſtately *Tacitus*; eloquent, but faithful *Curtius*; brief and rich *Saluſt*; prudent and brave *Xenophon*, whoſe Perſon was *Themiſtocles* his Companion, as his Book was *Scipio*

Affri-

Affricanus his Pattern in all his Wars; ancient and sweet *Herodotus*; sententious and observing *Thucydides*; various and useful *Polybius*; *Siculus*, *Halicarnasseus*, *Trogus*, *Orosius*, *Justine*, made up our young mans Retinue in all his Travels, where (as *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* writes) he *sate on the stage of Humane Life, observing the great circumstances of places, persons, times, manners, occasions*, &c. *and was made wise by their example who have trod the path of errour and danger before him.* To which he added that grave, weighty, and sweet *Plutarch*, whose Books (said *Gaza*) would furnish the world, were all others lost. Neither was he amazed in the Labyrinth of History, but guided by the Clue of *Cosmography*, hanging his Study with Maps, and his Mind with exact Notices of each place. He made in one View a Judgement of the Situation, Interest, and Commodities (for want whereof many States-men and Souldiers have * failed) of Nations: but to understand the nature of places, is but a poor knowledge, unless we know how to improve them by Art; therefore under the Figures of Triangles, Squares, Circles and Magnitudes, with their terms and bounds, he could contrive most tools and instruments, most Engines, and judge of Fortifications, Architecture, Ships, Wind and Water-works, and whatever might make this lower frame of things useful and serviceable to mankinde: which severer Studies he relieved with noble and free Poetry-aid, once the pleasure and advancement of the Soul, made by those higher motions of the minde more active and more large. To which I adde her Sister Musick, wherewith he revived his tired spirits, lengthened (as he said) his sickly days, opened his

Q. Elix.

* *As* Cyrus at Thermopylæ, Crassus in Parthia: *therefore* Alexander *had exact Maps always about him to observe Passages, Streights, Rocks, Plains, Rivers*, &c.

Q. Eliz. his oppreſſed breaſt, eaſed his melancholy thought, graced his happy pronunciation, ordered and refined his irregular and groſs inclination, fixed and quickened his floating and dead notions; and by a ſecret, ſweet and heavenly Vertue, raiſed his ſpirit as he confeſſed, ſometime to a little leſs then Angelical Exaltations. Curious he was to pleaſe his ear, and as exact to pleaſe his eye; there being no Statues, Inſcriptions or Coyns that the *Vertuoſi* of *Italy* could ſhew, the Antiquaries of *France* could boaſt of, or the great Hoarder of Rarities the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, (whoſe antick Coyns are worth 100000 *l.*) could pretend to, that he had not the view of. No man could draw any place or work better, none fancy and paint a Portraicture more lively; being a *Durer* for proportion, a *Goltzius* for a bold touch, variety of poſture, a curious and true ſhadow, an *Angelo* for his happy fancy, and an *Holben* for Oyl-works.

Neither was it a bare Ornament of Diſcourſe, or naked Diverſion of leiſure time; but a moſt weighty piece of Knowledge, that he could blazon moſt noble and ancient Coats, and thereby diſcern the relation, intereſt, and correſpondence of great Families, and thereby the meaning and bottom of all tranſactions, and the moſt ſucceſsful way of dealing with any one Family. His Exerciſes were ſuch as his Employments were like to be, gentile and manlike, whereof the two moſt eminent were Riding and Shooting, that at once wholſomely ſtirred, and nobly knitted and ſtrengthened his Body. Two Eyes he ſaid he travelled with; the one of warineſs upon himſelf, the other of obſervation upon others. This compleat Gentleman was Guardian to the young *Brandon* in his younger years, Agent for Sir

John

John Maſon in King *Edward* the ſixth's time, and the firſt Embaſſador for the State in Queen *Elizabeths* time. My Lord *Cobham* is to amuſe the *Spaniard*, my Lord *Effingham* to undermine the *French*, and Sir *Henry Killigrew* is privately ſent to engage the *German* Princes againſt *Auſtria* in point of Intereſt, and for her Majeſty in point of Religion: he had an humour that bewitched the Elector of *Bavaria*, a Carriage that awed him of *Mentz*, a Reputation that obliged them of *Colen* and *Hydelbergh*, and that reach and fluency in Diſcourſe that won them all. He aſſiſted the Lords *Hunſdon* and *Howard* at the Treaty with *France* in *London*, and my Lord of *Eſſex* in the War for *France* in *Britain*. Neither was he leſs obſervable for his own Conduct then for that of others, whoſe ſevere thoughts, words and carriage ſo awed his inferiour faculties, as to reſtrain him through all the heats of youth, made more then uſually importunate by the full vigour of a high and ſanguine Conſtitution; inſomuch that they ſay he looked upon all the approaches to that ſin, then ſo familiar to his Calling as a Souldier, his Quality as a Gentleman, and his Station as a Courtier, not onely with an utter diſallowance in his Judgement, but with a natural abhorency and antipathy in his very lower inclinations. To which happineſs it conduced not a little, that though he had a good, yet he had a reſtrained appetite (a Knife upon his Throat as well as upon his Trencher) that indulged it ſelf neither frequent nor delicate entertainment; its Meals, though but once a day, being its preſſures; and its faſts, its only ſenſualities: to which temperance in diet adde, but that in ſleep, together with his diſpoſal of himſelf Q. *Eliz.*

Q. *Eliz.* self throughout his life to industry and diligence, you will say he was a spotless man, whose life taught us this Lesson, (which if observed, would accomplish Mankinde; and which King *Charles* the first would inculcate to noble Travellers, and Dr. *Hammond* to all men) *To be furnished always with something to do:* A Lesson they proposed as the best expedient for Innocence and Pleasure; the foresaid blessed man assuring his happy Hearers, *That no burthen is more heavy, or temptation more dangerous, then to have time lie on ones hand; the idle man being not onely* (as he worded it) *the Devils shop, but his kingdome too; a model of, and an appendage unto Hell, a place given up to torment and to mischief.*

Observations on the Life of Arthur Gray *Baron of* Wilton.

ARthur *Gray* Baron of *Wilton* is justly reckoned amongst the Natives of *Buckinghamshire*, whose Father had his habitation (not at *Wilton* a decayed Castle in *Herefordshire*, whence he took his Title, but) at *Waddon*, a fair House of his Family not far from *Buckingham*.

He succeeded to a small Estate, much diminished on this sad occasion. His Father *William* Lord *Gray* being taken Prisoner in *France*, after long ineffectual soliciting to be (because captivated in the publick service) redeemed on the publick charge, at last was forced to ransome himself with the sale of the best part of his Patrimony. Our *Arthur* endeavoured to advance his Estate by his Valour, being

being entred into Feats of War under his Martial Father at the ſiege of *Leith* 1560, where he was ſhot in the ſhoulder, which inſpirited him with a conſtant antipathy againſt the Scots. He was afterwards ſent over Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, *anno* 1580; where before he had received the Sword, or any Emblems of Command, *ut acrioribus initiis terrorem incuteret*, to fright his foes with fierce beginnings, he unfortunately fought the Rebels at *Glandilough*, to the great loſs of Engliſh Blood. This made many commend his Courage above his Conduct, till he recovered his credit, and finally ſuppreſſed the Rebellion of *Deſmond*. Returning into *England*, the Queen chiefly relied on his counſel for ordering our Land-forces againſt the *Spaniards* in 88, and fortifying places of advantage. The mention of that year (critical in Church-differences about diſcipline at home, as well as with forreign force abroad) mindeth me that this Lord was but a back-friend to Biſhops; and in all diviſions of Votes in Parliament or Council-table, ſided with the Anti-prelatical Party. When Secretary *Daviſon*, that State-Pageant, (raiſed up on purpoſe to be put down) was cenſured in the Star-chamber about the buſineſs of the Queen of Scots, this Lord *Gray* onely defended him, as doing nothing therein but what became an able and honeſt Miniſter of State. An Ear-witneſs ſaith, *Hæc fusè oratoriè & animosè Greium diſſerentem audivimus*. So that beſides bluntneſs, (the common and becoming Eloquence of Souldiers) he had a real Rhetorick, and could very emphatically expreſs himſelf. Indeed this Warlike Lord would not wear two heads under one Helmet, and may be ſaid always to have born

Q. *Eliz.*

his

Q. *Eliz.* his Beaver open, not diſſembling in the leaſt degree, but owning his own Judgement at all times what he was. He deceaſed *anno Domini* 1593.

Three things he was obſerved eminent for: 1. Diſpatch; *San Joſeph* having not been a week in *Ireland*, before he had environed him by Sea and Land. 2. For his reſolution, that he would not parley with him till he was brought to his mercy, hanging out a white flag with *Miſericordia*, *Miſericordia*. 3. For his Prudence: 1. That he ſaved the Commanders, to oblige the *Spaniard:* 2. That he plundered the Country, to enrich his Souldiers: 3. That he decimated the Souldiery, to terrifie Invaders; and hanged all the *Iriſh*, to amaze the Traytors.

Henry Fitz-alan Earl of *Arundel* when Steward at King *Edward's* Coronation, or Conſtable at Queen *Mary's*, was the firſt that rid in a Coach in *England*; my Lord *Gray* was the firſt that brought a Coach hither: one of a working Brain, and a great *Mechaniſt* himſelf, and no leſs a Patron to the Ingenious that were ſo. That there was an emulation between him and *Suſſex*, was no wonder; but that the inſtance wherein he thought to diſgrace him, ſhould be his ſeverity to the Engliſh Traytor, and the Forreign Invadors, would ſeem ſtrange to any but thoſe that conſider, 1. That Princes of late would ſeem as they look on the end, and not the means; ſo they hug a cruelty, and frown on the inſtrument of it; who while he honeſtly ſacrificeth ſome irregular particulars to the intereſt of Soveraignty, may be made himſelf a ſacrifice to the paſſion of populacy. And, 2. which is the caſe here, That aſpiring Princes may employ ſeverer Natures, but ſetled ones uſe the more moderate. *Love* keeps up the *Empire* which *Power* hath ſet up.

Obſer-

Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Thomas *Lord* Burge.

THomas Lord *Burge* or *Borough* was born in his Fathers noble Houſe at *Gainsborough* in the County of *Lincoln*. He was ſent Embaſſadour into *Scotland* in 1593, to excuſe *Bothwel* his lurking in *England*, to adviſe the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the Spaniſh Faction, to advance the Proteſtants in that Kingdome for their Kings defence, and to inſtruct that King about his Council; which was done accordingly.

He was made Lord-Deputy of *Ireland anno* 1597, in the room of Sir *William Ruſſel*. Mr. *Cambden* ſaith thus of him:

> *Vir acer, & animi plenus, ſed nullis ferè Caſtrorum rudimentis.*

As ſoon as the Truce with *Tyrone* was expired, he ſtraightly beſieged the Fort of *Black-water*, (the onely receptacle of the Rebels in thoſe parts, beſides their Woods and Bogs.) Having taken this Fort by force, preſently followed a bloody Battle, wherein the Engliſh loſt many worthy men. He was ſtruck with untimely death before he had continued a whole year in his Place; it being wittily obſerved of the ſhort Lives of many worthy men, *Fatuos à morte defendit ipſa inſulſitas, ſi cui plus cæteris aliquantulum ſalis inſit (quod miremini) ſtatim putreſcit.* Things *rare* deſtroy themſelves; thoſe two things

Netherſole Fun. Orat. Prince Hen. p. 15, 16, 17.

Q. *Eliz.* things being incompatible in our nature, *Perfection* and *Laſtingneſs.*

His Education was not to any particular Profeſſion, yet his Parts able to manage all. *A large Soul and a great Spirit apart from all advantages, can do wonders.* His Maſter-piece was Embaſſie, where his brave Eſtate ſet him above reſpects and compliance, and his comely Perſon above contempt. His Geography and Hiſtory led to the Intereſt of other Princes, and his Experience to that of his own. His skill in moſt Languages helped him to underſtand others; and his reſolution to uſe onely his own, to be reſerved himſelf. In two things he was very ſcrupulous: 1. In his Commiſſion, 2. In his Servants, whom he always (he ſaid) found honeſt enough, but ſeldome quick and reſerved. And in two things very careful: *viz.* 1. The time and humour of his Addreſſes; 2. The Intereſt, Inclinations and Dependencies of Favourites. A grave and ſteady man, *obſerving* every thing, but affected with nothing; keeping as great diſtance between his looks and his heart, as between his words and his thonghts. Very exact for his priviledges, very cold and indifferent in his motions, which were always guided by the emergencies in that Country, and by his intelligence from home. Good he was in purſuing his limited inſtruction, excellent where he was *free*; and his Buſineſs was not his *obedience* onely, but his *diſcretion* too: that never failed but in his laſt enterprize, which he undertook without any apparent advantage, and attempted without intelligence: An Enterprize well worthy his invincible Courage, but not his accuſtomed Prudence; which ſhould never expoſe the perſon of a General to the danger of a common Souldier. *Ob-*

Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of William *Lord* Pawlet.

William Pawlet (where-ever born) had his largeſt Eſtate and higheſt Honour (Baron of *Baſing*, and Marqueſs of *Winchester*) in *Hantſhire*. He was deſcended from a younger houſe of the *Pawlets* in *Hinton St. George* in *Somerſetſhire*, as by the Creſcent in his Arms is acknowledged. * One telleth us, That he being a younger Brother, and having waſted all that was left him, came to Court on truſt; where, upon the ſtock of his Wit, he trafficked ſo wiſely, and proſpered ſo well, that he got, ſpent, and left, more then any Subject ſince the Conqueſt. Indeed he lived at the time of the diſſolution of Abbeys, which was the Harveſt of Eſtates; and it argued idleneſs if any Courtier had his Barns empty. He was Servant to King *Henry* the ſeventh; and for thirty years together Treaſurer to King *Henry* the eighth, *Edward* the ſixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*: the later in ſome ſort owed their Crowns to his Counſel, his Policy being the principal Defeater of Duke *Dudley*'s Deſigne to diſ-inherit them. I behold this Lord *Pawlet* like to aged *Adoram*, ſo often mentioned in Scriptures, being over the Tribute in the days of King *a David*, all the Reign of King *b Solomon*, until the firſt *c* year of *Rehoboam*. And though our Lord *Pawlet* enjoyed his Place not ſo many years, yet did he ſerve more Soveraigns, in more mutable times, being (as he ſaid of himſelf)

* *Sir* Rob. Naunton in *his* Fragmenta Regalia.

a 2 Sam. 20. 24.
b 1 King. 4. 6.
c 1 King. 12.

Q. Eliz. *No Oak, but an Oſier.* Herein the Parallel holds not: the hoary hairs of *Adoram* were ſent to the Grave by a violent *d* death, ſlain by the People in a Tumult; this Lord had the rare happineſs of *inarmis*, ſetting in his full ſplendour, having lived 97 years, and ſeen 103 out of his body. He died *anno Domini* 1572. Thus far Mr. *Fuller.*

d Ibidem.

This Gentleman had two Rules as uſeful for Mankinde, as they ſeem oppoſite to one another.

1. That in our Conſiderations and Debates, we ſhould not dwell in deceitful Generals, but look into clear Particulars.

2. That in our Reſolutions and Concluſions, we ſhould not reſt on various Particulars, but riſe to uniform Generals.

A Man he was that reverenced himſelf; that could be vertuous when alone, and good when onely his own Theatre, his own applauſe, though excellent, before the world; his vertue improving by fame and glory, as an heat which is doubled by reflexion.

Obſervations on the Life *of Sir* James Dier.

"*James Dier* Knight, younger Son to *Richard* "*Dier* Eſquire, was born at *Round-hill* in *So-*"*merſetſhire*, as may appear to any by the "Heralds Viſitation thereof. He was bred "in the ſtudy of our Municipal Law, and was "made

"made Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Q. Eliz.
"*primo Eliz.* continuing therein twenty four years.
"When *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* was, *anno* 1572,
"arraigned for Treaſon, this Judge was preſent
"thereat, on the ſame token, that when the Duke
"deſired Counſel to be aſſigned him, pleading that
"it was granted to *Humphrey Stafford* in the Reign
"of King *Henry* the ſeventh, our Judge returned
"unto him, That *Stafford* had it allowed him only
"as to point of Law, then in diſpute, *viz. Whether*
"*he was legally taken out of the Sanctuary?* but as
"for matter of Fact, neither he, nor any ever had
"or could have Counſel allowed him.

"But let his *own works praiſe him in the Gates*,
"(known for the place of publick Juſtice amongſt
"the Jews) let his learned Writings, called, *The*
"*Commentaries* or *Reports*, evidence his Abilities
"in his Profeſſion. He died in 25 *Eliz.* (though
"married) without any iſſue; and there is a Houſe
"of a Baronet of his Name (deſcended from an
"elder Son of *Richard*, Father to our Judge) at
"great *Stoughton* in *Huntingtonſhire*, well impro-
"ved I believe with the addition of the *Judges E-*
"*ſtate.*

There is a Manuſcript of this worthy Judge, wherein are ſix and forty Rules for the preſervation of the Commonwealth, as worthy our Obſervation as they were his Collection.

1. *That the true Religion be eſtabliſhed.*
2. *To keep the parts of the Commonwealth equal.*
3. *That the middle ſort of people exceed both the extreams.*
4. *That the Nobility be called to ſerve, or at leaſt*

Q. Eliz. *to appear at the Court by themſelves, or by the hopes of their Families their Children.*

5. *That the Court pay well.*

6. *That Trade be free; and Manufactures, with all other Ingenuities, encouraged.*

7. *That there be no co-equal Powers, nor any other Uſurpations againſt the Foundation.*

8. *That there be notice taken of wiſe and well-affected Perſons to employ them.*

9. *That Corruption be reſtrained.*

10. *That the Prince ſhew himſelf abſolute in his Authority firſt, and then indulgent in his Nature.*

11. *That the firſt ferment of ſedition, want, &c. be conſidered.*

12. *That Preferments be beſtowed on merit, and not faction.*

13. *That troubleſome perſons be employed abroad.*

14. *That Emulations be over-ruled.*

15. *That the ancient and moſt eaſie way of Contributions when neceſſary, be followed.*

16. *That the Youth be diſciplined.*

17. *That Diſcourſes and Writings of Government, and its myſteries, be reſtrained.*

18. *That the active and buſie be taken to Employment.*

19. *That the King ſhew himſelf often in Majeſty, tempered with familiarity, eaſie acceſs, tenderneſs, &c.*

20. *That the Prince perform ſome unexpected actions at Court himſelf.*

21. *That no one man be gratified with the grievance of many.*

22. *That Acts of Grace paſs in the chief Magiſtrates Name, and Acts of Severity in the Miniſters.*

23. *That*

23. *That the Prince borrow when he hath no need.* Q. Eliz.

24. *That he be ſo well furniſhed with Warlike Proviſions, Citadels, Ships, as to be renowned for it.*

25. *That the Neighbour-States be balanced.*

26. *That the Prince maintain very knowing Agents, Spies and Intelligencers.*

27. *That none be ſuffered to raiſe a* Quarrel *between the Prerogative and the Law.*

28. *That the People be awaked by Muſters.*

29. *That in caſes of Faction, Colonies and Plantations be found out to receive ill humours.*

30. *That the Seas, the Sea-coaſts and Borders be ſecured.*

31. *That the Prince be either reſident himſelf, or by a good-natured and popular Favourite.*

32. *To act things by degrees, and check all the haſty, importunate, raſh and turbulent, though well-affected.*

33. *That the Inhabitants have* Honour *promiſcuouſly, but that* Power *be kept in the Well-affected's hands.*

34. *That there be as far as can be plain dealing, and the people never think they are deceived.*

35. *That there be a ſtrict eye kept upon Learning, Arms, and Mechanical Arts.*

36. *That there be frequent Wars.*

37. *To obſerve the Diviſions among Favourites, though not to encourage them.*

38. *That an account be given of the Publick Expences.*

39. *That Inventions be encouraged.*

40. *That the Country be kept in its due dependance on the Crown againſt the times of War, Elections, &c. and to that purpoſe that the Courtiers keep good houſes, &c.*

Q. Eliz.

41. *That no diſobliged perſon be truſted.*

42. *That Executions be few, ſuddain and ſevere.*

43. *To improve the benefit of a Kingdomes Situation.*

44. *That the Liberties and Priviledges of the Subject be ſo clearly ſtated, that there may be no pretences for worſe purpoſes.*

45. *That the Coyn be neither tranſported nor embaſed.*

46. *That Luxury be ſuppreſſed.*

Maximes theſe! that ſpake our Judge ſo converſant with Books and Men, that that may be applyed to him, which is attributed to as great a Divine as he was a Lawyer, *viz. That he never talked with himſelf.*

Obſervations on the Life *of Sir* William Pelham.

SIr *William Pelham* was a Native of *Suſſex*, whoſe ancient and wealthy Family hath long flouriſhed in *Laughton* therein. His Prudence in Peace, and Valour in War, cauſed Queen *Elizabeth* to employ him in *Ireland*, where he was by the Privy-Council appointed Lord Chief Juſtice to govern that Land in the interim betwixt the death of Sir *William Drury*, and the coming in of *Arthur Gray*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Say not that he did but ſtop a gap for a twelvemonth at the moſt, ſeeing it was ſuch a gap, Deſtruction

ction had entred in thereat, to the final ruine of that Kingdome, had not his Providence prevented it. For in this juncture of time, *Desmond* began his Rebellion 1579, inviting Sir *William* to side with him; who wisely gave him the hearing, with a smile in to the Bargain. And although our Knight for want of Force could not cure the wounds, yet he may be said to have washed and kept it clean, resigning it in a recovering condition to the Lord *Gray*, who succeeded him. Afterwards he was sent over into the Low-Countries 1586, being Commander of the English Horse therein. It is said of him, *Brabantiam persultabat*, He leapt through *Brabant*; importing celerity and success, yea, as much Conquest as so suddain an expedition was capable of. Q. *Eliz.*

He had a strong memory whereon he built his experience, and a large experience whereon he grounded his actions: There was no Town, Fort, Passage, Hill or Dale, either in *Ireland* or *Holland*, but he retained by that strong faculty, that was much his Nature, more his Art; which observed privately, what it saw publickly; recollected and fixed in the night, what he observed by day; trusting his head with solids, but not burthening it with impertinencies. Company is one of the greatest pleasures of Mankinde, and the great delight of this man, (it's unnatural to be solitary; the world is linked together by love, and men by friendship) who observed three things in his converse, that it should be, 1. even, 2. choice, and 3. useful; all his friends being either valiant, ingenious, or wise: that is, either Souldiers, Scholars, or States-men. Four things he was very intent upon during his Government

Q. Eliz. vernment in *Ireland*: 1. The Prieſts, the Pulpits and the Preſs: 2. The Nobility: 3. The Ports: 4. The Forreigners. Which he purſued with that Activity, the Earl of *Ormond* aſſiſting him, that *anno* 1580, that Kingdome was delivered to my Lord *Gray* after his one years Government, in a better condition then it had been for threeſcore years before; the Populacy being encouraged, the Nobility truſted, Feuds laid down, Revenue ſetled, the Sea-towns ſecured, the Souldiery diſciplined, and the Magazines furniſhed. Whence he returned to overlook others, ſetling *England* againſt the *Spaniards*, as he had done *Ireland*; himſelf being an active Commiſſioner in *England* in 88, and an eminent Agent in *Scotland* in 89.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Waad.

A Scholar himſelf, and a Patron to ſuch that were ſo; being never well but when employing the Induſtrious, penſioning the Hopeful, and preferring the Deſerving. To his Directions we owe *Rider's* Dictonary, to his Encouragement *Hooker's* Policy, to his Charge *Gruter's* Inſcriptions. As none more knowing, ſo none more civil. No man more grave in his Life and Manners, no man more pleaſant in his Carriage and Complexion; yet no man more reſolved in his Buſineſs: for being ſent by Queen *Elizabeth* to *Philip* King of *Spain*, he would not be turned over to the *Spaniſh* Privy-Council, (whoſe greateſt Gran-

dees are Dwarfs in honour to his Miſtreſs) but would either have audience of the King himſelf, or return without it; though none knew better how and when to make his cloſe and underhand Addreſſes to ſuch potent Favourites as ſtrike the ſtroke in the State: It often happening in a Commonwealth, (ſaith my Author) that the Maſters Mate ſteers the ſhip better then the Maſter himſelf. A man of a conſtant toyl and induſtry, buſie and quick, equally an enemy to the idle and ſlow undertakings, judging it a great weakneſs to ſtand ſtaring in the face of buſineſs, in that time which might ſerve to do it. In his own practice he never conſidered longer then till he could diſcern whether the thing propoſed was fit or not; when that was ſeen, he immediately ſet to work: when he had finiſhed one buſineſs, he could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was preſently conſulting what next to undertake. Q. *Eliz.*

Two things this Gentleman profeſſed kept him up to that eminence: 1. Fame, that great incitement to Excellency. 2. A Friend, whom he had not onely to obſerve thoſe groſneſſes which Enemies might take notice of, but to diſcover his prudential failings, indecencies, and even ſuſpitious and barely doubtful paſſages. *Friendſhip* (ſaith my Lord Bacon) *eaſeth the heart, and cleareth the underſtanding, making clear day in both; partly by giving the wiſeſt counſel apart from our intereſt and prepoſſeſſions, and partly by allowing opportunity to diſcourſe; and by that diſcourſe to clear the mind, to recollect the thoughts, to ſee how they look in words; whereby men attain that higheſt wiſdome, which* Dionyſius *the* Areopagite *ſaith, is the* Daughter *of Reflexion.*

Obſerva-

Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Sidney.

SIr *Henry Sidney*, eminent for his Son Sir *Philip*, and famous for his own Actions, was born well, and bred better: His Learning was equal to his Carriage, his Carriage to his Good Nature, his Good Nature to his Prudence, his Prudence to his Resolution. A little he learned at School, more at the University, most at Court. His Reading was assiduous, his Converse exact, his Observations close: His Reason was strong, and his Discourse flowing. Much he owed to his Studiousness at home, more to his Experience abroad, where Travel enlarged and *consolidated* his Soul. His own Worth fitted him for Advancement, and his Alliance to my Lord of *Leicester* raised him to it. Merit must capacitate a man for Interest, and Interest must set up Merit. His Person and his Address invested him Knight of the Garter, his Moderation and Wisdome President of *Wales*. His Resolution and Model of Government made him Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; a people whom he first studied, and then ruled, being first Master of their Humour, and then of their Government. Four things he said would reduce that Country: A Navy well furnished, to cut off their correspondence with *Spain*. An Army well paid, to keep up Garisons; Laws well executed, to alter their Constitutions and Tempers; A Ministry well setled, to civilize and instruct them; and an unwearied Industry to go through all.

Nine

Nine things he did there to eternize his Memo- Q. *Eliz.*
ry.

1. *Connaught He* divided to fix Shires.

2. Captainships, ſomething anſwering to Knighthood here, *He* aboliſhed.

3. A Surrendry of all *Iriſh* Holdings *He* contrived, and the *Iriſh* Eſtates *He* ſetled on *Engliſh* Tenures and Services.

4. That the ableſt five of each Sept ſhould undertake for all their Relations, *He* ordered.

5. One Free-School at leaſt in every Dioceſs *He* maintained.

6. Two Preſidents Courts in *Munſter* and *Connaught He* erected.

7. Their Cuſtomes *He* reduced to the *Civility*, and their Exchequer to the *Exactneſs* of *England*.

8. Their Purveyance *He* turned to Compoſition.

9. Their Statutes *He* printed, and a conſtant correſpondence *He* kept; eſpecially with the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour in *Spain*, and King *James* in *Scotland*.

Fitz-Williams was mild, *Eſſex* heady, *Perrot* ſtout; but this Lieutenant or Deputy was a ſtayed and reſolved Man, that Royally *heard ill*, and *did ill*; that bore up againſt the clamours of the people with the peace of his conſcience. His Intereſt he had devoted to his Soveraign, and his Eſtate to the Publick; ſaying as *Cato*, *That he had the leaſt care of himſelf*. From the *Iriſh* he took nothing but a Liberty to undo themſelves; from Court he deſired nothing but Service; from *Wales* he had nothing but a Good Name. It's obſerved of him, that *He had open Vertues for Honour, and private ones* See Davies of Ireland, and Ware and Powel of Wales.

Q. Eliz. ones for Succeſs, which he ſaid was the daughter of reſervedneſs: *there being not* (ſaith my Lord Verulam) *two more fortunate properties, then to have a little of the* fool, *and not too much of the* honeſt man. The Crown was obliged by his Services, the Nobility engaged to him by Alliances, the People enamoured with his *Integrity*, and himſelf ſatisfied with a *good Conſcience*. Much good counſel he gave at Court, more at home in *Shropſhire*, where his Dexterity in compoſing the private Quarrels of the Country, was as eminent as his Prudence in ſetling the Affairs of *Ireland*. He had that Majeſty in his Countenance that he awed, and Affability in his Speech that he obliged the Country. His Counſel would be ſmart and ſolid, his Reproof grave and affectionate, his Jeſts quick and taking; doing more with a quick Droll towards the peace of the Country, then others did with longer Harangues. Secretary *Bourns* Son kept a Gentlemans Wife in *Shropſhire*; when he was weary of her, he cauſed her Husband to be dealt with to take her home, and offered him 500 *l.* for reparation. The Gentleman went to Sir *Henry Sidney* to take his advice, telling him, *That his Wife promiſed now a new life, and to ſay the truth five hundred pounds would be very ſeaſonable at that time. By my troth* (ſaid Sir Henry) *take her home, and the Money; then whereas other Cuckolds wear their Horns plain, you may wear yours gilt.* His great word after a difference ended, was, *Is not this eaſier then going to* London to Ludlow? When a man fretted againſt himſelf or others, *My Friend*, he would ſay, *take it from me, a weak man complains of others, an unfortunate man of himſelf, but a wiſe man neither of others nor of him-*

ſelf

ſelf. It was his Motto, *I'll never threaten.* To threaten an Enemy, is to inſtruct him; a Superiour, is to endanger my Perſon; an Inferiour, is to diſparage my Conduct. Old Servants were the Ornament and ſtay of his Family, for whom he reſerved a Copyhold when aged, a Service when hopeful, an Education when pregnant. Twice was he ſent underhand to *France*, and once to *Scotland*, to feel the pulſe of the one, and to embroyl the other. It's for ſetled Kingdomes and for Wealthy men to play above-board, while the young State as the young Fortune ſhould be leaſt in ſight. Q. *Eliz.*

He and Sir *Thomas Randolph* amuſe the Queen of Scots with the hope of the Crown of *England*, and the King of *France* by a League with his Proteſtant Subjects; to whoſe aſſiſtance Sir *Adrian Poynings* arrives as Field-marſhal, and the Earl of *Warwick* as General.

Sir *Nicholas Arnold* had diſpoſed *Ireland* to a ſettlement, when Juſticer; and Sir *Henry Sidney* formerly Juſticer and Treaſurer, was now to compleat it as Deputy, being aſſiſted in *Munſter* by Sir *Warham St. Leiger*, and elſewhere by the brave Earl of *Ormond*, having procured his Antagoniſt the Earl of *Deſmond* to be called to *England* in order to a peace and tranquillity. Great was his Authority *over*, far greater his love *to*, and eſteem *of* the Soldiers, with whom he did wonders againſt *Shane Oneals* Front, while *Randolph* charged his Rear until the wild Rebel ſubmits, and is executed. When he reſigned his Authority and Honour to Sir *William Drury*, he took his farewel of *Ireland* in theſe words, *When Iſrael departed out of* Egypt, *and the houſe of* Jacob *from a barbarous people.* A ſingular man he was,

Q. *Eliz.* was, (saith the Historian) and one of the most commendable Deputies of *Ireland*, to whose Wisdom and Fortitude that Kingdome cannot but acknowledge much, though it is as impatient of Deputies as *Sicily* was of old of Procurators.

Alter idem, *or other Observations on the Life of* Thomas Ratcliffe.

THomas *Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, second Earl of *Sussex* of that surname, twice Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, was a most valiant Gentleman. By his Prudence he caused that actual Rebellion brake not out in *Ireland*; and no wonder if in his time it rained not War there, seeing his diligence dispersed the Clouds before they could gather together. Thus he who cures a Disease may be skilfullest; but he that prevents it, is the safest Physitian.

Queen *Elizabeth* called him home to be her Lord Chamberlain, and a constant Court-faction was maintained between him and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*: so that the *Suffexians* and the *Leicesterians* divided the Court, whilst the *Cecilians* as Neuters did look upon them. *Sussex* had a great Estate left by his Ancestors, *Leicester* as great given or restored him by the Queen: *Sussex* was the honester man, and greater Souldier; *Leicester* the more facete Courtier, and deep Politician; not for the general Good, but for his particular Profit. Great the Animosity betwixt them; and what in vain the Queen endeavoured, Death performed, taking this Earl

Earl away; and ſo the Competition was ended. Q. Eliz. *New-Hall* in *Eſſex* was the place if not (as I believe) of his Birth, yet of his principal Habitation. He died *anno Domini* —— and lieth buried in the Church of St. *Olives Hartſtreet London.*

The firſt of Queen *Elizabeth* found this brave Earl commanding *Ireland* in peace and plenty, with three hundred and twenty Horſe, and eight hundred and ſixty Foot, prudently gariſoned, and well paid: And the ſecond employed him thither again, with Inſtructions, "That he ſhould beware above "all things, leſt the *Iriſh*, being an uncivil people, "and therefore the more ſuperſtitious, ſhould by "the cunning practices of the *French*, be excited "to rebellion under the pretexe of Religion. 2. "That he ſhould fortifie *Ophale* with Caſtles and "Forts. 3. That he ſhould engage the Souldiery "with large Poſſeſſions. 4. That the *Iriſh* Nobility ſhould hold their Eſtates in Fee. 5. That he "ſhould improve the Queens Revenues moderately, and reduce her Exchequer there to the form "of that in *England.*

At what time *Maximilian* the Emperour courted Queen *Elizabeth*, whom all Engliſh men wiſhed married, all Proteſtants married to a Proteſtant; and the Earl of *Leiceſter* had deſigned for himſelf, there aroſe a *deadly feud* in the *Engliſh Court* between the Earl of *Suſſex*, that favoured the Match upon common Principles of Government; and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who oppoſed it upon a private deſigne of his own. "Certainly very great and ſhame-"ful hopes do they foſter, who have already attain-"ed things beyond hopes. The open-hearted Earl would call his Antagoniſt an Upſtart, that had but

Q. Eliz. two Anceſtors, his Father, a Traytor; and his Grandfather, a Publican. The Court is divided, the Earls are always attended with their armed Guards, until the Queen, who took pleaſure in, and made uſe of the innocent emulation of her women, but was afraid of the dangerous conteſts of her Favourites, rather skinned over, then healed the rupture.

At the Emperours Court, whither he is ſent with the Order of Saint *George*, he preſſeth the Marriage cloſely, as much out of love to his Country, as hatred to *Leiceſter*; having nothing more ordinary in his diſcourſe then that a Forreign Prince was to be preferred before the nobleſt Engliſhman for the three grand things of *Honour*, *Power* and *Wealth*. But what he promoted publickly, the Lord *North*, who was joyned with him rather as his Guardian then his Colleague, oppoſed privately, until a few fond ſcruples broke the moſt ſolemn Negotiation; wherein yet this Earl behaved himſelf with a Gallantry that gained him a familiarity from the Emperour, a reverence from the Archduke, a reſpect from all the people, and his Miſtreſs a kindneſs in that Court; that ſtood her in great ſtead againſt the attempts of *Spain* and *Rome*.

From *Germany* he returned with much honour, to Command in the *North* with more, where he and his old ſetters at Court diſcovered the grand Plot in the *North*, as *Hunſdon* and his old Souldiers at *Berwick* defeated it, and both haraſſed the Scotiſh Borders: all things yeilding to thoſe two grand Diſpoſers of the World, now predominant in *England*, *Wiſedome* and *Cecil* at home, *Arms* and *Hunſ-*

don

don abroad; and both with *Suſſex* at home, now for his approved Wiſdome and Fidelity made Privy Counſellour, and abroad alway Lord General. Q. *Eliz.*

Of many, I pitch on this one Argument, Of the greatneſs of his Minde, that he ſcorned to trample *the Proſtrate*; that he had a juſt Paſſion, but not an unworthy Malice for an Enemy whom he had a generous goodneſs to pity when unhappy, as well as a brave ſpirit to conteſt with when injurious. The leſſer fry of adverſaries railed againſt, this great one pleaded for *Leiceſter*, when his practices againſt *Anjou*'s marriage with the Queen confined him to the Caſtle of *Windſor*; and his Menaces had caſt him to the Tower of *London*, had not my Lord, minding more the common Intereſt then his private reſentments, firſt moderated the Queens Paſſion with Reaſon, and then overcame it with this Jeſt, *You muſt allow Lovers their jealouſie.*

Alter idem, *or other Obſervations on the Life of the* Lord Hatton.

HIs firſt Preferment at Court was to be one of the fifty Penſioners; whence his *modeſt ſweetneſs of Manners* advanced him to the Privy Chamber: where he had not been long, but his face and tongue (which moſt eloquent, which moſt powerful, was in thoſe days a queſtion) made him Captain of the Guard; his preſence and ſervice Vice-Chamberlain; and his great improvement under my Lord *Burleigh*, placed him in that grave Aſſembly, (the wiſeſt Convention in *Europe* at that

Q. Eliz. time) the Privy-Council; where he had not ſate long, when his enemies as well as his friends made him Chancellour and Knight of the Garter: the one to raiſe him, and the other by that riſe to ruine him. *The Eagle-eyed men of thoſe times carried up on high the Cockleſhel they had a mind to crack.* A man of a pious Nature, very charitable to the Poor, very tender of diſſenting Judgements, (ſaying, *That neither ſearing nor cutting was to be uſed in the cauſe of Religion*) very bountiful to Scholars, (who choſe him Chancellour at *Oxford*) very exact in his Place; whence he went off, though not with the applauſe of a great Lawyer to ſplit Cauſes, yet with the Conſcience and comfort of a juſt man, to do equity.

Take his Character from his own words, thoſe words that prevailed with the Queen of *Scots* to appear before the Commiſſioners at *Fotheringax*, when neither Queen *Elizabeths* Commiſſion, nor the Lord Chancellours Reaſon, nor the Power of the Kingdome could perſwade that good Lady to it. The words are theſe:

"*You are accuſed, but not condemned. You ſay* "*you are a Queen; be it ſo: if you are innocent, you* "*wrong your Reputation in avoiding tryal. You pro-* "*teſt your ſelf innocent, the Queen feareth the con-* "*trary not without grief and ſhame. To examine* "*your innocence are theſe honourable, prudent, and* "*upright Commiſſioners ſent: glad will they be with all* "*their hearts if they may return and report you guilt-* "*leſs. Believe me, the Queen her ſelf will be much* "*affected with joy, who affirmed to me at my coming* "*from her, that never any thing befel her more grie-*

"*vous,*

"vows, then that you were charged with such a crime: Q. Eliz.
"Wherefore lay aside the bootless priviledge of Royal
"Dignity, which here can be of no use to you, ap-
"pear in Judgement, and shew your Innocence; lest
"by avoiding tryal, you draw upon your self suspicion,
"and lay upon your Reputation an eternal blot and
"aspersion.

Four things I observe he did that deserve a Chroniele:

1. That he delayed the Signing of *Leicesters* Patent for the Lieutenancy of *England* and *Ireland*, the Preface to his Kingdome, until that Earl was sick.

2. That he reduced the Chancery, and all other Courts, to Rules.

3. That he stood by the Church against the enemies of both sides. Archbishop *Whitgift* when checked by others for his due severity, writes to him thus: *I think my self bound to you for your friendly Message as long as I live: It hath not a little comforted me, having received unkinde speeches not long since*, &c. *And therefore* (after an expostulation about some States-mens Proceedings against the Law and State of the Realm, and a Declaration of his own resolution) saith he, *your Honour in offering that great courtesie, offered unto me as great a pleasure as I can desire. Her Majesty must be my Refuge, and I beseech you that I may use you as a means, when occasion shall serve; whereof I assure my self, and therein rest,* John Cant.

4. That he promoted the Proclamations for Plain Apparel, for Free Trade, for Pure Religion, and the Laws against the Papists.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Puckering.

SIr *John Puckering* was born at *Flamborough-head* in *Yorkshire*. He was second Son to his Father, a Gentleman that left him neither a plenteous nor a penurious Estate. His Breeding was more beneficial to him then his Portion; gaining thereby such skill in the Common Law, that he became the Queens Sergeant, Speaker in the House of Commons, and at last Lord Chancellour of *England*. How he stood in his Judgement in the point of Church-Discipline, plainly appeareth by his following Speech, delivered in the House of Lords 1588.

And especially you are commanded by Her Majesty to take heed, that no ear be given, nor time afforded to the wearisome Sollicitations of those that commonly be called Puritans, *wherewithal the late Parliaments have been exceedingly importuned: which sort of men, whilst that (in the giddiness of their spirits) they labour and strive to advance a new Eldership, they do nothing else but disturb the good repose of the Church and Commonwealth: which is as well grounded for the body of Religion it self, and as well guided for the Discipline, as any Realm that professeth the Truth. And the same thing is already made*

made good to the world by many of the Writings of godly and learned men, neither answered nor answerable by any of these new-fangled Refiners. And, as the present case standeth, it may be doubted, whether they, or the Jesuites, do offer more danger, or be more speedily to be represſed. For, albeit the Jesuites do empoyson the hearts of Her Majesties Subjects, under a pretext of Conscience to withdraw them from their Obedience due to Her Majesty; yet do they the same, but closely, and in privy-corners: But these men do both teach and publish in their printed Books, and teach in all their Conventicles, sundry Opinions, not onely dangerous to a well-setled Estate, and the Policy of the Realm, by putting a Pike between the Clergy and the Layty; but also much derogatory to her sacred Majesty and her Crown, as well by the diminution of her ancient and lawful Revenues, and by denying Her Highness Prerogative and Supremacy, as by offering peril to her Majesties safety in her own Kingdome. In all which things, (however in other Points they pretend to be at war with the Popish Jesuites) yet by this separation of themselves from the unity of their fellow-subjects, and by abasing the Sacred Authority and Majesty of their Prince, they do both joyn and concur with the Jesuites in opening the Door, and preparing the way to the Spanish Invasion that is threatened against the Realm. Q. Eliz.

Q. Eliz. *And thus having according to the weakneſs of my beſt underſtanding delivered Her Majeſties Royal Pleaſure and wiſe Direction, I reſt there, with humble Suit of Her Majeſties moſt gracious Pardon in ſupplying of my defects, and recommend you to the Author of all good counſel.*

He died *anno Domini* 1596, charactered by Mr. *Cambden*, *Vir Integer*. His Eſtate is ſince deſcended, (according to the ſolemn ſettlement thereof) the Male Iſſue failing, on Sir *Henry Newton*; who, according to the Condition, hath aſſumed the ſurname of *Puckering*.

Sir *Thomas Egerton* urged againſt the Earl of *Arundel* methodically what he had done *before*, *in*, and *ſince* the Spaniſh Invaſion: Sir *John Puckering* preſſed things cloſely, both from Letters and Correſpondence with *Allen* and *Parſons*, that few men had ſeen; and from the ſaying of my Lord himſelf, (which fewer had obſerved) who when *Valongers* Cauſe about a Libel was handled in the Star-chamber, had ſaid openly, *He that is throughly Popiſh, the ſame man cannot but be a Traytor.* A man this was of himſelf of good repute for his own Carriage, but unhappy for that of his Servants; who for diſpoſing of his Livings corruptly, left themſelves an ill name in the Church, and him but a dubious one in the State. *David* is not the onely perſon whom the iniquity of his *heels*, that is, of his *followers*, layeth hold on.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bromley.

SIr *Thomas Bromley* was born at *Bromley* in *Shropſhire*, of a right ancient Family. He was bred in the Inner Temple, and made, before he was forty years of age, General-Sollicitor to Queen *Elizabeth*; and afterwards, before he was fifty, ſucceeded Sir *Nicholas Bacon* in the Dignity of Lord Chancellour: yet *Bacon* was not miſſed while *Bromley* ſucceeded him; and that loſs which otherwiſe could not have been repaired, now could not be perceived; which Office he wiſely and learnedly executed with much diſcretion, poſſeſſing it nine years, and died *anno* 1587, not being ſixty years old.

My Lord *Hunſdon* firſt employed this Gentleman, and my Lord *Burleigh* took firſt notice of him. He had a deep head to dive to the bottome of the abſtruſe Caſes of thoſe times, and a happy mean to manage them, with no leſs ſecurity to the Eſtate, then ſatisfaction to the People. A man very induſtrious in his Place, and very obſervant of the Court; happy in his potent friends, happy in his able followers; men of great faithfulneſs towards him, and of great integrity and reſpectfulneſs towards any that made Addreſſes to him. He never decided the equity of any Caſe before he had diſcourſed with the Judge that heard it, of the Law of it. He never diſpoſed of a Living without the Biſhop of the Dioceſs his conſent where it lay: nor ever

Q. Eliz. ever engaged he in any State-buſineſs without direction from my Lord *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, my Lord *Delaware*. Sir *Ralph Sadler* was to obſerve the Policy, Dr. *Wilſon* the Civil Law, and Sir *Thomas Bromley* the Engliſh Law, in the Queen of Scots Anſwer to Queen *Elizabeths* laſt Expoſtulation. The Spaniſh Souldier never takes wages againſt his King, and Sir *Thomas Bromley* never took fees againſt the Crown. He would have the Cauſe opened clearly by his Client in the Chamber, before ever he would declare it at the Bar: He loſt money for not admitting all Cauſes promiſcuouſly at firſt, but he gained it at laſt; when never failing in any Cauſe, ſaith my Author, for five years: during which ſpace, what he wanted in the retayl of advantage, he made up in the groſs of eſteem; being by that time the onely perſon that the People would employ, and one of the three the Court would favour; being excellent (becauſe induſtrious) in a leading and an untrodden Caſe. Phyſitians, they ſay, are beſt like Beer when ſtale, and Lawyers like Bread when young: This Perſon was eminent in all the periods of his Age; each whereof he filled with its juſt and becoming accompliſhment. In that Lord of *Northumberland*'s Caſe that Piſtolled himſelf, none more ſubtle to argue his guilt; in the Queen of Scots, none more ſtrict to keep to the Law: for when the Queen of Scots would explain ſomething in the Queens Commiſſion, he anſwered, *We are Subjects, and not come hither to explain the Queens words, but to perform them.* None more diſcreet and grave, prefacing that great buſineſs with theſe words; *The High and Mighty Queen our Soveraign, that ſhe might not be wanting*

in

to her God, her Self, her People, or your Honour, sent us hither, not so much to try, as to clear you; not so much to urge her Accusations, as to hear your Defence. And none more stedfast to his Soveraign: for when that unfortunate Lady protested her unaccountableness to the English Laws, he replyed, *This protestation is vain: for whosoever, of what place soever, offendeth against the Laws of* England *in* England, *was subject to the same Laws, and might be examined and tryed.* The Sentence against her he declared had three things in it: 1. Justice, 2. Security, 3. Necessity: but added presently, *And that wisely too it should no ways prejudice King* James *his Title or Honour.* Q. Eliz.

Observations on the Life of Sir Richard Bingham.

SIr *Richard Bingham*, born in *Binghams-Melcolm* in *Dorsetshire*, of a very ancient Family, in his youth travelled most parts of the world: He was at the Siege of St. *Quintin* in *France*; the Sacking of *Leith* in *Scotland*; served in *Candie* under the *Venetians* against the *Turk*; then returned into the *Netherlands*, being strong and fortunate in all his Undertakings. After all this, he went into *Ireland*, and was there President of *Connaught*, and conquered the great and dangerous Rebel *O Rorke*.

A Gentleman this, rather skilful in many mysteries then thriving in any: of a fancy too high and wild, too desultory and over-voluble: yet Imagination

Q. *Eliz.* nation hath often produced Realities, and Phancy done the work of Judgement; as in this Gentleman, whose Daringness went for Conduct, whose Spirit passed for Resolution, whose Activity had the honour of skill, and whose Success the glory of prudence. It's a wonder of parts that *Cæsar* could write, read, dictate, and discourse at the same time; it's a miracle of fancy that thisman should Command a Regiment in the *Netherlands*, preside in a Province of *Ireland*, manage a Trade in *Russia*, carry on a Plantation in *America*, and husband a Manor in *England*. But as the King of *Spain* is painted with a handful of sand running out between his fingers, in reference to his many, but unprofitable Dominions; so might this grand Projector be described, who attempted so many things, that he did nothing. Yet one thing his *Quick-silver* Soul was good for, and that is Stratagems: Now you should have him surprize a Town by Butter-women, another time by Workmen; anon he would face the Enemy, and draw them with success upon a Train of Gunpowder he would lay for them, and Iron Prickfteds he would sow for them: He would steal their hands and seals, buy the very keys of their Closets; and so amuse them with Letters, and distract them with Jealousies, while in the mean time the vigilant man alarmed them every hour of the day, and each watch of the night; so that he tamed those wild *Irish* as we do some wild beasts, by watching.

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Roger Aſhcam.

FRom his Cradle a Royal Servant, and to his Grave a Favourite: a good man, (ſaith *Cambden*) and if his ambition had been but as great as the occaſion was fair, a great one too. Born he was honeſtly in *Yorkſhire*, and bred handſomely at *Cambridge*; and both born and bred for that Age which was to refine Greek and Latine to a *politeneſs*, and raiſe them to an *Eloquence*. He was the Univerſity-Orator at *Cambridge*, and at Court; there uſing his Eloquence, here his Intereſt againſt that Sacriledge, that having *Dined* on the Church, as he writ, came to *Sup* on the Univerſities. Thence he was rather removed then advanced, more ſuitably to his merit then his expectation, to be Queen *Elizabeths* Schoolmaſter for the Latine Tongue in her Siſters time, and her Secretary for the ſame in her own.

What he got by his Ingenuity, he loſt by his Gaming, *viz.* at *Dice* and *Cock-fighting*, dying rich onely in thoſe two Books, his Eſtate and Monument, whereof the one is intituled *Toxophilus*, and the other *Scholarcha*. He and his dear *Smith* were the happieſt men in the Nation; their large and ingenious Souls claſping together in an entire friendſhip, made up of kindneſs and integrity, apart from the little fears, the jealouſies, the ſuſpitions that vex Mankinde. What learned Letters! what loving Expoſtulations! what diſcreet Intimations! what faith-

Q. Eliz. faithful Advertiſements! what indifferent Community! what common Cares and Pities! How they loved! how they chid! and how they loved again! how plain! how malleable! how ſweet! What little Obſervations upon one anothers inadvertencies, neglects or miſcarriages! how they improved their *Mollia tempora* to the great end of friendſhip, information and advice! How ſecretly they vented their thoughts into each others breaſts, and there looked upon them by reflexion, and the advantage of a ſecond conſideration! And it's a happineſs to have another ſelf to ſhew our ſelves to before we appear to the world, that all men wiſh, and the good men onely enjoy. An honeſt man this, that abhorred all artifice and cunning, and hated all concealments and pretenſions, which he had ſagacity enough to diſcover and look through, but a ſpirit too generous to practiſe it; none being more able for, yet none more averſe to that circumlocution and contrivance wherewith ſome men ſhadow their main driſt and purpoſe. Speech was made to open Man to Man, and not to hide him; to promote Commerce, and not betray it.

H. W. *HOw happy is he born and taught*
That ſerveth not anothers will,
Whoſe Armour is his honeſt thought,
And ſimple Truth his utmoſt skill?

Whoſe Paſſions not his Maſters are,
Whoſe Soul is ſtill prepar'd for death;
Untide unto the world by care
Of publick Fame, or private breath.

Who envies none that Chance doth raiſe,
Nor Vice hath ever underſtood;
How deepeſt wounds are given by praiſe,
Nor Rules of State, but Rules of Good.

Who hath his life from rumours freed,
Whoſe Conſcience is his ſtrong retreat:
Whoſe ſtate can neither flatterers feed,
Nor ruine make Oppreſſors great.

Who God doth late and early pray,
More of his Grace, then Gifts to lend;
And entertains the harmleſs day
With a Religious Book or Friend.

This man is freed from ſervile bands
Of hope to riſe, or fear to fall:
Lord of himſelf, though not of Lands;
And having nothing, yet hath all.

Obſervations on the Life *of Sir* John Packington.

SIr *John Packington* was a Perſon of no mean Family, and of form and feature no way deſpiſeable: for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine Courtier; and for the time which he ſtayed there, was very high in the Queens Grace: but he came in, and went out, and through diſaſſiduity loſt the advantage of her favor; and then Death drawing a vail over him, utterly deprived him of recovery. They ſay of him, ſaith the ſame *Sir* Robert Naunton.

Author,

Q. Eliz. Author, that had he brought leſs to the Court then he did, he might have carried away more then he brought: for he had a time of it, but he was an ill husband of Opportunity. His handſome features took the moſt, and his neat parts the wiſeſt at Court. He could ſmile Ladies to his ſervice, and argue States-men to his deſigne with equal eaſe. His Reaſon was *powerful*, his Beauty *more*. Never was a brave Soul more bravely ſeated: Nature beſtowed great Parts on him, Education poliſhed him to an admirable frame of prudence and vertue. Queen *Elizabeth* called him *Her Temperance*, and *Leiceſter His Modeſty*. It is a queſtion to this day, Whether his Reſolution took the Souldiers, his Prudence the Politicians, his Complyance the Favourites, his Complaiſance the Courtiers, his Piety the Clergy, his Integrity and Condeſcention the People, or his Knowledge the Learned, *moſt?* This new Court-ſtar was a nine-days wonder, engaging all eyes until it ſet ſatisfied with its own glory. He came to Court, he ſaid, as *Solomon* did, to ſee its vanity; and retired as he did, to repent it. It was he who ſaid firſt what Biſhop *Sanderſon* urged afterwards, *That a ſound Faith was the beſt Divinity, a good Conſcience the beſt Law, and Temperance the beſt Phyſick.* Sir *John Packington* in Queen *Elizabeths* time was vertuous and modeſt, and Sir *John Packington* in King *Charles* his time Loyal and valiant; the one did well, the other ſuffered ſo: *Greenham* was his Favourite, *Hammond* his; the one had a competant Eſtate, and was contented; the other hath a large one, and is noble: this ſuppreſſeth Factions in the Kingdome, the other compoſed them in the Court, and was called by Courtiers

Mode-

Moderation. *Weſtmerland* tempted his fidelity, and *Norfolk* his ſtedfaſtneſs: but he died in his Bed an honeſt and an happy man, while one of them goes off tainted on the Scaffold, and the other dies a Begger in *Flanders*. Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Lives *of the* Norriſes *and* Knowles.

MY Lord *Norris* had by his Lady an ample Iſſue, which the Queen highly reſpected: for he had ſix ſons, all Martial brave men; of haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of Military Affairs. Greater was not the Faction between *Leiceſter* and *Suſſex* at Court, then that between the *Knowles* and the *Norriſes* in the Country: both Families of *Oxfordſhire*; the one reſolute at *Greyes*, the other valiant at *Rycote*: the former got great Eſtates at home, the latter attained to great Honour abroad. The *Knowles* were beloved by the Queen for their own ſakes, the *Norriſes* for theirs and her own ſake: the *Knowles* were of the ſame blood with her Majeſty, the *Norriſes* ſpent theirs for her.

1. My Lord *Norris* died at Court an honeſt man.

2. Sir *Francis* at *Bulloign* a good Souldier.

3. Sir *William* at *Berwick* a brave Governour.

As the firſt eminent *Norris* ſuffered for *Anne Bullen*, the Queens Mother: ſo the firſt eminent *Knowles* ſuffered with Proteſtantiſm her Re-

Q. Eliz.

4. Sir *Thomas* at *Munſter* a wiſe Preſident.

5. Sir *Maximilian* at *Bretaign* an expert Engineer.

6. *Maximilian* at *Groen* a renowned Heroe.

7. Sir *John* was a moſt accompliſhed General, no leſs eminent for his ſafe retreats, then for his reſolute onſets. *France* hath recorded this teſtimony of him, That he brought on his men ſo warily, as one that could bring them off: and *England* this, That he brought them off ſo reſolutely, as one that durſt bring them on. His fortune often overthrew his enemy, and his wiſdome oftner ſaved his friends: His Conduct was *famous*, and his Diſcipline *exact*: His Actions are Preſidents, and his Orders Laws of War to this day. He was bred under *Caſtilion*, and out-did him. *Ireland* was always *poſſeſſed*, but never conquered till *Norris* came, who could lie on the coldeſt earth, ſwim the deepeſt Religion. *Norris* could not riſe though he deſerved his Honour, becauſe of *Leiceſter* that favoured his Brother, *Knowles* and *Eſſex* that envyed him; neither could *Knowls* advance becauſe of *Suſſex* that feared, and *Cecil* that ſuſpected him. The *Knowles* were deſerving, but modeſt; favoured, but humble; powerful, but quiet; rather firm at Court, then high; allied to the Queen, and faithful to the Crown. Queen *Elizabeth* advanced Sir *Francis* to the Vicechamberlainſhip, Treaſurerſhip of the Houſhold, Captainſhip of the Guard, and the Order of the Garter, becauſe ſhe ſaid, *He was an honeſt man*; and King *James* and King *Charles* raiſed his Son Sir *William* to the Earldome of *Banbury*, becauſe he was a ſerviceable man.

vers,

vers, force the ſtraighteſt Paſſes, find out the moſt ſecret corners, & tread the ſofteſt Bog; who could endure any thing but an affront, and a Superiour: the firſt whereof, upon a repulſe at Court, ſaddened his heart; as the ſecond, upon another Deputies being ſent over him, broke it. Unſucceſsful he was with *Don Antonio* in *Spain*, becauſe he underſtood not the Country. In the Low-Countries he gained experience firſt, and then victory: in *Ireland* he had *Connaught* for his Grave, Mount-*Norris* his Monument, and the Letter of Queen *Elizabeth* to his Mother his Epitaph.

Q. *Eliz.*

Honeſtly faithful was that family to their Miſtreſs that was, and providently ſo were they to their Maſter that ſhould be. Handſom men they were when attending at Court, and valiant when called to the Camp.

Norriſes.

1. The *Norriſes* are employed in Embaſſies of War, wherein they were active.

2. My Lord *Norris* his reſolution was very becoming in the demand of *Calice*.

3. The Iriſh Conſpirator *Thoumond* opened a Plot againſt the Government in *Ireland* to the Agent *Norris*.

Knowles.

1. The *Knowles* are abroad in religious Negotiations, for which they had been Confeſſors, Sir *Francis* in *France*, and Sir *Henry* in *Germany*.

2. *Francis Knowles* his meekneſs was ſuitable to his perſwaſions for Religion:

3. And the Scots Schiſmatick *Humes* diſcovered a deſigne againſt the Church in *England* to the Embaſſadour *Knowles*.

Q. Eliz. In 88,

My Lord *Hunſdon* guarded the Queens perſon with 34000 foot, and 2000 horſe; the Earl of *Leiceſter* commanded the Midland Army of 22000 foot, and 1000 horſe: Sir *Roger Williams* and Sir *Richard Bingham* were in the head of 20000 in the *Thames* mouth, and Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Knowles* with other Aſſiſtants ſate in the Council of War to overlook all. Sir *John* adviſed three things: 1. The Guarding of the Havens. 2. The Training of the Militia, and the preparing of them to be at an hours warning upon a ſignal given, which was then the firing of a Beacon. 3. That if the Enemy did land, the Country ſhould be laid waſte before him, the Train-bands alarming him day and night. Sir *Francis* added, 1. What Shires and what numbers ſhould aſſiſt each Coaſt, how the men ſhould be armed, how commanded, and in what order they ſhould fight. 2. That the Papiſts ſhould not be maſſacred, as ſome would have it, but ſecured. 3. That the Deputy of *Ireland* ſhould be inſtructed. 4. That the King of *Scots* ſhould be engaged. 5. That Agents ſhould be ſent to the *Netherlands* and to *France*. And, 6. That the Queen ſhould encourage the people with her own preſence. Sir *John Norris* died when he ſaw beyond others expectation and his own merit, the Lord *Burghe* made Lord-Deputy, and himſelf but Preſident of *Munſter*; his great minde ſinking under one affront from his Soveraign, which had born up againſt all the aſſaults of her enemies; leaving this honour behinde him, That he laid the beſt grounds of Military practice in *England*. But *who can ſtand before Envy?*

A further Character of Sir *John Norris* from Queen *Elizabeths* Letter to his Mother.

My own Crow,

HArm not your self for bootleſs help, but ſhew a good example to comfort your dolorous yoak-fellow. Although we have deferred long to repreſent to you our grieved thoughts, becauſe we liked full ill to yeild you the firſt reflexion of miſfortune, whom we have always rather ſought to cheriſh and comfort; yet knowing now, that Neceſſity muſt bring it to your ear, and Nature conſequently muſt move both grief and paſſion in your heart; We reſolved no longer to ſmother, neither our care for your ſorrow, or the ſympathy of our grief for your loſs. Wherein if it be true, That Society in ſorrow works diminution, We do aſſure you by this true Meſſenger of our minde, that Nature can have ſtirred no more dolorous affection in you as a Mother for a dear Son, then Gratefulneſs and memory of his Service paſt, hath wrought in us his Soveraign apprehenſion of our miſs for ſo worthy a Servant. But now that Natures common work is done, and he that was born to die hath paid his Tribute, let that Chriſtian diſcretion ſtay the flux

Q. Eliz. *of your immoderate grieving, which hath inſtructed you both for example and knowledge, that nothing in this kinde hath happened but by Gods Divine Providence. And let theſe Lines from your loving gracious Soveraign ſerve to aſſure you, that there ſhall ever appear the lively Character of our Eſtimation of him that was, in our gracious care of you and yours that are left, in valuing rightly all their faithful and honeſt Endeavours. More at this time we will not write of this unpleaſant ſubject, but have diſpatched this Gentleman to viſit both your Lord and you, and to condole with you in the true ſenſe of your love; and to pray that the world may ſee what time cureth in a weak minde, that Diſcretion and Moderation helpeth in you in this accident, where there is ſo juſt cauſe to demonſtrate true Patience and Moderation.*

Your Gracious and Loving
Soveraign,

E. R.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Secretary Daviſon.

THat Meteor of the Court! raiſed onely in an exceſs of heat and vapours, to fall in a clearer day: for having good parts to act, an eaſie nature to comply, and a good diſpoſition to be impoſed on, he was raiſed to play others parts rather then his own, in thoſe intricate and dark times, when fools were put to execute what wiſe men adviſed; and the world ſaw but the plain-ſide of the great watch of State, within which all the Springs were incloſed and hid.

That he was but of a private capacity, and ſo ſafely to be raiſed, as one that would neither outſhine nor outdare his Patron, (*Machiavil* hath a Rule, (*Diſc. l.* 3. *c.* 2.) That it is a very great part of wiſdome ſometimes to ſeem a fool, and ſo lie out of the reach of *Obſervation* and *Jealouſie*) appears from his Negotiations, that were either payment of money in the *Netherlands*, a Merchants buſineſs; or taking ſecurity of the Merchants in *France*, a Scriveners part; or pacifying the tumult in *Holland*, the task of a Burgomaſter. *Beale* the Clerk of the Council and he were joyned in Commiſſion, always to deal with the Scots; the one the auſtereſt, and the other the ſweeteſt man living. When the firſt frighted thoſe rude people with Expoſtulations, the ſecond got into them with inſinuations. A hard and a ſoft, a Hammer and a Cuſhion, breaks a Flint; Fear and Love rule the world. His grand Caſe,

Q. *Eliz.* as that great Hiſtorian layeth it, is briefly this: Many Proteſtants thought themſelves in danger while the Queen of Scots was alive; many Papiſts thought themſelves undone while ſhe was impriſoned: theſe laſt preſs her to ſome dangerous undertakings; of the firſt, ſome were for ſecuring, others for tranſporting, and a third party for poyſoning her: to which purpoſe many Overtures were made, though yet none durſt undertake it that had either Eſtate or honour to looſe; being ſo wiſe as not to underſtand what was meant by the ſtrange Letters that were ſent, elſe they might have faln into this Gentlemans fortune; who unadviſedly venturing between the honour and ſafety of his Soveraign, was ground to nothing betwixt the fear of one party, and the ſhame of the other.

But this mild, but ſtout, becauſe honeſt man, was not ſo weak in the perpetration of this fault, as he was wiſe in his Apology for it, ſaying, He would not confeſs a guilt, and betray his integrity; nor yet ſtand upon a Juſtification, and forget his Duty. He would neither conteſt with his Soveraign, nor diſparage himſelf; but clear himſelf as an honeſt man, and ſubmit as a thankful ſervant, and a good ſubject.

F. B.

Dazled thus with heighth of place,
Whilſt our hopes our wits beguile,
No man marks the narrow ſpace
'Twixt a priſon and a ſmile.

Then, ſince Fortunes favours fade,
You, that in her arms do ſleep,

Learn

Learn to ſwim, and not to wade;
For, the hearts of Kings are deep.

But, if Greatneſs be ſo blind
As to truſt in Towers of Air,
Let it be with Goodneſs lin'd,
That at leaſt the fall be fair.

Then though darkned, you ſhall ſay,
When friends fail, and Princes frown,
Vertue is the roughest way,
But proves at night a Bed of Down.

Obſervations on the Lives *of Sir* Humphrey Gilbert *and Sir* Jeffrey Fenton.

SHarp and lively-ſpirited men, skilful in War, and prudent in Peace: of a reſtleſs and a publick Spirit, well skilled in the Trade of *England*, better in the Wealth of *America*; in the North-part whereof, which we call *New-found Land*, whither they had ſayled a little before with five Ships, having ſold their Patrimony in hope to plant a *Colony* there, they undid themſelves: for after they had by the voice of a common Cryer proclaimed that Country to belong to the Engliſh Juriſdiction, and had aſſigned Land to each of their Company, they were diſtreſſed by Shipwracks, and want of neceſſary proviſion, and conſtrained to give over their Enterprize; learning too late, and teach-

Q. Eliz. teaching others, That it is matter of greater difficulty to transport Colonies into far Countries upon private mens wealth, then they and others in a credulous and sanguine fit imagine: and this, *Quod si esse velis, nihil q; malis.*

Observations on the Life of Walter Haddon.

WAlter *Haddon* was born of a Knightly Family in *Buckinghamshire*, bred at *Eaton*, afterwards Fellow in Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he proceeded Doctor of Law, and was the Kings Professor in that Faculty, chosen Vice-Chancellour of the Universitie 1550. Soon after he was made President of *Magdalen*-Colledge in *Oxford*, which place he waved in the reign of Queen *Mary*, and sheltered himself in obscurity. Queen *Elizabeth* made him one of the Masters of her Requests, and employed him in several Embassies beyond the Seas. Her Majesty being demanded whether she preferred him or *Buchanan* for Learning, wittily and warily returned,

Buchanum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono.

S. Memoriæ.

Gualtero Haddono Equestri loco nato juris Consulto, Oratori, Poetæ celeberrimo, Græcæ Latinæq; Eloquentiæ sui temporis facilè principi sapientia & sanctitate vitæ,

vitæ, in id erecto, ut Reginæ Elizabethæ à supplicum libellis Magister esset, destinaretur; majoribus nisi, facto immaturius cessisset: Interim in omni gradu viro longe Eminentissimo, Conjugi sui optimo meretissimoq; Annâ Suttona, uxor ejus secunda flens mœrens desiderii sui signum posuit. Obiit anno Salut. hum. 1572. Ætatis 56. Q. Eliz.

This his fair Monument is extant in the Wall, at the upper end of the Chancel of Christ-Church in *London*, where so many ancient Inscriptions have been barbarously defaced. He and Dr. *Wotton* setled Trade between us and the *Netherlands*, and removed the Mart to *Embden*; and both were famous for their reservedness in the case of succession, which they kept locked in their own breasts; so always resolved to do, (notwithstanding *Leicesters* Sollicitations of them to a Declaration for the Queen of Scots now his Mistress, and hereafter in the Queen of *Englands* designe to be his Wife) unless (as they alledged) their *Mistress* commanded their Opinion; who certainly never heard any more unwillingly then the controversie about the Title of Succession: and both as famous for their diswasion against the making of the *Netherland* a Free-State; urging that of *Machiavel*, *That People accustomed to live under a Prince, if by any accident they become free, are like beasts let loose; and have much ado to maintain either their Government or their Liberty.*

Obser-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Ruſſel.

HIs very Name brought *Tyrone* upon his knees to him, and *Iniskillyn* to a ſurrendry. He was for detaining *Tyrone*, notwithſtanding his Letters of Protection: the Council was for diſmiſſing him, either out of favour to him, or out of their reverence to their former promiſe; as much to the danger of *Ireland*, as the diſpleaſure of the Queen. Pretending an Hunting-match, he had almoſt taken *Feagh Mac Hugh*, or ſhut him up; and under the diſguize of a progreſs, he ſhut up all the Paſſages and Avenues of *Tyrone*. *Agiges* the *Cretan* King would ſay, *That he that would govern many, muſt fight with many:* Our Deputy found that great Honour hath its great Difficulties; yet was he ſo conſtant and reſolute, that with *Marcellus* he would ſay, *That as there are many things a good Governour ought not to attempt; ſo ought he not to deſiſt, or give over an Enterprize once begun and taken in hand.* Therefore his Character is *One* daring in his perſon, cloſe to his purpoſe, firm to his dependencies, of a deep and large ſoul; who looked upon the chargeable War in *Ireland* as an equal remedy againſt a worſe in *England*, to the letting of blood in one part, againſt the effuſion of it in another: and adviſed the beſtowing of Church-lands among the Nobility of both Perſwaſions in *Ireland*, as in *England*, who would then hold their Religion with their Land, *in Capite*, and ſtick to the Queen

as

as the great ſupport of both, againſt all pretenders, whom then moſt would vigorouſly oppoſe, and all would fairly leave. Q. *Eliz.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Roper.

"SIr *Thomas Roper*, Servant to Queen *Eli-*
"*zabeth*, was born in *Friday-ſtreet* in *Lon-*
"*don*; whoſe Grandfather was a younger
"ſon of the houſe of *Heanour* in *Derbyſhire*. He
"going over into the Low-Countries, became Page
"to Sir *John Norrice*, and was Captain of a Foot-
"company at ſixteen years of Age. What after-
"wards his Martial Performances were, will ap-
"pear by the following Lines tranſcribed out of the
"Originall of his Patent.

"*Whereas* Thomas Roper *Knight*, *one of our Pri-*
"*vy-Councellours of the Kingdome of* Ireland, *long*
"*ſince hath been known unto us* famous, *with the*
"*ſplendour of his warlike Vertue; as who by the ma-*
"*ny Atchievments valiantly performed by him in the*
"*late War of this Kingdome, hath gained the eminent*
"*Repute both of a ſtout Souldier, and a diſcreet Com-*
"*mander; whoſe Valour chiefly appeared in his Re-*
"*treat near* le Boyle *in our Province of* Connaught,
"*where with very few horſe he undauntedly charged*
"*great troops of the horſe of the Enemy, who in a bo-*
"*ſtile manner forraged the very bowels of the King-*
"*dome; and by his wiſdome made ſuch a ſingular*
"*retreat, that he not onely ſaved himſelf and his men,*

"*but*

Q. Eliz. "but also delivered the whole Army from great dan-
"ger, and slew very many of his Enemies. Who also
"when our Province of Ulster was all on fire with war,
"being one out of many, was for the tried Resolution
"of his Mind, chosen by the Right honourable the Earl
"of Essex, then General of the Army, to undertake a
"Duel with Makal, and declined not to expose himself
"to the appointed Duel. And also when the aforesaid
"Thomas Roper in the late war in the Kingdome of
"France at Breft, by exposing himself to the greatest
"perils, and shedding of his own blood, demonstrated
"his Courage to be unconquerable. Who also in the
"Voyage to Portugal, behaved himself valiantly and
"honourably: as also at Bergen in the Nether-
"lands, when it was besieged by the Spaniards, ap-
"proved himself a young man of invincible Valour in
"the defence thereof. Who also in the day wherein
"Kinsale was assaulted, was placed in the first Rank,
"neareft of all unto the Town; and with no less Suc-
"cess then Valour, to the great safety of the whole
"Army, beat back, and put to flight the Spaniards,
"who in the same day made several Sallies out of the
"Town.

"Know therefore, that We, in intuition of the Pre-
"misses, have appointed the aforesaid Thomas Roper
"Knight, &c.

"Then followeth his Patent, wherein King
"Charles the first, in the third of his Reign, crea-
"ted him Baron of Bauntree, and Viscount Baltin-
"glass in Ireland.

"He was a principal means to break the hearts
"of the Irish Rebels: for whereas formerly the
"English were loaded with their own Cloaths, so
"that

"that their ſlipping into Bogs did make them, and "the clopping of their breeches did keep them "priſoners therein; he firſt, being then a Com- "mander, put himſelf into Iriſh Trouzes, and was "imitated firſt by all his Officers, then Souldiers; "ſo that thus habited, they made the more effe- "ctual execution on their enemies. He died at "*Ropers Reſt*, *anno Dom.* 164. and was buried with "*Anne* his Wife (Daughter to Sir *Henry Harring-* "*ton*) in St. *Johns* Church in *Dublin*. Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Umpton.

"SIr *Henry Umpton* was born at *Wadley* in "*Barkſhire*. He was ſon to Sir *Edward* "*Umpton*, by *Anne* (the Relict of *John* "*Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, and) the eldeſt Daugh- "ter of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerſet*. He "was employed by Queen *Elizabeth* Embaſſador "into *France*; where he ſo behaved himſelf right "ſtoutly in her behalf, as may appear by this parti- "cular. In the moneth of *March*, *anno* 1592, "being ſenſible of ſome injury offered by the Duke "of *Guiſe* to the Queen of *England*, he ſent him "this enſuing Challenge.

"*For as much as lately in the Lodging of my Lord* "Du Mayne, *and in publick elſewhere, impudently,* "*indiſcreetly, and over-boldly you ſpoke badly of my* "*Soveraign, whoſe ſacred Perſon here in this Country I* "*repreſent: To maintain both by word and weapon*

"*her*

Q. Eliz.

" her Honour, (which never was called in queſtion a-
" mong people of Honeſty and Vertue) I ſay, you have
" wickedly lyed in ſpeaking ſo baſely of my Soveraign;
" and you ſhall do nothing elſe but lye, whenſoever you
" ſhall dare to tax her Honour: Moreover, that her
" ſacred Perſon (being one of the moſt compleat and
" vertuous Princeſs that lives in this world) ought not
" to be evil ſpoken of the tongue of ſuch a perfidious
" Traytor to her Law and Country as you are. And
" hereupon I do defie you, and challenge your perſon to
" mine, with ſuch manner of Arms as you ſhall like
" or chuſe, be it either on horſe-back or on foot. Nor
" would I have you to think any inequality of Perſon
" between us, I being iſſued of as great a Race and No-
" ble Houſe (every way) as your ſelf. So aſſigning
" me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my
" words, and the lye which I gave you, and which you
" ſhould not endure if you have any courage at all in
" you. If you conſent not to meet me hereupon, I will
" hold you, and cauſe you to be generally held one of the
" arranteſt Cowards, and moſt ſlanderous Slave that
" lives in all France. I expect your anſwer.

" I finde not what Anſwer was returned. This
" Sir *Henry* dying in the French Kings Camp before
" *Lofear*, had his Corpſe brought over to *London*,
" and carried in a Coach to *Wadley*, thence to *Fa-*
" *rington*, where he was buried in the Church on
" *Tueſday* the eighth of *July* 1596. He had allowed
" him a Barons Hearſe, becauſe he died Ambaſſa-
" dour Leiger.

Obſerva-

Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Eſſex.

IT is obſerved, that the Earl of *Eſſex* had his Introduction to favour by the Lord of *Leiceſter*, who had married his Mother; a tye of Affinity. This young Lord was a moſt goodly perſon, in whom was a kind of Urbanity, or innate Courteſie, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the People, to gaze upon the new-adopted Son of her favour. He was noted even of thoſe that truly loved and honoured him, for too bold an Ingroſſer both of Fame and Favour. Having upon occaſion left the Court for a while, he gave a fair opportunity for his foes to undermine him; ſo that he lived a mixture between Proſperity and Adverſity: once very great in her favour, which was afterwards loſt, for want of conſideration and cunningneſs. He was raiſed by *Leiceſter* to prize *Rawley*, as *Rawley* was by *Suſſex* to check *Leiceſter*. Indeed Pity firſt opened the door to him for his Fathers ſake that died in *Ireland*, Alliance led him in for his Father-in-laws ſake *a* that reigned at Court. His own Royal Blood welcomed him for his Mother *Knowles*, that was kin to her Majeſty; his good Parts, his tall and comely Perſonage, his ſweet Diſpoſition, and incomparable Nature; his noble Anceſtors, his fair, though impaired Fortune, brought him firſt to favour, and then to dalliance.

a Leiceſter. *See Sir* H. Wottons *Obſervations.*

He was a Maſter-piece of Court and Camp; his

Q. *Eliz.* Beauty ennamelling his Valour, and his Valour being a foile to his Beauty; both drawing thoſe noble reſpects of love and honour; both *awing*, both *endearing*. It was his Nobleneſs that he diſtruſted none, it was his Weakneſs that he truſted all; whereby he ſuffered more from thoſe that ſhould have been his friends, then from them who were his enemies. Good Man! his ruine was, that he meaſured other breaſts by his own; and that he thought Mankinde was as innocent as his own perſon. His Merit gained applauſe, and his Paraſites ſwelled it to Popularity; and the laſt enjealouſied that Majeſty which the firſt had obliged. His youthful and raſh Sallies abroad, gave too much opportunity to his Enemies whiſpers, and too viſible occaſions for her Majeſties ſuſpicion, that he was either weak, and ſo not to be favoured; or dangerous, and ſo to be ſuppreſſed. Abſence makes Princes forget thoſe they love, and miſtruſt thoſe they fear. Exact Correſpondence is the ſinew of private and of publick friendſhip. So great a Maſter he thought himſelf of his Soveraigns affection, that he muſt needs be Maſter of himſelf, and ſteal to *France* without leave, where, ſaid the Queen, he might have been knocked on the head as *Sidney* was. His Journey to *France* was not more raſh, then his Voyage to *Cales* was renowned; yet the one gave the Envious arguments of his diſobedience, and the other of his Diſloyalty; his enemies ſuggeſting, that in the firſt he contemned his Miſtreſs, and that in the ſecond he had a deſigne upon her.

His Action at *Cales* was applauded; but his Triumphs were too ſolemn, his Panegyricks too high, his Train too Princely, his Honours and Knighthood

hoods too cheap, his Popularity too much affected, and his Ear more open to hear what he *had done*, then what *be was*. If his Manhood had been as ſlow as his *b* Youth, he had been moderate: if his Life had anſwered his *c* Education, he had been patient: if his Eye had been as open upon his Enemies, as his Ear to his friends, he had been cautious: if he had been as happy in his conſtant converſe, as he was obliging in his firſt addreſs, he had been a Prince: if he had had either leſs Fortune, or a greater Soul; either leſs of the Dove, or more of the Serpent, he had bid fair for a Crown; or at leaſt had ſaved his Head. The People wiſhed him well, but they are unconſtant; the Queen loved him, but ſhe is jealous: his Followers are numerous, but giddy; affectionate, but ill advice: his Enemies are few, but watchful on all occaſions: for is he pleaſed? they ſwell it to pride and vain imaginations: is he croſſed? they improve it to diſcontent and ſedition. An Army muſt be ſent againſt *Tyrone*; he is not willing that any other ſhould lead it, and unwilling to lead it himſelf; yet over he goeth fatally: for the ſervice was knotty, and his diſpoſition ſmooth; his power was large, but that with as large a minde intangled him: his Army was great, but that meeting with a great deſigne, precipitated him: his Title to the Crown was defended, but that loſt him his head. He had exact advices from friends, eſpecially from Sir *Francis Bacon*; and great directions from his Prince, but he followed his own: when he ſhould have fought the main body of his Enemy, he skirmiſheth their Forlorns; when he ſhould have returned with a noble Conqueſt, he ſtole home after a ſuſpitious Treaty: the Royal Checks that

Q. *Eliz.*

b He was one of them whoſe Natures diſcloſe but ſlowly.

c under Dr. Whitgift.

Q. *Eliz.* ſhould have inſtructed, incenſeth him; and what was deſigned a chaſtiſement, he turns to a ruine. Beloved he is of the People, but that aggravateth his raſhneſs; flattered by Courtiers, but that ſwelleth his humour: followed he is by the diſcontented of Church and State, but that increaſeth the jealouſie: ill adviſed he is by heady *Cuffe* and *Meyrick*, and that haſteneth his fall: humbled he is by the advancement of his Rivals, and that enrageth him: eaſie and open was his Nature; cloſe, active, and vigilant his Enemies.

Valiant he was, but therefore feared; Noble and obliging to all hopeful men, and therefore watched. A great Party he had, but they had no Head: A Minion he was at once to Prince and People, but he had no Balance. A Man of great Performances, but no Deſigne: One that had too much Religion and Fidelity to be a Traytor, too good a Nature to be ſafe, too much preſumption on affections when abſent to be ſteady. He preſumed too much on his own ſtrength, or his friends wiſdome, when he came out of *Ireland*; he was too much wrought upon by his enemies when he came to *London*, which had too much to looſe to hazard a Rebellion; and went not to *Wales*, where his fathers and his own goodneſs had engaged 1000 Lives and Fortunes. In a word, *Leiceſter*'s reſervedneſs, *Bacon*'s ſtayednes, Sir *Robert Cecil*'s humility, Sir *Fulke Grevil*'s modeſty, added to his Parts and Preſence, his Valour and Liberality, his good Nature and large Heart: his favour with his Prince, and popularity with the Subjects, had raiſed him to a capacity with the great Earl of *Warwick*, to ſet the Engliſh Crown on what Head he pleaſed; although

although it was the univerſal opinion, he had no other ambition then to ſet it on King *James* his head, which it belonged to, with his own hands: his deſigne was well principled, but not well moulded; he had many hands, but no able heads: his correſpondence was univerſal, but not firm and exact; his Nature was active, but impatient; his Intereſt was popular, not throughly underſtood; he neither comprehending the Inclinations of the Kingdome in groſs in Parliament, nor in the retayl in its particular diviſions. The Catholicks might have been his, but he was too good-natured to cajole them: the State was well inclined, but effeminate after ſo long Proſperity. Hope of Pardon ſent him to his Grave with more ſilence then was expected from him, and the Peoples regret; and with more ſorrow then became a Queen or her Kingdoms a ſafety. His Party was too needy, and their counſels too violent. Ambition and good Nature are incompatible. Others counſels are never ſo faithful as our own. When we hear others advice, let our Reaſon judge of it: when great, be wary; when ſucceſsful, reſerved; when riſing, ſtayed; eſpecially in that Age when men were poyſoned with Oyl, and undone with Honey: when active, modeſt; when checked, yeilding; when dandled, diſtruſtful; when flattered, fearful; when great, not abſolute, (as my Lord would have been in point of favour againſt my Lord *Mountjoy*, and valour againſt my Lord *Norris*.) Serve not your Followers, but employ them: Let others ſervice adminiſter to your deſigne, not your power to theirs: Let great Actions encourage greater; and let Honour be your merit, and not your expectation. Some have been Q. *Eliz.*

Q. *Eliz.* buſie in the enquiry of what reaſon the Virgin-Queen had for her kindneſs to *Leiceſter* and this man, (if there be a reaſon in any, much leſs in Royal love, ſave the affection its ſelf that bears it) true, he had Vertue and ſuffering enough at his firſt arrival to engage the kindneſs and the pity of a worſe Princeſs: yet ſome then diſcourſed of a Conjunction of their Stars that made way for that of their minds. Certainly (ſaith *Cambden*) the inclination of Princes to ſome perſons, and their diſfavour towards others, may ſeem fatal, and guided by higher Powers.

A Parallel between the Earl of Eſſex *and the Duke of* Buckingham, *by* H. W.

THE beginning of the Earl of *Eſſex* I muſt attribute wholly, or in great part to my Lord of *Leiceſter*; but yet as an Introducer or ſupporter, not as a Teacher: for as I go along, it will eaſily appear, that he neither lived nor died by his Diſcipline. Always certain it is, that he drew him firſt into the fatal Circle from a kinde of reſolved privateneſs at his houſe at *Lampſie*, in *South-wales*; where, after the Academical life, he had taken ſuch a taſte of the Rural, (as I have heard him ſay) and not upon any flaſhes or fumes of Melancholy, or traverſes of diſcontent, but in a ſerene and quiet mood, that he could well have bent his mind to a retired courſe. About which time, the ſaid Earl of

of *Leiceſter* bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the Queens favour: which was diverſly interpreted by ſuch as thought that great Artizan of Court to do nothing by chance, nor much by affection. Some therefore were of opinion, that feeling more and more in himſelf the weight of time, and being almoſt tired (if there be a ſatiety in power) with that aſſiduous attendance, and intenſive circumſpection which a long-indulgent fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling, for his own eaſe, to beſtow handſomely upon another ſome part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy. Q. *Eliz.*

Others conceived rather, that having before for the ſame ends brought in, or let in Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and having found him ſuch an Apprentice as knew well enough how to ſet up for himſelf, he now meant to allie him with this young Earl, who had yet taken no ſtrong impreſſions. For though the ſaid Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was a little before this, whereof I now ſpeak by occaſion, much fallen from his former ſplendour in Court: yet he ſtill continued in ſome luſtre of a favoured man, like billows that ſink by degrees, even when the wind is down that firſt ſtirred them.

Thus runs the diſcourſe of that time at pleaſure; yet I am not ignorant that there was ſome good while a very ſtiff averſation in my Lord of *Eſſex* from applying himſelf to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, for what ſecret conceit I know not; but howſoever, that humour was mollified by time, and by his mother; and to the Court he came under his Lord.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had another kinde of Germination; and ſurely had he been a plant, he would have been reckoned amongſt the *Sponte Na-*

Q. *Eliz. ſcentes:* for he ſprung without any help, by a kinde of congenial compoſure (as we may term it) to the likeneſs of our late Soveraign and Maſter of ever bleſſed memory; who taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to pleaſe himſelf, and moulded him, (as it were) Platonically to his own *Idea*; delighting firſt in the choice of the Materials, becauſe he found him ſuſceptible of good form; and afterward by degrees, as great Architects uſe to do, in the workmanſhip of his Regal hand: nor ſtaying here, after he had hardned and poliſhed him about ten years in the School of obſervance, (for ſo a Court is) and in the furnace of tryal about himſelf, (for he was a King could peruſe men as well as Books) he made him the aſſociate of his Heir apparent, together with the new Lord *Cottington* (as an adjunct of ſingular experience and truſt) in forraign travels, and in a buſineſs of love, and of no equal hazard (if the tenderneſs of our zeal did not then deceive us) enough (the world muſt confeſs) to kindle affection even betwixt the diſtanteſt conditions; ſo as by the various and inward converſation abroad, (beſides that before and after at home) with the moſt conſtant and beſt-natured Prince, *Bona ſi ſua norint*, as ever *England* enjoyed, this Duke becomes now ſecondly ſeized of favour, as it were by deſcent, (though the condition of that eſtate be no more then a Tenancy at Will, or at moſt for the life of the firſt Lord) and rarely tranſmitted: which I have briefly ſet down, without looking beyond the vail of the Temple, I mean into the ſecret of high inclinations; ſince even Satyrical Poets, (who are otherwiſe of ſo licentious fancy) are in this point modeſt enough to confeſs their ignorance.

Neſcio

Neſcio quid certa eſt quod me tibi temperet Aſtrum.

And theſe were both their Springings and Imprimings, as I may call them.

In the profluence or proceedings of their fortunes, I obſerve likewiſe not onely much difference between them, but in the Earl not a little from himſelf. First, all his hopes of advancement had like to be ſtrangled almoſt in the very Cradle, by throwing himſelf into the Portugal Voyage without the Queeens conſent, or ſo much as her knowledge; whereby he left his Friends and Dependents near ſix months in deſperate ſuſpenſe what would become of him. And to ſpeak truth, not without good reaſon: For firſt, they might well conſider, That he was himſelf not well plumed in favour for ſuch a flight: beſides, that now he wanted a Lord of *Leiceſter* at home (for he was dead the year before) to ſmooth his abſence, and to quench the practices at Court. But above all, it lay open to every mans diſcourſe, that though the bare offence to his Soveraign and Miſtriſs was too great an adventure, yet much more when ſhe might (as in this caſe) have fairly diſcharged her diſpleaſure upon her Laws. Notwithſtanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this excurſion was eſteemed but a Sally of youth. Nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit: whether ſuch intermiſſions as theſe do ſometimes foment affection; or that having committed a fault, he became the more obſequious and plyant to redeem it; or that ſhe had not received

Q. *Eliz.* received into her Royal Breaſt any ſhadows of his popularity.

There was another time long after, when Sir *Fulke Grevil*, (late Lord *Brooke*) a man in appearance intrinſecal with him, or at the leaſt admitted to his Melancholy hours, either belike eſpying ſome wearineſs in the Queen; or perhaps, with little change of the word, though more in the dangerſome marks towards him, and working upon the preſent matter, (as ſhe was dexterous and cloſe) had almoſt ſuper-induced into favour the Earl of *Southampton*; which yet being timely diſcovered, my Lord of *Eſſex* choſe to evaporate his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common way) to be ſung before the Queen, (as it was) by one *Hales*, in whoſe voyce ſhe took ſome pleaſure; whereof the complot me thinks had as much of the Hermit as of the Poet:

And if thou ſhould'ſt by Her be now forſaken,
She made thy Heart too ſtrong for to be ſhaken.

As if he had been caſting one eye back at the leaſt to his former retiredneſs. But all this likewiſe quickly vaniſhed, and there was a good while after fair weather over-head. Yet ſtill, I know not how, like a gathering of Clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew tart, as being now in the Lees of favour, it brake forth into certain ſuddain receſſes; ſometimes from the Court to *Wanſteed*, otherwhiles unto *Greenwich*, often to his own Chamber, Doors ſhut, Viſits forbidden; and which was worſe, divers conteſtations (between) with the Queen her ſelf, (all preambles of ruine) where-

wherewith though now and then he did wring out of her Majeſty ſome petty contentments, (as a man would preſs ſowre Grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the counſel of a wiſe, and then a Prophetical Friend, who told him, that ſuch courſes as thoſe were like hot Waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often uſed, will ſpoil the ſtomack. Q. *Eliz.*

On the Dukes part, we have no ſuch abrupt ſtrains and precipees as theſe, but a fair, fluent and uniform courſe under both Kings: And ſurely, as there was in his natural Conſtitution a marvellous equality, whereof I ſhall ſpeak more afterwards; ſo there was an image of it in his Fortune, running (if I may borrow an ancient compariſon) as ſmoothly as a numerous Verſe, till it met with certain Rubs in *Parliament*, whereof I am induced by the very ſubject which I handle, to ſay ſomewhat, ſo far as ſhall concern the difference between their times.

WHen my Lord of *Eſſex* ſtood in favour, the Parliaments were calm: nay, I find it a true obſervation, that there was no impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons from the Reign of King *Henry* the ſixth, until the eighteenth of King *James*, nor any intervenient precedent of that nature; not that ſomething or other could be wanting to be ſaid, while men are men: For not to go higher, we are taught eaſily ſo much by the very Ballads and Libels of *Leiceſtrian* time.

But about the aforeſaid year, many young ones being choſen into the Houſe of Commons more then had been uſual in great Councils, (who though of the weakeſt wings, are the higheſt Flyers) there aroſe

Q. *Eliz.* aroſe a certain unfortunate and unfruitful Spirit in ſome places; not ſowing, but picking at every ſtone in the field, rather then tending to the general harveſt. And thus far the conſideration of the Nature of the Time hath tranſported me, and the occaſion of the ſubject.

Now on the other ſide, I muſt with the like liberty obſerve two weighty and watchful Sollicitudes, (as I may call them) which kept the Earl in extream and continual Caution, like a bow ſtill bent, whereof the Dukes thoughts were abſolutely free.

Firſt, he was to wreſtle with a Queens declining, or rather with her very ſetting Age, (as we may term it) which, beſides other reſpects, is commonly even of it ſelf the more umbratious and apprehenſive, as for the moſt part all Horizons are charged with certain Vapours towards their Evening.

The other was a matter of more Circumſtance, ſtanding thus, *viz.*

All Princes, eſpecially thoſe whom God hath not bleſſed with natural iſſue, are (by wiſdome of State) ſomewhat ſhie of their Succeſſors; and to ſpeak with due Reverence, there may be reaſonably ſuppoſed in Queens Regnant, a little proportion of tenderneſs that way, more then in Kings. Now there were in Court two names of *Power*, and almoſt of *Affection*, the *Eſſexian* and the *Cecilian*, with their adherents, both well enough enjoying the preſent, and yet both looking to the future; and therefore both holding correſpondency with ſome of the principal in *Scotland*, and had received advertiſements and inſtructions, either from them, or immediately from the King as induciat Heir of this Imperial Crown. But

But leſt they might detect one another, this was myſteriouſly carried by ſeveral inſtruments and conducts, and on the *Eſſexian* ſide, in truth, with infinite hazard: for Sir *Robert Cecil* who (as Secretary of State) did diſpoſe the publick Addreſſes, had prompter and ſafer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable paſſage on either part, as the ſtory following ſhall declare. Q. *Eliz.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* had accommodated Maſter *Anthony Bacon* in partition of his Houſe, and had aſſigned him a noble entertainment. This was a Gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head; and through his hand run all the intelligences with *Scotland:* who being of a provident nature, (contrary to his brother the Lord Viſcount Saint *Albans*) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous Secret, would many times cunningly let fall ſome words, as if he could amend his Fortunes under the *Cecilians*, (to whom he was near of alliance, and in blood alſo) and who had made (as he was not unwilling ſhould be believed) ſome great profers to win him away: which once or twice he preſſed ſo far, and with ſuch tokens and ſignes of apparent diſcontent to my Lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, (who was of the party, and ſtood himſelf in much Umbrage with the Queen) that he flees preſently to my Lord of *Eſſex*, (with whom he was commonly *prima admiſſiones*) by his bed-ſide in the morning, and tells him, that unleſs that Gentleman were preſently ſatisfied with ſome round ſum, all would be vented.

This took the Earl at that time ill provided, (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were low) whereupon he was fain ſuddenly to give him *Eſſex*-houſe; which

Q. *Eliz.* which the good old Lady *Walſingham* did afterwards diſ-engage out of her own ſtore with 2500 pound; and before, he had diſtilled 1500 pound at another time by the ſame skill. So as we rate this one ſecret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in preſent money, beſides at the leaſt 1000 pound of annual penſion to a private and bed-rid Gentleman: What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own buſineſs?

There was another accident of the ſame nature on the *Cecilian* ſide, much more pleaſant, but leſs chargeable, for it coſt nothing but wit. The Queen having for a good while not heard any thing from *Scotland*, and being thirſty of news, it fell out that her Majeſty going to take the air towards the heath, (the Court being then at *Greenwich*) and Maſter Secretary *Cecil* then attending her, a Poſt came croſſing by, and blew his Horn: The Queen out of curioſity asked him from whence the Diſpatch came; and being anſwered, From *Scotland*; ſhe ſtops her Coach, and calleth for the Packet. The Secretary, though he knew there were ſome Letters in it from his Correſpondents, which to diſcover, were as ſo many Serpents; yet made more ſhew of diligence then of doubt to obey; and asks ſome that ſtood by (forſooth in great haſte) for a Knife to cut up the Packet, (for otherwiſe he might perhaps awaked a little apprehenſion) but in the mean time approaching with the Packet in his hand, at a pretty diſtance from the Queen, he telleth her it looked and ſmelt ill-favouredly coming out of a filthy Budget, and that it ſhould be fit firſt to open and air it, becauſe he knew ſhe was averſe from ill Scents.

And

And ſo being diſmiſſed home, he got leiſure by this ſeaſonable ſhift, to ſever what he would not have ſeen. Q. *Eliz.*

Theſe two accidents preciſely true, and known to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpoſe, to ſhew how the Earl ſtood in certain perplexities, wherewith the Dukes days were not diſtracted. And this hath been the Hiſtorical part (as it were) touching the difference between them in the riſing and flowing of their fortunes.

I will now conſider their ſeveral Endowments both of *Perſon* and *Minde*, and then a little of their *Actions* and *Ends*.

The Earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the ſtronger, and of the abler body: but the Duke had the neater limbs, and free delivery; he was alſo the uprighter, and of the more comely motions: for the Earl did bend a little in the neck, though rather forwards then downwards: and he was ſo far from being a good Dancer, that he was no graceful Goer. If we touch particulars, the Duke exceeded in the daintineſs of his leg and foot, and the Earl in the incomparable fairneſs and fine ſhape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praiſe) he took from his Father: for the general Air, the Earl had the cloſer and more reſerved Countenance, being by nature ſomewhat more cogitative, and (which was ſtrange) never more then at Meals, when others are leaſt: Inſomuch, as he was wont to make his obſervation of himſelf, that to ſolve any knotty buſineſs which cumbred his mind,

Q. *Eliz.* mind, his ableſt hours were when he had checked his firſt appetite with two or three morſels, after which he ſate uſually for a good while ſilent: yet he would play well and willingly at ſome games of greateſt attention; which ſhewed, that when he liſted he could licence his thoughts.

The Duke on the other ſide, even in the midſt of ſo many diverſions, had continually a very pleaſant and vacant face, (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a ſingular aſſurance in his temper. And yet I muſt here give him a rarer Elogie, which the maligneſt eye cannot deny him, That certainly never man in his place and power, did entertain greatneſs more familiarly, nor whoſe looks were leſs tainted with his felicity; wherein I inſiſt the rather, becauſe this in my judgement was one of his greateſt Vertues and Victories of himſelf.

But to proceed: in the attiring and ornament of their bodies, the Duke had a fine and unaffected politeneſs, and upon occaſion coſtly, as in his Legations.

The Earl as he grew more and more attentive to buſineſs and matter, ſo leſs and leſs curious of cloathing: inſomuch, as I do remember, thoſe about him had a conceit that poſſibly ſometimes when he went up to the Queen, he might ſcant know what he had on: for this was his manner: His Chamber being commonly ſtived with Friends or Suiters of one kinde or other, when he gave his legs, arms, and breaſt to his ordinary ſervants to button and dreſs him with little heed, his head and face to his Barbour, his eyes to his letters, and ears to Petitioners, and many times all at once, then the Gentleman of his Robes throwing a cloak over his ſhoulders,

ders, he would make a ſtep into his Cloſet, and after a ſhort prayer, he was gone: only in his Baths, he was ſomewhat delicate. For point of diet and luxury, they were both inordinate in their appetites, eſpecially the Earl, who was by nature of ſo different a taſte, that I muſt tell a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would ſtop in the midſt of any phyſical Potion, and after he had licked his lips, he would drink off the reſt; but I am wearie of ſuch ſlight Animadverſions. Q. *Eliz.*

To come therefore to the inward furniture of their minds, I will thus much declare.

The Earl was of good Erudition, having been placed at ſtudy in *Cambridge* very young by the Lord *Burleigh* his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the overſight of Doctor *Whitgift*, then Maſter of *Trinity Colledge*, and after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: A man (by the way) ſurely of a moſt reverend and ſacred memory, and (as I may well ſay) even of the Primitive temper, when the Church in lowlineſs of temper did flouriſh in high examples, which I have inſerted as a due recordation of his vertues, having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About ſixteen years of his age (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of Maſter of Arts, and kept his publick Acts. And here I muſt not ſmother what I have received by conſtant Information, that his own Father dyed with a very cold conceit of him, ſome ſay through the affection to his ſecond ſon *Walter Devereux*, who was indeed a diamond of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture,: But it ſeemes, this Earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open ſlow-

Q. *Eliz.* ly; Nature ſometimes delighting to play an after-game as well as Fortune, which had both their turnes and tides in courſe.

The Duke was Illiterate, yet had learned at Court, firſt to ſift and queſtion well, and to ſupply his own defects by the drawing or flowing unto him of the beſt Inſtruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a ſweet and attractive manner, to ſuck what might be for the publike or his own proper uſe; ſo as the leſs he was favoured by the Muſes, he was the more by the Graces.

To conſider them in their pure Naturals, I conceive the Earls Intellectuall faculties to have been his ſtronger part, and in the Duke his Practical.

Yet all know, that he likewiſe at the firſt was much under the expectation of his after-proof; ſuch a ſudden influence therein had the Soveraign aſpect. For their Abilities of diſcourſe or pen, the Earl was a very acute and ſound ſpeaker when he would intend it; and for his Writings, they are beyond example, eſpecially in his familiar Letters and things of delight at Court, when he would admit his ſerious habits, as may be yet ſeen in his Impreſſes and inventions of entertainment; and above all, in his darling piece of love, and ſelf-love; his Stile was an elegant perſpicuity, rich of phraſe, but ſeldome any bold Metaphors, and ſo far from Tumor, that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Dukes delivery of his mind I conceive not to be ſo ſharpe as ſolid and grave, not ſo ſolid and deep as pertinent, and appoſite to the times and occaſions.

The Earl I account the more liberal, and the Duke the more magnificent; for I do not remem-

ber

ber that my Lord of *Eſſex* in all his life-time did build or adorne any houſe, the Queene perchance ſpending his time, and himſelf his meanes, or otherwiſe inclining to popular ways; for we know the people are apter to applaud houſ-keepers, then houſ-raiſers. They were both great cheriſhers of Scholars and Divines; but it ſeems, the Earl had obtained of himſelf one ſingular point, that he could depart his affection between two extremes: for though he bare always a kinde of filial reverence towards Dr *Whitgift*, both before and after he was Archbiſhop; yet on the other ſide, he did not a little love and tender Maſter *Cartwright*, though I think truly, with large diſtinction between the perſons and the Cauſes, howſoever he was taxed with other ends in reſpecting that party. Q. *Eliz.*

They were both fair-ſpoken Gentlemem, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; in this the Earl hath been moſt falſly blemiſhed in our vulgar Story: only againſt one man he had forſworn all patience, namely *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, and would call him (*per Excellentiam*) the Sycophant (as if it had been an Emblem of his name) even to the Queen her ſelf, though of no ſmall inſinuation with her; and one Lady likewiſe (that I may civilly ſpare to nominate, for her ſex ſake) whom he uſed to terme the Spyder of the Court: yet generally in the ſenſitive part of their Natures the Earl was the worſe Philoſopher, being a great Reſenter and a weak Diſſembler of the leaſt diſgrace: And herein likewiſe, as in the reſt, no Good Pupill to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who was wont to put all his paſſions in his pocket.

In the growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a

Q. *Eliz.* little the ſwifter, and much the greater; for from a younger brothers meane eſtate, he roſe to the higheſt degree whereof a Subject was capable either in Title or Truſt. Therein I muſt confeſſe much more conſortable to *Charles Brandon* under *Henry the Eight*, who was equall to him in both.

For matter of Donative and addition of ſubſtance, I do not believe that the Duke did much exceed him, all conſidered, under both Kings.

For that which the Earl of *Eſſex* had received from her Majeſty, beſides the Fees of his Offices, and the diſpoſition of great Summes of money in her Armies, was (about the time of his Arraignment, when faults uſe to be aggravated with precedent benefits) valued at three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling in pure gift for his onely uſe, to the Earl of *Dorſet* then Lord Treaſurer; who was a wiſe man, and a ſtrict Computiſt, and not ill affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of note in the Margent of both Times, that the one was proſecuted with ſilence, and the other with murmur; ſo undoing a meaſure is popular judgment.

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in eſtabliſhing of both their Fortunes and Fames.

For the firſt, the Duke had a care to introduce into neer place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high places very ſound and grave Perſonages. Whereas, except a Penſioner or two, we can ſcant name any one man advanced of the Earls breeding, but Sir *Thomas Smith*, having been his Secretary, who yet came never further (though married into a noble Houſe) then to the Clerk

Clerk of the Councell, and Regiſter of the Parliament: not that the Earl meant to ſtand alone like a Subſtantive (for he was not ſo ill a *Grammarian* in Court;) but the Truth is, in this point the *Cecilians* kept him back, as very well knowing that upon every little abſence or diſaſſiduity, he ſhould be ſubject to take cold at his back. Q. *Eliz.*

For the Other, in managing of their Fames, I note between them a direct contrary wiſdome; For the Earl proceeded by way of Apology, which he wrote and diſperſed with his own hands at large, though till his going to *Ireland* they were but aiery objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his eaſe to do him that kinde of Service; He refuſed it with a pretty kinde of thankfull ſcorn, ſaying, that he would truſt his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errours; and that he ſaw no fruit of Apologies, but the multiplying of diſcourſe: which ſurely was a well-ſetled Maxime. And for my own particular (though I am not obnoxious to his memory) in the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, *Neque injuria, neque beneficia*, ſaving that he ſhewed me an ordinary good Countenance: And if I were, yet I would diſtinguiſh between Gratitude and Truth. I muſt bear him this Teſtimony, that in a Commiſſion laid upon me by Soveraign Command to examine a Lady about a certain filthy accuſation grounded upon nothing but a few ſingle names taken up by a Footman in a kennel, and ſtraight baptized, A liſt of ſuch as the Duke had appointed to be poyſoned at home, himſelf being then in *Spain*: I found it to be the moſt malicious and frantick ſurmiſe, and the moſt contrary to his na-

Q. Eliz. ture that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the World, howſoever countenanced by a Libellous Pamphlet of a fugitive Phyſician even in Print; and yet of this would not the Duke ſuffer any anſwer to be made on his behalf, ſo conſtant he was to his own principles.

In their Military Services the Characters of the Earls imployments were theſe, *viz.*

His forwardeſt was that of *Portugal*, before mentioned.

The ſaddeſt, that of *Roan*, where he loſt his brave Brother.

His fortunateſt peece I eſteem the taking of *Cadiz*, *Malez*, and no leſs modeſt; for there he wrote with his own hands a cenſure of his Omiſſions.

His jealouſeſt imployment was to the relief of *Calais* beſieged by the Cardinall Arch-duke: about which, there paſſed then between the Queen and the French King much Art.

His Voiage to the *Azores* was the beſt, for the diſcovery of the Spaniſh weakneſs, and otherwiſe almoſt a ſaving Voiage.

His blackeſt was that to *Ireland*, ordained to be the Sepulchre of his Father, and the Gulph of his own Fortunes.

But the firſt in 88, at *Tilbury-camp*, was in my judgement the very poyſon of all that followed; for there whileſt the Queen ſtood in ſome doubt of a *Spaniſh Invaſion* (though it proved but a Morrice-dance upon our Waves) ſhe made him in Field Commander of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court) and much graced him openly in view of the Souldiers and people, even above my Lord of *Leiceſter*

ceſter: the truth is, from thenceforth he ſed too faſt. Q. *Eliz.*

The Dukes employment abroad in this nature, was onely in the Action of the *Iſle of Reez*, of which I muſt note ſomewhat for the honour of our Country, and of his Majeſties times, and of them that periſhed and ſurvived, and to redeem it generally from miſ-underſtanding. Therefore after enquiry amongſt the wiſeſt and moſt indifferent men; of that Action I dare pronounce, that all Circumſtances pondered, A tumultuary banding on our part, with one thouſand in the whole on theirs ready to receive us with two hundred horſe, with neer two thouſand foot, and watching their beſt time of advantage, none of their foot diſcovered by us before, nor ſo much as ſuſpected, and onely ſome of their Horſe deſcried ſtragling, but not in any bulk or body: their Cavalry not a Troop of *Baſcoigners* mounted in haſte, but the Greater part Gentlemen of Family, and of pickt Reſolution, and ſuch as charged home both in Front and on both Flanks into the very Sea; about *ſixſcore* of their two hundred horſe ſtrewed upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with a great ſhot; and after this their foot likewiſe coming on to charge, till not liking the buſineſs they fell to flinging of ſtones, and ſo walked away:

I ſay, theſe things conſidered and laid together, we have great reaſon to repute it a great impreſſion upon an unknowne place, and a noble argument that upon occaſion we have not loſt our ancient vigour. Only I could wiſh that the Duke, who then in the animating of the ſouldiers ſhewed them very eminent aſſurance of his valour, had afterwards

Q. Eliz. remembred that rule of *Apelles*, *Manum de Tabula*. But he was greedy of honour, and hot upon the publique ends, and too confident in the prosperity of beginnings, as somewhere *Polybius*, *that great Critique* of war, observeth of young Leaders whom fortune hath not before deceived. In this their military care and dispensation of reward and punishment, there was very few remarkable occasions under the Duke, saving his continuall vigilancie and voluntary hazard of his person, and kindnesses to the Souldiers, both from his own table and purse; for there could be few disorders within an Iland where the troops had no scope to disband, and the Inferior Commanders were still in sight.

In the Earl we have two examples of his severity, the one in the Island Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his own hands out of a Ship; the other in *Ireland*, where he decimated certain troops that ran away, renewing a peece of the Roman Discipline.

On the other side, we have many of his Lenitie, and one of his Facility, when he did connive at the bold trespas of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who before his arrivall at *Fyall*, had banded there against his precise Commandment; at which time he let fall a Noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a Martial Court: That I would do (said he) if he were not my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last Act, which was written in the Book of necessity.

At the Earls end I was abroad, but when I came home

home (though little was left for Writers to gleane after Judges) yet, I ſpent ſome curioſity to ſearch what it might be that could precipitate him into ſuch a prodigious Cataſtrophe; and I muſt, according to my profeſſed freedome, deliver a circumſtance or two of ſome weight in the truth of that ſtory, which was neither diſcovered at his arraignment, nor after in any of his private confeſſions. Q. *Eliz.*

There was amongſt his neareſt attendants one *Henry Cuffe*, a man of ſecret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate Counſels ſmothered under the habit of a Scholar, and ſlubbered over with a certain rude and clowniſh faſhion, that had the ſemblance of integrity.

This Perſon not above five or ſix weeks before my Lords fatall irruption into the City, was by the Earls ſpecial Command ſuddainly diſcharged from all further attendance, or acceſſe unto him, out of an inward diſpleaſure then taken againſt his ſharp and importune infuſions, and out of a glimmering overſight, that he would prove the very inſtrument of his Ruine.

I muſt adde hereunto, that about the ſame time my Lord had received from the Counteſſe of *Warwick* (a Lady powerfull in the Court, and indeed a vertuous uſer of her power) the beſt advice that I think was ever given from either ſex; That when he was free from reſtraint, he ſhould cloſely take any out-lodging at *Greenwich*, and ſometimes when the Queene went abroad in a good humour, (whereof ſhe would give him notice) he ſhould come forth, and humble himſelf before her in the field.

This Counſell ſunk much into him, and for ſome days

Q. *Eliz.* days he reſolved it: but in the meane time, through the interceſſion of the Earl of *Southampton*, whom *Cuffe* had gained, he was reſtored to my Lords ear, and ſo working advantage upon his diſgraces, and upon the vaine foundation of Vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, ſpun out the final deſtruction of his Maſter and himſelf, and almoſt of his reſtorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches.

True it is, that the Earl in *Weſtminſter-hall* did in generall diſcloſe the evill perſwaſions of this man; but the particulars which I have related by this diſmiſſion and reſtitution, he buried in his owne breſt for ſome reaſons apparent enough; Indeed (as I conjecture) not to exaſperate the Caſe of my Lord of *Southampton*, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true Report I had by infallible meanes from the perſon himſelf that both brought the advice from the aforeſaid excellent Lady, and carried the diſcharge to *Cuffe*, who in a private Chamber was ſtrucken therewith into a Sound almoſt dead to the Earth, as if he had fallen from ſome high ſteeple; ſuch Terrets of hope he had built in his own fancy.

Touching the Dukes ſuddain period, how others have repreſented it unto their Fancies, I cannot determine: for my part, I muſt confeſſe from my Soul that I never recall it to minde without a deep and double aſtoniſhment of my diſcourſe and reaſon.

Firſt, of the very horrour and atrocity of the Fact in a Chriſtian Court, under ſo moderate a Government; but much more at the impudencie of the pretence, whereby a deſperate diſcontented Aſſaſſinate would after the perpetration have honeſted

neſted a meere private revenge (as by precedent Circumſtances is evident enough) with I know not what publick reſpects, and would fain have given it a Parliamentary cover howſoever. Thus theſe two great Peers were diſ-roabed of their Glory, the one by judgment, the other by violence, which was the ſmall diſtinction. Q. Eliz.

Now after this ſhort contemplation of their diverſities, (for much more might have been ſpoken, but that I was fitter for Rhapſody then commentary) I am laſtly deſirous to take a Summary view of their Conformities, which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient Parallel.

They both ſlept long in the arms of Fortune: They were both of ancient blood, and of Forraign extraction: They were both of ſtrait and goodly ſtature, and of able and active bodies: They were both induſtrious & aſſiduous, and attentive to their ends: They were both early Privie Counſellours, and employed at home in the ſecreteſt and weightieſt affairs in Court and State: They were both likewiſe Commanders abroad in Chief, as well by Sea as by Land: both Maſters of the Horſe at home, both choſen Chancellours of the ſame Univerſity, namely, *Cambridge:* They were both indubitable ſtrong, and high-minded men; yet of ſweet and accoſtable nature, almoſt equally delighting in the preſs and affluence of Dependants and Suiters, which are always the Burres, and ſometimes the Briers of Favourites. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies, and ſole Heirs, and left iſſue of either Sex; and both their Wives converted to contrary Religions. They were both in themſelves rare and excellent

examples

Q. *Eliz.* examples of Temperance and Sobriety, but neither of them of Continency.

Laſtly, after they had been both ſubject (as all Greatneſs and Splendor is) to certain obloquies on their actions; They both concluded their earthly felicity in unnaturall ends, and with no great diſtance of time in the ſpace either of Life or Favour.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Jeffery Fenton.

SIr *Jeffery Fenton*, born in *Nottinghamſhire*, was for twenty ſeven years Privy-Counſellour in *Ireland* to Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*. He tranſlated the Hiſtory of *Francis Guicciardine* out of *Italian* into *Engliſh*, and dedicated it to Queen *Elizabeth*. He deceaſed at *Dublin*, *October* 19. 1608, and lyeth buried in St. *Patricks* Church, under the ſame Tomb with his Father-in-Law Doctor *Robert Weſton*, ſometimes Chancellour of *Ireland*. It is an happy age when great men do what wiſe men may write; an happier, when wiſe men write what great have done; the happieſt of all, when the ſame men act and write, being Hiſtories, and compoſing them too. For theſe men having a neerer, and more thorow-inſight to the great ſubjects of Annals than men of more diſtant capacities and fortunes, are the onely perſons that have given the world the right notion of Tranſactions, when men of lower and more pedantique ſpirits trouble it onely with more heavy Romances. Give me

me the actions of a Prince tranſcribed by thoſe Hiſtorians who could be inſtruments. The beſt Hiſtory in the world is *Cæſar*'s Commentaries, written by him, and tranſlated by *Edmonds*, with the ſame ſpirit that they were acted. *Xenophon* and *Thucydides*, whoſe pens copied their Narratives from their Swords. *Tacitus*, *Malvezzi*, *Machiavel*, *Comines*, *Moor*, *Bacon*, *Herbert* and *a Burleigh* (who writ the affairs of former Ages with the ſame judgement that they managed thoſe of their own.) In a word, an Hiſtory written by ſuch a Courtier as *Guicciardine*, and tranſlated by ſuch a Counſellor as *Fenton*. Diamond onely can cut Diamond, the great onely expreſſe the great: a perſon that hath a ſight of the Intelligence, Negotiations, Conferences, and inward tranſactions of States, is one from whom I expect a more exact Chronicle of this age than yet this Nation hath been happy in.

Q. *Eliz.*

a *His* Eliz. *to which* Cambden *gave but the language and the tranſcript.*

Obſervations on the Life of Doctor Fletcher.

GIles *Fletcher* (brother to *Richard Fletcher* Biſhop of *London*) was born in *Kent*, as I am credibly a informed. He was bred firſt in *Eaton*, then in Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he became Doctor of Law. A moſt excellent Poet (a quality hereditary to his two ſons, *Giles* and *Phineas*) was ſent Commiſſioner into *Scotland*, *Germany*, and the Low-Countreys, for Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Embaſſador into *Ruſſia*, Secretary

a *From the mouth of Mr.* Ramſey *Miniſter of* Roughham *in* Norfolk, *who married the widow of Mr.* Giles Fletcher, *ſon to this Doctor.*

Q. *Eliz.* Secretary to the City of *London*, and Master of the Court of Requests. His *Russian* Embassie to settle the "*English* Merchandize was his Master-piece, "to *Theodor Juanowich*, Duke of *Muscovia*. He "came thither in a dangerous juncture of time, "*viz.* in the end of the year 1588.

"First, some Forreiners (I will not say they "were the *Hollanders*) envying the free Trade of "the *English*, had done them bad offices.

"Secondly, a false report was generally belie-"ved that the *Spanish* Armado had worsted the "*English* Fleet, and the Duke of *Muscovy*, who mea-"sured his favour unto the *English*, by the possi-"bility he apprehended of their returning it) grew "very sparing of his smiles, not to say free of his "frowns on our Merchants residing there. How-"ever, our Doctor demeaned himself in his Em-"bassie with such cautiousnesse, that he not onely "escaped the Dukes fury, but also procured ma-"ny priviledges for our *English* Merchants, ex-"emplified in * Mr. *Hackluit*. Returning home, "and being safely arrived at *London*, he sent for "his intimate friend Mr. *Wayland*, Prebendary of "St. *Pauls*, and Senior fellow of Trinity Colledge "in *Cambridge* (Tutor to my Father, from whose "mouth I received this report) with whom he "heartily expres'd his thankfulnesse to God for "his safe return from so great a danger; for the "Poets cannot fancy *Ulysses* more glad to be come "out of the Den *Polyphemus*, than he was to be rid "out of the power of such a barbarous Prince, "who counting himself by a proud and voluntary "mistake Emperour of all Nations, cared not for "the Law of all Nations; and who was so habited in "blood,

* This volume of *English* Navigations, p. 473.

"blood, that had he cut off this Embaſſador's "head, he and his friends might have ſought their "own amends; but the queſtion is, where he would "have found it? He afterwards ſet forth a Book "called *The Ruſſian Common-wealth*, expreſſing "the Government, or Tyranny rather thereof; "wherein (ſaith my † Author) are many things "moſt obſervable: but Queen *Eliz.* indulging the "reputation of the Duke of *Muſcovy* as a confede- "rate Prince, permitted not the publick printing "of that; which ſuch who have private Copies, "know to ſet the valuation thereon.

Q. *Eliz.*

† Camb. *in his* Eliz. *Anno* 1583. *when he was Agent in* Muſcov. *as afterward Embaſſador.*

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Mountjoy.

THE Lord *Mountjoy* was of the ancient Nobility; as he came from *Oxford*, he took the Inner-Temple in his way to Court, whither no ſooner come, but (without asking) had a pretty ſtrange kinde of admiſſion. He was then much about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a ſweet face, a moſt neat compoſure, and tall in his perſon; ſo that he coming to ſee the faſhion of the Court, was ſpied out by the Queen, and out of the affection ſhe bare to the very ſight of his face, received him into favour; upon the firſt obſervation whereof, ſhe profeſſed, that ſhe knew there was in him ſome noble blood. He was one that wanted not wit and courage, for he had very fine attractions; and being a good Scholar, yet were they accompanied with the retractives of baſhful-

Q. *Eliz.* bashfulneſſe, and a natural modeſty. There was in him an inclination to Arms, with an humour of Travelling: and as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the Theory of a Soldier, ſo was he ſtrongly invited by his Genius to the Acquaintance of the Practick of the War, which were the cauſes of his excurſions; for he had a Company in the Low-Countreys, from whence he came over with a noble acceptance of the Queen, but ſomewhat reſtleſſe: in honourable thoughts he expoſed himſelf again and again, and would preſſe the Queen with the pretences of viſiting his Company ſo often, that at length he had a flat denyal, and yet he ſtole over with Sir *John Norris*, into the action of *Britain*; but at laſt the Queen began to take his Deceſſions for contempts, and confined his reſidence to the Court, and her own preſence. She was ſo confident in her own Princely judgement and opinion that ſhe had conceived of his worth and conduct, that ſhe would have this noble Gentleman, and none other, to finiſh, and bring the *Iriſh* War to a propitious end; which (not deceiving her good conceit of him) he nobly atchieved, though with much pains and carefulneſſe.

"Among the greateſt things laid to Queen *Eli-*
"*zabeth* her charge (ſaith the *Cenſurer*) as caſt
"behind the door of neglect, was the conduct of
"the Affairs of *Ireland*; a place lying all her Halcy-
"on dayes under ſo great a contempt, that wiſe
"*Walſingham* thought it no Treaſon to wiſh it *bu-*
"*ried in the Sea*, conſidering the charge it brought:
"yet ſhe kept the *Pale* in good order, not ſuffer-
"ing the *Spaniſh* party to grow more potent in the
"North,

"North, than was convenient to consume his forces, and divert him from neerer and more dangerous attempts. It being impossible for her without being grievous to her people (a Rock she chiefly studied to avoid) at one time to maintain so dreadful a Navy at Sea, and foment the *Dutch* and *French*, to whose assistance she was called by a louder necessity, than to render a Nation quite desolate: none being willing during her life to exchange the present government of a natural Princess, for the lesse happy tyranny of a Vice-Roy; of which the most did study more their respective Grandeur by extending the War, than the ease of the Inhabitants, and lessening the Queens expence, till the noble Lord *Mountjoy* was employed, who had no other design than the conclusion of the Work; which he had not yet brought about, but that the *Spaniards* found themselves betrayed through the covetousnesse and cowardize of the Natives, that for small sums would sell not onely such Forreigners as came to help them, but their neareſt Relations. Nor was it possible to reduce them to civility, but by curing the Bogs and Fastnesses, and building Castles and Garisons, which he did; nor easie to subdue them without that severity to the Priests, which he used; whom he found exercising such an implicite power over the Peoples consciences, that they could not resolve themselves of their Soveraigns right or Religion.——

"This for his *Irish* government: touching his Domestick relation; When Queen *Elizabeths* favour to *Essex* (like a bone by breaches made more firm) swelled him to such a degree

Q. Eliz. "of confidence as frowned on them as enemies that "acknowledged not his friendship, or depended "not on his favour, to balance him and my Lord "*Cecil*, this gallant Gentleman, and of honourable "extraction, was placed in her eye; many hoping "by his application to draw from her heart the "affection they thought mortal to them and their "design, the whole result concluding in a Duel that "raised both in their Mistriss affections, as Cham-"pions for her beauty now, and like to be so for "her Government.

"There are some Letters of this noble person's "to be seen, I am told, of a plain and equal style be-"coming a States-man and businesse; not seldome "yet admitting of several constructions, if of any "interpretation at all, where the businesse related "to a thing whose consequence could not easily be "seen into.

Observations on the Life of Edward *Earl of* Rutland.

A Noble-man, eminent for those several Endowments, which single, do exact an entire man. For a person of his quality to be an accurate Critick in the learned Tongues, & then as a Rhetorician to make all their Graces serve his Eloquence; to have traversed Ancient, and yet be no Stranger in Modern Writers: to be well versed in the more crabbed Philosophy, and accurate in Politer classick Authors; to be learned in History and Policy, and a Master in the Law of the Land, and of Nations.

tions. For such a man to have devoured so much, and yet digested it, is a rarity in nature, and in diligence, which hath but few examples: yet his speculative knowledge "that gave light to the most dark "and difficult propositals, became eclipsed by the "more dazling lustre of his more practick and ex- "perimental prudence; which together with his "alliance to my Lord *Burleigh*, had voted him to "*Bromley*'s place, but that they both sickned in one day, and died in one week; he leaving these four Advisoes behind him, 1. Be *always* employed. 2. *Look* to the Issue. 3. Be *furnished with a friend*. And 4. *Reflect* upon thy self — *Vita est in se Reflexio*.

Q. *Elis*

Observations on the Life *of Sir* John Smith.

HIS Relation to *Edward* the sixth his Cousin German, was enough to countenance his parts, and his parts ripe and large enough to advance his person. -- His gravity could be no where better employed than in *Spain*, nor his reservedness any where more suitable than in *Italy*. In *Spain* his carriage had a great impression upon the King, and his spirit upon the whole Court. For *Gasper Quiroga* Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, inveighing bitterly against the Queen's person, and more against her *Title* (*Defender of the Faith*) was answered by him with that Wisdome and Prudence, that his Majesty of *Spain* checked the Arch-Bishop as an *Impertinado*, as he called

Q. *Eliz.* him, and hugged Sir *John Smith*, as a man who had made *himself* dreadful, and his Mistriss therefore much more to that Court -- (They who least consider hazard in *the doing of their duty, fare best still.*) The surest way to safety, is to *have one interest espoused so firmly, as never to be changed.* Nor did he this out of a vainer bottome than an observation he made of his Mistrisses resolution, already in despair of procuring good from any milder endeavours than those of power: A signal testimony of the commanding worth this Gentleman had, which extorted a reverence to his person in that very place where his business contracted an Odium. An excellent person he was, in whom honesty of manners strived with Nobility of Birth, and merit with honour; of a composed and stayed temper, that would say under all temptations to disquiet, Either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not: If it be, why do we not manage it to our content? If not, why are we discontented, especially since every thing hath two handles? If the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate. Upon which consideration, all private concernments he passed over with a perfect indifference: the world and its Appendages hanging so loose about him, that he never took notice when any part dropt off, or sate uneasily.

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Walter Rawleigh.

SIr *Walter Rawleigh* was well deſcended, and of good Alliance, but poor in his beginning. He was one ſo toſſed by fortune to and fro, that he was ſometimes high, ſometimes low, ſometimes in a middle condition. He was brought up in the Univerſity and Innes of Court, but he ſtayed not long in a place: and being the youngeſt Brother, and the Houſe diminiſhed in Patrimony, he foreſaw his own deſtiny, that he was firſt to roul (through want and diſability) before he could come to a repoſe. He firſt expoſed himſelf to the Land-ſervice of *Ireland* (a Militia) which then did not yield him food and raiment; nor had he patience to ſtay there, (though ſhortly after he came thither again) under the command of the Lord *Grey*. As for his Native parts, and thoſe of his own acquiring, he had in the outward man a good preſence, in a handſom and well-compacted perſon, a ſtrong natural wit, and a better judgement, with a bold and plauſible tongue, whereby he could ſet out his parts to the beſt advantage; and to theſe he had the adjuncts of ſome general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great Augmentation, and Perfection; for he was an indefatigable Reader, whether by Sea or Land, and none of the leaſt obſervers both of Men and the Times. Falling from that ſudden grace, which he by his parts had

Q. *Eliz.* gained of the Queen, he went aſide for a while, but at his return he came in with the greater ſtrength, and ſo continued to her laſt, great in her favour, and Captain of the Guard. His prudence *underſtood* his capacity, and his induſtry *ſerved* it; raiſing his fortune as high as his parts, and his parts as high as his mind. His Motto was, *Either dye* nobly, or *live* honorably. Never man proſpered, but the reſolute, and he that hath awaked an eaſie, ſoft, ſleepy, or indifferent temper, to the noble adventure of being *Cæſar*, or being none: a diſpoſition meeting a large and capacious ſoul in this Gentleman, taught him the exact diſcipline of War in *Ireland* and the Low-Countries, the great skill of a Sea-man between *Europe* and *America*, and a patience as ſevere in enduring hardſhip, as his neceſſity in requiring it. Five hours he ſlept, four he read, two he diſcourſed; allowing the reſt to his buſineſs and his neceſſities: no Soldier fared or lay harder, none ventured further: what is not *extraordinary* (he would ſay) is *nothing*: It being the end of all Arts and Sciences to direct men by certain rules unto "the moſt compendious way in their knowledge "and practice: thoſe things of which in our ſelves "we have onely ſome imperfect confuſed notions, "being herein fully and clearly repreſented to our "view from the diſcoveries that other men have "made, after much ſtudy and long experience; "and there is nothing of greater conſequence for "the advancement of Learning, than to finde out "thoſe particular advantages which there are for "the ſhorteſt way of knowing and teaching things "in every profeſſion. There was not an expert Soldier or Sea-man, but he conſulted; not a printed

or

or manuſcript, diſcourſe of Navigation or War but he peruſed; nor were there exacter rules or principles for both ſervices, than he drew: ſo contemplative he was, that you would think he was not active; ſo active, that you would ſay he was not prudent -- A great Soldier, and yet an excellent Courtier: an accompliſhed Gallant, and yet a booki-ſh man; a man that ſeemed born for any thing he undertook: his wit brought him to Court, and kept him there; for there happening a difference between him and my Lord *Grey*, under whom he ſerved in *Ireland*, which was heard before the Council-Table, *Rawleigh* ſtated his caſe with that clearneſſe, urged his arguments with that evidence and reaſon, offered his Apologies with thoſe *pertinent* and *taking* allegations, and his Replies with that ſmartneſſe; expreſſed himſelf with that fluency and eloquence, and managed his carriage and countenance with that diſcretion, that he was firſt the States-mens obſervation, next her Majeſties Favourite, and at laſt her Oracle; as who was equally happy in his comprehenſive diſcourſes to her of her private intereſt in every part of her government, and in his effectual Speeches to her Subjects in Parliament touching theirs in every part of their duty. Q. *Eliz.*

Two things he obſerved in his Miſtriſs;

1. That ſhe was penurious in her Largeſſes.
2. That ſhe was choice in her Favourites.

Whence he concluded, that there was no good to be done unleſſe he got an eſtate firſt, and then a reputation.

To the firſt, we owe his Sea-voyages, when his whole fortune was often put up in one ſhip;

Q. *Eliz.* And to the laſt, his Land-ſervices, when all his expectation depended on one action. Two Rivals he obſerved, *Eſſex* for action, *Cecil* for counſel: The one he went under abroad, to outvy him; the other he complyed with at home, to undermine him: but wanting ſtrength, though not parts to be both their Corrivals, he periſhed, becauſe not thought to own humility enough to be their ſervants. *Cecill* indeed was his friend, becauſe *Eſſex* was his enemy: but he taught him, *That it was more ſafe at Court to have many enemies of equall power, than one falſe and ambitious friend, that hath attained to the abſoluteneſſe of command:* But this he was often heard to ſay, he did not apprehend, before his Genius had dictated it to him, as he came in a Boat from the execution of the Earl of *Eſſex*, which was done at the Tower. -- Yet two wayes I finde him getting up: 1. By uncouth projects in Parliament beyond expectation; which (though they might oblige his Miſtriſs) together with an opinion of his irreligion, loſt him with the People. 2. By extraordinary undertakings in Warre beyond his Commiſſion; which (though performed to outdo his Generals) had forfeited his head to their ſeverity and juſtice, had not his wit complyed with their eaſineſſe and goodneſſe. It's a queſtion among the *Curioſos*, whether his often abſence from Court was his *prudence*, or his *weakneſſe*, it being a *quodlibet*, whether that diſtance was a greater allay to his *enemies malice*, or his *Soveraigns love*; while his forreign actions were not ſo cloſe at her ear to his advantage, as his Adverſaries applications to his diſparagement.

Two things I muſt needs ſay are wonderful in him.

him. 1. The diſpatch and induſtry of the former part of his life. 2. The weakneſſe of the latter. Q. *Eliz.*

Touching the firſt, he that ſhall conſider his laborious way of ſtudy, immers'd in almoſt infinite reading and obſervation, to which the running over of innumerable books, and a vaſt multitude of men was neceſſary: His Obligations to read not onely common Authors, but all Records, Schemes, and Papers that he could come by: His correſpondence with Friends and Strangers; his review of his own Papers (which he ſate cloſe to by Sea and Land) that never paſſed him without three tranſcriptions; his reception of viſits, whether of civility, or buſineſſe, or diſcourſe, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time; his agency for all ſorts of perſons (his intereſt with his thrifty Miſtriſs being moſt part of his penſion) in which capacity he ſet up a kinde of Office of Addreſs---his Letters, which coſt him one day in the week: The time loſt upon his misfortunes, which made it neceſſary for him often to break his great ſeries and method of undertaking. He, I ſay, that ſhall compute, and ſum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly told without any ſtraining of the truth, or flouriſh of expreſſion, muſt be *much* to ſeek how a man of ſo many actions ſhould write any thing, and one of ſo many writings ſhould do any thing; and *more*, how one of ſo many fatall diverſions could keep up a ſteady minde for thoſe great, but exact arguments that it hath left in the world; eſpecially when there was one very difficult particular in all his compoſures, *viz.* that none of his Diſcourſes with which his Hiſtory or other Books are embelliſhed, paſſed his exact hand before the moſt knowing and moſt learned

Q. Eliz. learned men in that faculty to which those discourses belonged, had debated them before him; who after their departure summed up all into those excellent pieces now abroad under his name, which I blame not King *James* for envying, being the nearest his own: though I think not that learned Prince of so low a spirit, as "out of an impertinent "emulation to affect Sir *Walter Rawleigh* the lesse, "for the great repute that followed him be-"cause of his pen; which being more dangerous "than his Sword, I wonder that wise Prince "indulged him, especially since that Master *Hamp-*"*den* a little before the Wars was at the charge of "transcribing 3452 sheets of his Manuscripts, as the "*Amanuensis* himself told me, who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an Attendant to deliver him the Originals, and take his Copies as fast as he could write them.

2 To the second, *viz.* the weakness of the last part of his life: 1. There was not a *greater reach* in that advice of his to the Queen (when some were for attacquing *Spain* one way, and some another) to cut off its commerce with the *Indies*, than there was shortness of spirit in trusting the most hopeful part of that expedition to Sir *John Burroughs*, when he *sunke* under the most *disastrous* himself. Yet 2. That he, when Captain of the Guard, Warden of the Cinque-ports, Governor of *Virginia* (a place of his own discovery) preferments enough to satisfie a regular spirit, should stand on termes with King *James* against the Law of the Land, the Genius of the Nation, the resolution of the Nobility, and Reason it self (that knoweth there is no cautions that hold Princes, but their

their intereſt and nature) was a greater infirmity. Q. *Eliz.*
But 3. That he upon the Kings frown for his former indiſcretion upon him, and *Cobham*, ſhould engage upon ſo ſhallow a Treaſon (" ſo improbable " to hurt others, or benefit themſelves, that if ever " folly was capable of the title, or pity due to in- " nocence, theirs might claim ſo large a ſhare as not " poſſible to be too ſeverely condemned, or ſlightly " enough puniſhed) and that with ſuch weak and " inconſiderable men, as were rather againſt the go- " vernment, than for one another (*Grey* being a " Puritan, and *Cobham* a Proteſtant) were the greateſt: but there is one particular more behind; *That he who could employ his reſtraint ſo well, ſhould lye under the juſtice as well as jealouſie of K.* James: And knowing that Princes muſt not pardon any able man that either they have wronged, or that hath wronged them, be ſo intent upon a fooliſh liberty, wherein he loſt himſelf and his in that unhappy voyage of *Guiana*; a voyage, that conſidering King *James* his inclination to the Match, his own obnoxiouſneſſe to that King abroad, and *Cecil* here for obſtructing the Peace with *Spain*, and *Gondamor's* vigilance, muſt needs be as unſucceſsful, as it was diſguſtful.

" Methinks he that was of ſo incomparable a " dexterity in his judgement, as the *Treaſurer* " grew jealous of his excellent parts, leſt he ſhould " ſupplant him; of ſo quick and ready apprehenſion " and conduct, that he puzzled the Judges at *Win-* " *cheſter*: of ſo good a Head-piece, that it was wiſh- " ed then on the Secretary of State's ſhoulders: " of ſo conſiderable an intereſt, that notwithſtand-

" ing

Q. Eliz. "ing his fourteen years impriſonment, Princes interceded for him, the whole Nation pitied him, and King *James* would not execute him without an Apology; And to ſay no more, of ſo much magnanimity, that he "managed his death with "ſo high and religious a reſolution, as if a Chriſti- "an had acted a *Romane*, or rather a *Roman* a "Chriſtian; might have gone off the world at a "higher rate, but that there is an *higher power* governs wiſdome, as inviſibly, yet as really as wiſdome doth the world; which when I look back upon my Lord of *Eſſex*, I call *fate*; but when from him I look forward to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, I believe a *providence*.

"He had a good preſence in a handſome and "well-compacted perſon, a ſtrong natural wit, a "better judgement, with a bold and plauſible "tongue, which ſet off his parts to the beſt advan- "tage: to theſe he had the adjuncts of a general "Learning; which by diligence and experience "(thoſe two great Tutors) was augmented to a "great perfection, being an indefatigable Reader, "and having a very retentive memory: before his "Judges at *Winchester* humble, but not proſtrate; "dutiful, yet not dejected: to the Jury affable, "but not fawning; hoping, but not truſting in "them, carefully perſwading them with reaſon, not "diſtemperately importuning them with conjurati- "ons; rather ſhewing love of life, than fear of death: "patient, but not careleſs; civil, but not ſtupid.

Obſerva-

Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Thomas, Sackvil, *Lord* Buckhurſt.

"HE was bred in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, "where he became an excellent Poet, "leaving both *Latine* and *Engliſh* Po-"ems of his to poſterity. Then ſtudied he Law "in the Temple, and took the degree of Barriſter; "afterwards he travelled into Foreign parts, was "detained for a time a Priſoner in *Rome*, which he "revenged afterwards in the liberty of his ſpeech "at the *Powder-Traytors* Tryal. Wen his liberty "was procured for his return into *England*, he "poſſeſſed the vaſt inheritance left him by his Fa-"ther, whereof in ſhort time by his magnificent "prodigality he ſpent the greateſt part, till he ſea-"ſonably began to ſpare, growing neer to the bot-"tom of his Eſtate.

"The ſtory goes, that this young Gentleman "coming to an Alderman of *London*, who had gain-"ed great pennyworths by his former Purchaſes of "him, was made (being now in the wane of his "wealth) to wait the coming down of the Alder-"man ſo long, that his generous humour being "ſenſible of the incivility of ſuch Attendance, re-"ſolved to be no more beholding to Wealthy "Pride; and preſently turned a thrifty improver "of the remainder of his Eſtate. But others make "him, as aboveſaid, the Convert of Queen *Eliza-"beth*, (his Couſin-German once removed) who "by her frequent Admonitions, diverted the tor-

"rent

Q. Eliz. "rent of his profusion. Indeed she would not know "him, till he began to know himself, and then "heaped places of Honour and Trust upon him, "creating him

"1. Baron of *Buckhurst* in *Sussex*, *Anno Dom.* 1566.

"2. Sending him Ambassador into *France*, *Anno* 1571. Into the Low-Countries, *Anno Dom.* "1566.

"3. Making him Knight of the Order of the "Garter, *Anno* 1589.

"4. Appointing him Treasurer of *England*, "1599.

"He was Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, "where he entertained Qu: *Elizabeth* with a most "sumptuous Feast. He was called the Star-cham-"ber-Bell, so very flowing his invention; and there-"fore no wonder if his Secretaries could not please "him, being a person of so quick dispatch, (facul-"ties which yet run in the blood.) He took a "Roll of the names of all Sutors, with the Date "of their first Addresses, and these in order had "their hearing, so that a Fresh-man could not "leap over the head of his Senior, except in ur-"gent Affairs of State. This having made amends "to his house for his mispent time, both in increase "of Estate and Honour, being created Earl of *Dor-"set* by King *James*, he died on the 19th of *A-"pril*, 1608.

"The Lord *Buckhurst* was of the noble house of "the *Sackvils*, and of the Queens consanguinity; his "Father was that provident & wise man Sir *Richard* "*Sackvil*, or as the people then called him, *Fill-"sack*, by reason of his great wealth, and the vast

"Patrimony

" Patrimony which he left to this his ſon, whereof Q. Eliz.
" he ſpent in his youth the beſt part, until the Qu:
" by her frequent admonitions diverted the torrent
" of his profuſion; he was a very fine Gentleman of
" perſon and endowments both of Art and Nature.
" His elocution is much commended, but the ex-
" cellency of his Pen more; for he was a Scholar,
" and a perſon of quick faculties, very facete and
" choice in his phraſe and ſtyle. He was wiſe and
" ſtout, nor was he any ways inſnared in the facti-
" ons of the Court, which were all his time very
" ſtrong. He ſtood ſtill in grace, and was wholly
" intentive to the Queens ſervice; and ſuch were
" his abilities, that ſhe received aſſiduous proofs
" of his ſufficiency. As

" 1. In his Embaſſie to *France*, whereas the
" Queen-Mother complemented him, he behaved
" himſelf very worthy of his Miſtriſſes Majeſty, and
" his own Peerage: there he had an experienced
" *Tuſcan*, *Calacanti* by name, to deal with that
" *Florentine* Queen; *Montmorancy's* brother, to
" undermine the *Guiſes*; and his own great parts to
" grapple with old *Hoſpital*: He began that ſubtle
" piece the *French* Match, under pretence whereof
" we balanced, and underſtood *Europe*; and *Wal-*
" *ſingham* finiſhed it.

" 2. In his Negotiations in the Low-Countries,
" where he watched *Leiceſter* and the Command-
" ers; he obſerved the States, and their changeable
" and various Intereſts, accommodating the pre-
" ſent emergencies, and ſuiting their occaſions.

They that cenſure this Nobleman's death, conſi-
der not beſides the black worm and the white (day
and night, as the Riddle is) that are gnawing con-
ſtantly,

Q. *Eliz.* ſtantly at the root of the tree of Life, There are many inſenſible diſeaſes, as *Apoplexies*, whoſe vapors ſodainly extinguiſh the animal ſpirits; and Apoſthumes both in the upper and middle Region of man, that often drown and ſuffocate both the animal and vital, who are like embodied Twins, the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other: If the animal wits fail, the vital cannot *ſubſiſt*; if the vitals periſh, the animals give over their operation: and he that judgeth ill of ſuch an act of Providence, may have the ſame hand at the ſame time writing within the Palace-walls of his own body, the ſame *period* to his lives Earthly Empire.

The End of the Obſervations upon the Lives of the Stateſmen and Favourites of *England*, in the Reign of Queen *Eliz.*

THE

THE
STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES
OF
ENGLAND,
IN
The Reign of King *James*.

Obſervations on the Lives of the Cliffords, *Earls of* Cumberland.

THE name hath been for three Ages ancient and Noble, and in this laſt Age Warlike and ſerviceable: They had the government of the *North* in their own right for an hundred yeares, and the hereditary Sheriff-dome of *Weſtmorland* in right of the *Viponts* their Relations for *two*.—— *Henry* the firſt Earl of *Cumberland* was rayſed by *Henry* the Eighth to that Honour, 1525, for his ſervice at *Tournay* and *Berwick*. *Henry* his ſon was by Queen *Mary* honoured with the Garter for his conduct againſt *Wyat*; and by Queen *Eliz.* graced with peculiar favours for his Induſtry, Integrity and Vigilance in the *North*. As Nature, ſo

K. *James.* Nobility *ſubſiſts and grows by the ſame thing that it is made of*: Vertue that creates, ſupports it.

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord George Clifford.

"GEorge *Clifford*, Lord *Clifford*, *Veſcye*, &c. "Earl of *Cumberland*, was ſon to *Henry* "ſecond Earl of that Family, by his ſecond "Lady; a perſon wholly compoſed of true honour "and valour, whereof he gave the world a large "and clear demonſtration.

"It was reſolved by the judicious in that Age, "The way to humble the *Spaniſh* greatneſs, was not "in pinching and pricking of him in the Low-"Countries, which onely emptied his veins of "ſuch blood as was quickly re-filled: But the way "to make it a Cripple for ever, was by cutting off "the *Spaniſh* ſinews of War, his Monies from the "*Weſt-Indies* [the back-door robs the houſe.] "In order whereunto, this Earl ſet forth a ſmall "Fleet on his own coſt, and adventured his own "perſon therein, being the beſt born *Engliſhman* "that ever hazarded himſelf in that kinde. His "Fleet may be ſaid to be bound for no other Har-"bour but the Port of Honour, though touching "at the Port of Profit in paſſage thereunto; I ſay, "touching, whoſe deſign was not to enrich himſelf, "but impoveriſh the Enemy.

"He was as merciful as valiant, (the beſt metal "bends beſt) and left impreſſions of both in all pla-"ces where he came. Queen *Eliz.* *Anno* 1592.

"honoured

"honoured him with the dignity of the Garter. K. *James*.
"When King *James* came first out of *Scotland* to
"*Yorke*, he attended him with such an equipage of
"Followers for number and habit, that he seemed
"rather a King, than Earl of *Cumberland*. Here
"happened a Conteſt between the Earl and the
"Lord Preſident of the North, about carrying the
"Sword before the King in *Yorke*; which Office,
"upon due ſearch and enquiry was adjudged to the
"Earl, as belonging unto him: and whileſt *Clif-*
"*ford*'s Tower is ſtanding in *Yorke*, that Family
"will never be therein forgotten. His Anagram
"was as really as literally true:

"*Georgius Cliffordius Cumberlandius.*
"*Davidis regno clarus cum vi fulgebis.*

He died *Anno* 1605. leaving one Daughter and Heir, the Lady *Anne*, married to the Earl of *Dorſet*.

This noble perſon taught the world, *That the Art of making War hath not a poſitive form, and that it ought to be diverſified according to the ſtate of Occurrences*. They that will commit nothing to Fortune, nor undertake any Enterprize whoſe event appeareth not infallible, eſcape many dangers by their wary conduct, but fail of as many ſucceſſes by their unactive fearfulneſſe. It's *uſeleſſe to be too wiſe*, and ſpend that time in a grave gaze on buſineſſe, that might ſerve the ſpeedy diſpatch of it. Neither was our *Peer* great onely in the atchievements of the Field to pleaſe higher ſpirits, but gaudy at Court to aſtoniſh and raviſh the loweſt; making noble expences when neceſſary, and appearing ſplendid on the important occaſions, whoſe

K. *James.* principal quality resided in Magnificence. Yet was he not transported with these appearances, or to make them the greatest ornament of his conduct: the choicest expressions of his life, fixing neither his greatnesse upon a transitory Pageant, nor his glory upon a fading Pomp.

Observations on the Life of Sir Tho. Smith.

"SIr *Thomas Smith* was born at *Abington* in "*Bark-shire*, bred in the University of *Ox-*"*ford*: God and himself raised him to the "Eminency he attained unto, unbefriended with "any extraction. He may seem to have had an in-"genuous emulation of Sir *Thomas Smith* Senior, "Secretary of State, whom he imitated in many "good qualities, and had no doubt equalled in "preferment, if not prevented by death. He at-"tained onely to be Master of the Requests, and "Secretary to King *James* for his *Latine* Letters: "higher places expecting him, when a period was "put at once to his life and to his hopes, *Novemb.* "28. 1609. The generous piety of the honourable "Countess of *Exeter* having erected him one Mo-"nument at *Fulham*, and his own worth another "in History.

His Father died, when he was yet so young, that he knew not what a Father meant: but his Mothers affection for her Husband died not with him; whereupon she multiplyed her cares on this Gentleman and her other children so abundantly, that a long

a long while he little found the want of that dear name, her transcendent love so well supplying the place of both relations: For no sooner was he fit to learn, than she did by friends procure the best Masters those Times afforded, to render his education perfect in those exercises as well of the minde as of the body, wherein they that flattered him not, would say he was no ill Proficient: such *majesty*, such *modesty* in his carriage, that men would admire how two such distant things could meet in one subject. His eye was quick and piercing, his shape and motion charming; the ayre and lineaments of his countenance lively arguments that his soul was not inferiour to his body, -- but that the one promised no more *pleasure* to those that looked on it, than the other did *service* to those that employed it: His *meen* deserving preferment from the favour of a Soveraign, and his parts gaining it from his justice. Fortune did him not so much wrong in his mean Birth, as he did himself right by *great merit*, so worthy a Prince's service, and a *Courts* favour: He read and saw what others did, but not with others apprehensions; *his* judgement of things being not common, nor his observations low, flat, or vulgar, but such as became a breast now furnishing it self for businesse and for government. K. *James.*

There was an ancient custome to celebrate the Anniversary of the King's Coronation with all the Shews of Magnificence and joy which the Art or Affections of the People could invent; and because we are esteemed the Warlik'st Nation in the whole world, to continue that just regulation, we declined all those effeminacies which are so predominant in other Courts, and absolutely addicted our

K. *James.* ſelves to ſuch Martial exerciſes as are nothing leſſe pleaſing and delightful than the other, and yet fit and prepare men more for the real uſe of Arms, and acquiſition of glory. Here our Knight's praiſe came to my Lord of *Carliſle's* notice, who firſt deſigned him a Commander; but finding his *Genius* more courtly than *Martial*, more learned than active, recommended him to his Majeſties ſofter ſervices, where none more obliging to the People by his induſtry and intereſt at Court, none more ſerviceable to his Majeſty by the good name he gained in the Countrey: So careful was he of publick content, that from five to nine his Chamber was open to all *Comers*; where you would finde him with the one hand making himſelf ready, with the other receiving Letters: and in all this hurry of Buſineſſe, giving the moſt orderly, clear, and ſatisfactory diſpatches of any Stateſman at that time. From nine to one he attended his Maſter, to whom he had as eaſie acceſs as he gave to his People. Two things ſet him up; 1. A fair reſpect from his Maſter upon all occaſions, and as fair a treatment of the People: He had his diſtinct Claſſis of Affairs, and his diſtinct Officers for thoſe Claſſis: The order and method whereof incredibly advanced his diſpatch, and eaſed his burden; which took up his day ſo, that there remained but ſome hours he ſtole from night and ſleep, for his beloved and dear Studies; and King *James* ſaid, he was the hardeſt Student in *White-Hall* — and therefore he did not always trouble his Maſter with buſineſſe, but ſometimes pleaſe him with diſcourſe. If Fortune had been as kinde to him as Nature, greater Employments had been at once his honour and his buſineſs;

buſineſs: But from all his ſervices and performances, he derived no other advantage than the acting of them; and at his death he left no other wealth behind him, but that of a high reputation: never arriving at thoſe enjoyments that enhance our Cares, nor having time to withdraw himſelf from thoſe cares that take away the reliſh of our enjoyments. K. *James.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Fulke Grevil.

SIr *Fulke Grevil*, ſon to Sir *Fulke Grevil* the elder, of *Becham-Court* in *Warwick-ſhire*, deſcended from *Willoughby* Lord *Brook*, and Admiral to *Hen.* 7. was bred firſt in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: He came to the Court, back'd with a full and fair Eſtate; and Queen *Elizabeth* loved ſuch ſubſtantial Courtiers as could plentifully ſubſiſt of themſelves: He was a good Scholar, loving much to employ (and ſometimes to advance) learned men, to whom worthy Biſhop *Overal* chiefly owed his Preferment; and Mr. *Cambden* (by his own confeſſion) feaſted largely of his Liberality. His ſtudies were moſt in Poetry and Hiſtory, as his Works do witneſſe: His ſtile conceived by ſome to be ſwelling, is allowed lofty and full by others. King *James* created him Baron *Brook* of *Beauchamp-Court*, as deſcended from the ſole Daughter and Heir of *Edward Willoughby*, laſt Lord *Brook*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the 7th. His ſad death, or murther rather, happened on

K. *James.* this occasion: His discontented servant conceiving his deserts not soon, or well enough rewarded, wounded him mortally, and then (to save the Law the labour) killed himself; verifying the observation, that he may when he pleaseth be master of another mans life, who contemneth his own. He lyeth buried in *Warwick* Church under a Monument of black and white Marble, whereon he is stiled, Servant to Queen *Elizabeth*, Counsellour to King *James*, and Friend to Sir *Philip Sidney*.

Though a Favourite, he courts Ladies rather than Honour, and pursued his study rather than his ambition, being more contemplative than active: Others ministred to Queen *Elizabeths* government, this Gentleman to her Recreation and Pleasures: He came to Court when all men should, young, and stayed there until he was old; his fortune being as smooth as his spirit, and the Queens favour as lasting as his merit. He bred up *Statesmen*, but was *none*. Sir *William Pickering* was like to have gained the Queens Bed by studying, Sir *Philip Sidney* had her Heart for writing, and Sir *Fulke Grevil* had her favour for both: one great argument for his worth, was his respect of the worth of others; desiring to be known to posterity under no other notions than of *Shakespear*'s and *Ben Johnson*'s Master, Chancellor *Egerton*'s Patron, Bishop *Overal*'s Lord, and Sir *Philip Sidney*'s *friend*. His soul had the peace of a great fortune, joyned to a greater minde: His worth commended him to Majesty; his affableness indeared him to the popularity: his mornings were devoted to his Books, his afternoons to his knowing Friends, his nights

nights to his debonair Acquaintance: He was the Queens Counſellor for perſons, as others were for matters and things: Sweet was his diſpoſition, winning his converſe, fluent his diſcourſe, obliging his looks, geſtures, and expreſſions; publick his ſpirit, and large his ſoul: his Genius prompted him to prepare himſelf for Domeſtick ſervices by Foreign employments, but the great Miſtriſs of her Subjects affections and duties forbad it, and his own prudence checked it. So dear was he to the Queen, that when his horſes were ſhipped at *Dover* for the Netherlands, her Mandate by Sir *Edward Dier* ſtopped him: When he went over with *Walſingham*, he was remanded; and when with *Leiceſter*, he was checked: He was the exact image of action and quiet happily united in him, ſeldome well divided in any. He would have acted his great principles of Government, yet he could be confined only to write them. He could ſit down with ſome Poetick and polite Characters of Vertue, when he was debarred the real exerciſes of it. He had kept *Eſſex* his head on, had not that unhappy man's Paraſites made the Earl deaf to his Counſels, and his Enemies removed *him* from his preſence, under a pretence of guarding the Seas againſt his Enemies, while his *Kinſman* was betrayed by his Friends.

K. *James*.

In his Book called, The Declination of Monarchs.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Robert Cecil.

SIr *Robert Cecil*, ſince Earl of *Salisbury*, was the heir of the Lord *Burleigh*'s prudence, the inheritour of his favour, and by degrees a ſucceſſor to his places, though not to his Lands, for he was a younger Brother. He was firſt Secretary of State, then Maſter of the Wards, and in the laſt of her Reign came to be Lord Treaſurer; all which were the ſteps of his Fathers greatneſſe, and of the honour he left to his houſe. For his perſon, he was not much beholding to Nature, though ſomewhat for his face, which was the beſt part of his outſide: but for his inſide, it may be ſaid he was his Father's own ſon, and a pregnant Proficient in all diſcipline of State. He was a Courtier from his Cradle, yet at the age of twenty and upwards, he was much ſhort of his after-proof; but expoſed, and by change of climate he ſhewed what he was, and what he would be: He lived in thoſe times, wherein the Queen had moſt need and uſe of men of weight; and amongſt able ones, this was a chief, as having his ſufficiency from his inſtructions that begat him the Tutorſhip of the Times and Court, *then* the Academy of Art and Cunning, when Engliſh prudence and Counſel was at the higheſt, as moſt exerciſed with Foreign dangers, and Domeſtick practices. Vaſt was his apprehenſion, becauſe ſo large his proſpect; Sir *Francis Walſingham* having opened the Conclave of *Rome*, and his Father

ther the Cabals of *Spain*; insomuch that he knew each design in both places, every Port, every Ship with the Burthens, whither bound, what impediments, for diversion of Enterprizes, Counsels, and Resolutions, as appears by his private dispatches (as his manner was) with those of the Councel, one whereof to my Lord *Mountjoy*, since Earl of *Devonshire*, with whom he seasonably closed, runs thus---

K. *James*.

Sir *Robert Naunton's* Fragmenta.

——— *I must in private put you out of doubt (for of fear I know you cannot be otherwise sensible than in a way of honour) that the* Spaniard *will not come to you this year: for I have it from my own what preparations are in all Parts, and what he can do: For be confident he beareth up a reputation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe: but the next year be assured he will cast over unto you some Forlorn-Hopes; which how they may be re-inforced beyond his present ability, and his first intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judgement: but I believe out of my Intelligence, that you may expect their Landing at* Munster; *and the more to distract you in several places, as at* Kingsale, Beer-haven, *and* Baltimore, *where you may be sure (coming from Sea) they will first fortifie and learn the strength of the Rebels before they dare take the Field.*

This States-man's character is engraven upon his honour,

K. *James.* honour, and his portraicture drawn in his Patent for Earl of *Salisbury*; which to many formal words hath added these effectual expressions --- As *also for his faithfulnesse, circumspection, stoutnesse, wisdome, dexterity, providence and care not onely in the great and weighty Affairs of Counsell, but generally also in all other Expeditions of the Realm.*

And indeed not a man upon the Helme of this Common-wealth understood all points of the Compasse better than himself, who in a stayed and calm settledneſſe looked on the private designs that were promoted upon his Mistriss declining, and privately overthrowed them and their Masters, while in an uninterrupted course of integrity towards his Mistriss, and faithfulnes to his Countrey, he kept clear the succession, equally careful not to enjealous his present Mistress, and not to obstruct his future Master, with whom he kept an honest correspondence, although there goeth this story of him, that a Post from *Scotland* meeting her Majesty upon *Greenwich*-heath, Sir *Robert Cecil* in all hast would needs cut open the *Packet*, and pretending it stunk, had time to *perfume* it [her Majesty being very curious in her smelling] and convey away his own Letters: be this so or so, it's certain, that when assistant to the Earl of *Derby* in his *French* Embassie, he promoted the young King of *Scots* interest against his Mothers: when Sir *Francis Walsingham*'s Colleague, he defeated her Counsels against him; and when principal Secretary, he sounded, crossed, and undid the little plot that was shrowded under the great name of *Essex*, turning and winding, raising and ruining the Authors of it at his own pleasure. No sooner was the Queen dead, than his Messenger

Messenger was with the King at *Edenburgh*, and he himself with his Favourite [Sir *George Humes*] at *Torke* ; with whose assistance, and honest Sir *Roger Aston's* mediation, King *James* makes *him* his bosome-friend, *his* house [*Theobalds*] his residence, and his account of the *English* Laws, Government, and temper his *rule* : Finding him but Knight and Secretary, he created him Baron of *Essenden*, Viscount *Cranbourn*, Knight of the Garter, and Earl of *Salisbury* : *He* promoted him Master of the Wards and Lord Treasurer ; in all which capacities how vigilant he was against the Papists, and their Plots, their *Libels* (which he answered in *English* and *a Latine* very elegantly and wisely) demonstrate -- how careful of the publique Treasure, this Narrative shews. K. *James.*

[a] Adversus perduelles.

King *James* had bestowed upon Sir *Robert Carr* twenty thousand pound: my Lord apprehending the sum as more correspondent with his Master's goodnesse, than his greatnesse, with the royalty of his heart, than the poverty of his Exchequer ; and observing his Majesty more careful of what money passed his own hands, than what passed his servants, contrives that the good King should goe through the place where this great sum lay in silver to a treatment ; where demanding whose money it was, and being answered, that *it was his own before he parted with it*, He understanding the design, protested he was cheated, and intended not above five hundred pounds; and the Favourite was glad to make use of the Lord Treasurer's mediation for the *moyety* of that great sum. How industrious in the improvement of his Masters Revenue, these particulars *conclude, viz.*

1. A

K. James. 1. A ſurvey of the Crown-lands, known before by report rather than by meaſure; and let by chance, rather then knowledge. 2. A Revival of the Cuſtody-lands Revenue by Commiſſioners of Aſſerts. 3. A tarrier of Crown-wood-lands, their growth and value; where he numbered, marked, and valued all the Timber hitherto unknown. 4. The Commiſſioners he procured to look into Copy-hold-Lands, Waſtes, and Commons. 5. The Rules to forfeited Eſtates and extended Lands. 6. The improvement of the Cuſtoms from 86000 to 135000 pounds *per annum*. 7. The bargain about the *London* River-water. 8. The encouragement of all *Engliſh* Inventions, Manufactures, and Trade, whereby the Subjects might be employed, our Commodities enhanced, and our Treaſure kept among our ſelves. 9. The Plantations, and Tranſplantations in *Ireland*. And 10. The Reformation of the Court of Wards in the poynt of diſpoſing of Orphans.

Theſe ſervices advanced him to great honour, and to as great envy, the popular effects whereof no man could have eſcaped but one whoſe ſoul was immoveable, temper calm, thoughts deep, apprehenſions large, and reſolution great to engage vulgar Errors rather by the *greatneſs* of his Actions, than the *eminence* of his Intereſt--- And ſatisfie the world leiſurely by his Vertues, and not awe it raſhly by his power; which got him even in that time St. *Gregories* Encomium, *That he was the firſt bad, and the laſt good Treaſurer ſince Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign*.

I ſhall never forget his, or his Fathers diſcourſe with *Claud Grollart primier* Preſident of *Roan*, about

about the troubles in *France*, wherein he adviſed him *to ſtick faſt to the King, though he ſaw difficulties*: For it was his Maxime, *That Kings are like the Sun, and Uſurpers like falling-Stars; For the Sun, though it be offuſcated and eclipſed with Miſts and Clouds, at length they are diſperſed; where the others are but the figures of Stars in the eyes of view, and prove no more but Exhalations, which ſodainly diſſolve, and fall to the earth, where they are conſumed:* A diſcourſe which events there and elſewhere made an *Oracle*. K. *James.*

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Howard *of* Effingham, *Earl of* Nottingham.

THe Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, a man of moſt approved fidelity and invincible courage, and Governour of *Callice*; though a Courtier betimes, yet ſeemed not to be in favour before the Queen made him high Admiral of *England*. For his extract, it may ſuffice that he was the ſon of a *Howard*, and of a Duke of *Norfolk*. As for his perſon, he was as goodly a Gentleman as the times could afford; he was one whom the Queen deſired to honour, who at his return from *Cadiz* accounts, was created Earl of *Nottingham*. He was a good, honeſt, and a brave man, and a faithful ſervant to his Miſtrſs, and ſuch a one as the Queen out of her own Princely judgement knew to be a fit Inſtrument for the Admiral's ſervice, having a great opinion of his fidelity and conduct;

And

K. James: And though his death was not honored with much wealth, yet was it grac'd with the reputation of honesty. He was raised to check *Essex* his ambition, and *Leicester's* undermining. being equally popular, and honest, yet having those at his heels that could lay a snare, and bring in the prize. Nature was a better friend to him than Fortune, and his Integrity than both; which commended him to a Mistress that understood Men as well as Books, and knew it was no lesse the interest of Princes to take counsel concerning Persons, than concerning matters: He had that goodnesse, without which man is a busie, mischievous, and wretched thing; yet that wisdome whereby he was not so good (as the *Italian* saith) as to be *good for nothing*: He was gentle, but not easie; milde, but not soft; obliging not the fancies of men, but their Interest: None more civil to Strangers (his heart being not a narrow Island (as my Lord *Bacon* observes) but a large Continent:) None more tender of Inferiors; none more humble to Superiours; none more compassionate to the afflicted; none more loving to, or more beloved of all. The Queen said, she trusted her Kingdom to his faithfulnesse in 88. and her self to his conduct. His alliance to the Queen brought him to Court, but his honesty kept him there (when jealousie had overcast that great house of the *Howards:*) ancient Nobility was a good recommendation to the Qu: first Favours; but modesty, submission, and integrity were the Vertues that continued them: He had onely so much Ambition as rendred him active and serviceable, and not busie or dangerous: He knew a Nobleman cannot be safely aspiring, nor smooth man securely popular, and

and a man of his Retinue muſt not be buſie. He li- K. *James.*
ved in an age when all honour was perillous that was not deſigned for ſervice; when the State choſe "Miniſters that were more ſenſible of duty than of "riſing; that loved buſineſſe rather upon conſci- "ence than upon bravery, and when the Prince "diſcerned a buſie nature from a willing minde: as "the ſtone had need be rich that is ſet without foyl, ſo this noble perſon that was onely real, had need of great parts of vertue. So valiant he was, that he made the *Spaniſh* Fleet veil to him, though it carried the Empreſs of *Germany*; ſo active, that he tugged at the Cable himſelf in 88. and did much by his own pains, and more by his example: ſo skilful, that he contrived the Fire-ſhips that frighted and ſcattered the *Spaniſh* Navy. Two eminent ſervices he did the Proteſtant Religion when but twenty one years of age: The firſt is, that he was ſo obſervant a witneſſe of Arch-Biſhop *Parker*'s conſecration, that with his bare word the tale of the Nags head came to nothing. 2. That he was ſo cloſe an Agent in the Court of *France*, that no Deſign was brewed in *Scotland*, none ſeconded in *France*, but he with the Emperour and the King of *Spain*'s Embaſſadors aſſiſtance [whom he had engaged with the hope of a Match between the King of the *Romanes* and his Miſtriſs] diſcovered and defeated with that ſucceſſe, that the King of *France* courted his Miſtriſs to a Peace, and himſelf to Favour. None more careful in matter of Buſineſſe; none more ſplendid in buſineſſe of Complement — condoling King *Francis* his death with a Majeſty no leſſe becoming the Perſonage he repreſented, than the Prince he addreſſed himſelf to. 1. His provi-

K. *James.* dence in contriving the *Engliſh* Ships nimble, and ſuch as could tack about at pleaſure. 2. His prudence in not hazarding his weak Navy againſt the *Spaniſh* Army and Armado in an Engagement wherein a victory would be but a little glory, and a defeat a ruine. 3. His activity in alarming the *Spaniſh* Navy day and night. 4. His wiſdome in honouring the moſt ſerviceable under him, as *Hawkins*, *Forbiſher*, *Sheffield*, &c. 5. His popularity that drew ſo many Voluntiers to his ſervice, as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, the *Cecils*, &c. 6. His warineſſe in dividing his fourteen Sail into four ſquadrons round about the *Spaniſh* Navy. 7. His excellent contrivance of eight Ships filled with pitch, wilde-fire, roſin, *&c.* which ſent down the winde in the dead of night ſo much to the terrour of the *Spaniards*, that fearing the Fire, together with ſome more deadly Engines, they raiſed a pitiful cry, weighed Anchor, cut their Cables, and in a terrible pannick Fear, with great haſte and confuſion put to Sea. 8. His admirable dexterity in diſpoſing of the Navy, ſo as they met the *Spaniſh* Navy upon their diſperſion with ſuch ſucceſſe, that the invincible Fleet never ſaw again its own formidableneſſe, ever ſince grown the moſt contemptible thing that ever ſailed upon theſe Seas. 9. His ſeaſonable order to the Dutch Fleet to watch the Duke of *Parma* in the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*. 10. His exact intelligence, whereby he underſtood what a Controverſie there was in the *Spaniſh* Navy about this poynt, Whether they ſhould ſtick to their Commiſſion in ſtaying for *Parma*, which was *their* duty, or follow the emergent advantages, which had been their

their diſcretion, -- and dealt with them accordingly. Theſe grand particulars of this Noble-man's ſervice were ſo eminent and ſignal, that Queen *Elizabeth*, who was over-laviſh neither of her honour nor her preferments, would ſay commonly of him and thoſe brave *Heroes* under him, *That they were born to ſave their Countrey.* K. *James.*

This noble perſon was of greater experience than knowledg, and more beholding to his years than to his *Education*, whence K. *James* took great pleaſure in his diſcourſe, that was not moroſe, obſtinate, narrow, unactive or formal, like a Students harangues; but free, active, and ingenuous, like a Stateſ-man's Maximes --- Whereof one was this; That never did Commander a noble Act that was Commiſſion-bound; it being a queſtion, whether the *Venetians* and *Spanyards* loſt more at Sea and in the Netherlands before they diſcovered that Error, or gained more ſince. For whileſt we addreſſe our ſelves to the State, occaſions are loſt, things take another countenance; and ſo many unexpected accidents happen, for which ſodain proviſion muſt be made, that opportunities eſcape before we dare lay hold of them: and ſometimes we periſh for want of a Commiſſion to ſave our ſelves.

Great content did he give by his preſence in the *French* Court 1605. and greater in his carriage at the Prince Elector's *a* marriage, 1612. A prudent care did he diſcover in providing for poſterity by the ſeaſonable reſignation of his Admiralty; a faithful friend he ſhewed himſelf in confirming Sir *Robert Manſel's* place when he parted with his own; a great argument of his own worth and ſervice, that he was ſo careful to reward *others*.

a *Where he was Bridegroom.*

Mme *Obſer-*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Geo. Hume, *Earl of* Dunbar.

NO wonder he is ſo great a Favourite of King *James* in his riper years, who was ſo faithful a ſervant of *his* in his youth: truſted with his *Royal ſecrets* in *Scotland*, and therefore in his *Royal* boſome in *England*. The natural reſervedneſſe of all *Scots-men*, and the vaſt depth of *this*, are not more neceſſary to all Princes, then they were pleaſing to King *James*, who had no ſecrecies that endangered his Privadoes, though many that *tried* them, and particularly our Stateſman, who had no *hidden weakneſs* to be over-reached, nor *private* Intereſt to be corrupted, but was a great Maſter of himſelf, owning a reach not to be comprehended, and thoughts not to be fathomed, but by him whoſe heart *was as the ſand of the Sea.*

Exact was his correſpondence with Sir *Robert Cecil* while in *Scotland*, and intimate was their friendſhip in *England*; both extorting from each other thoſe obſervations touching their reſpective Countreys, which they might both communicate to His Majeſty at their reſpective opportunities.

His Enterprizes were well layd, but unſucceſsful; rational, but *unhappy*: an argument that *Deſignes* are onely in our power, and *Events* in a higher. There was not a man more noble and renowned, more comely and graceful, of more years and experience

perience [*Verſatus, Verſutus*] of a greater eſtate or revenue; more liberal and munificent, more accoſtable and courteous, more reſolved and reſerved (all the qualities of a compleat Ambaſſador) than the Earl of *Dunbar* when ſent to *Germany*; yet none more ineffectual, having gained no more by a tedious and chargeable Negotiation, than as the Earl of *Nottingham* with his gallant Retinue in *Spain*, that the Papiſts who were formerly perſwaded by their Jeſuites that we were Monſters, do now believe we are Men; ſo uſeleſs was ſoft Courtſhip in rough tumults, and ſo little heed was given to ſmooth complements in Arms and Uproars. K. *James.*

More happy was he in *Scotland*, where his prudence as Lord Treaſurer, and his Chaplain Doctor *Abbot's* gravity as Preacher, reduced that Nation to ſo much ſobriety as to admit a regular Religion and Government; for which ſervice he had the Exchequer and the Wardrobe for himſelf, and the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* for the Doctor; when the King was in a great ſtreight between the known merit of the incomparable Biſhop *Andrews*, and the laſt requeſt of dying Sir *George Hume*; a great inſtance of King *James* his abilities in what *Machiavel* calleth a Princes Maſter-piece, *viz.* the choice of Servants.

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Somerſet.

HIs extraction from *Scotland* put him in the way, his Education in *England* ſet him in a capacity of Advancement. He was born ſeaſonably when his Father ſerved him that *ſhould* be a King of *England*; and brought up happily, when he might pleaſe him that *was* ſo — His beauty and comelineſſe *tooke* his Majeſtie; his parts and prudence *obliged* him, who loved the Cabinet, but *valued* the Jewel: He was admitted Page of honour to King *James* when of *Scotland*, and his Favourite when of *England*: His Majeſties firſt obſervation of him was at a ſolemn Tilting, where his delight in his perſon meeting with his pity of his miſchance (I mean the breaking of his leg there) firſt took him to his tuition, and then to his Council. All King *James* his Favourites were of his own education, and ſo imbued with his principles, and engaged to his intereſt. It was his Majeſties policy to retain *Scots* Statef-men to balance the *Engliſh*; It was *Somerſet*'s prudence to entertain *Engliſh* Favouries to endear the *Scots*; therefore Sir *Tho. Overbury* was as much of his Councel as he was of his Majeſties: too haughty a carriage was the miſcarriage of other Minions, too good a nature was *his*: His great defect being that goodneſſe and humanity that knoweth no exceſs, but errour, which was rather a ſoftneſſe than a kindneſſe: his heart was as large to others, as his Maſters was to him, and knew

knew as little how to miſtruſt, as how to do any thing for which he ſhould be miſtruſted. This is the Leſſon he was ſhort in, *That civilities ſhould be common, but favours choice.* The Whale is ſteered at Sea by a far ſmaller Fiſh, and this States-man at "Court by far meaner men than himſelf. I my "ſelf (*ſaith an ingenious man*) have known many "ſo far ſtrangers to what was convenient, as they "would ſcarce concede or deny any thing out of "the preſence of their Secretary: and this pro-"ceeded not ſeldome from a diſtruſt there was no "cauſe for; manifeſt in the Earl of *Somerſet*, who "though himſelf owner of a competent ſufficien-"cy, was ſo enchanted with an opinion of Sir "*Thomas Overbury*'s parts, that he preferred him "from a Servant to ſuch an intimate friendſhip, as "he could think nothing well educated for em-"ployment in his Office, that had not paſſed his "correction, nor ſecret laid up but in his boſome; "which ſwelled him (ſaith he) to ſuch a monſtroſi-"ty in pride, that I have heard (not being my ſelf "then neer the *Engliſh* Court) how he offered to "rant at his ſervants, and did once beat his Coach-"man for putting his commands under an inferi-"our expoſtulation to his Maſter; and through "this intolerable arrogance in him, and remiſneſs "in the Earl, the ſparks firſt flew, that kindled the "ruine of them both: Friendſhip being no more "able to maintain its intereſt againſt a feminine af-"fection, than ſo great a pride was to confine it "ſelf within the tedder of moderation. The great-eſt are not free, *but led in triumph by the affections of others, through the mediation of their own.* Sir *Thomas Overbury* would do what was moſt plauſi-

K. *James*

K. *James.* ble, and the Earl muſt peſorm what was leſſe popular. The King truſted *Carr* with his Diſpatches, and *Carr* truſts *Overbury* a month together without examination, who had full Commiſſion to receive and anſwer any Letters or other Expreſſes that came to his hands: Great opportunities offered themſelves to Sir *Robert Carr*, and a great Soul he had to obſerve them (Fortune being nothing elſe but an attentive obſervation of the revolution of Affairs, and the occaſions reſulting therefrom:) obſervant he was of his "Maſter, who rai-"ſed him not to eclipſe others, but like a brave "Prince to eaſe himſelf. For Princes (to uſe my "Lord *Bacon*'s words) being at too great a diſtance "from their Subjects, to eaſe themſelves into their "boſomes, raiſe ſome perſons to be as it were "*participes curarum*, or their Companions: but this Favourite underſtood as well the humour of the People, as he did the diſpoſition of his Prince, obliging the one no leſſe, than he pleaſed the other. Gay he was, as a Courtier, grave as a Counſellour: to Scholars none more civill, to Soldiers none more liberal; of States-men none more reſpective: He had his extraordinary great Vertues upon occaſions to ſhew, and his ordinary little ones always to oblige; a compleatneſſe in all turnes, and upon all occaſions was his nature. Familiar he was, yet not cheap; ſociable upon regard, and not upon facility: His behaviour was his ſoul, free for any exerciſe or motion; finding many, and making more opportunities to endear himſelf: He broke his minde to ſmall obſervations, yet he comprehended great matters: His carriage was ſo exact, as if affected; and yet ſo graceful, as if natural.

natural. That which overthrew the firſt, bewitched the wiſeſt, and tyred the moſt patient man, undid this noble perſon: yet ſo regular were his affections, that he did nothing publickly in the Counteſſe of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Suffolk's* Daughters caſe, but by due courſe of Law, the approbation of the graveſt and wiſeſt Divines and Counſellors, and the *a* applauſe of *England*: his failings were the faults of his years, rather than of his perſon; of his ſodain fortune, than of his conſtant temper; his counſels were ſafe and moderate; his publick actions honeſt and plain; his firſt years of favour induſtrious and active; his minde noble and liberal. His ſoul capacious and inquiſitive; his temper yielding and modeſt. In a word, Sir *Robert Carr* deſerved to be a Favourite, if he had not been one. -- He fell becauſe he medled too little with the Secretaries place while in it, and too much when out of it; giving *Overbury* too much ſcope on the one hand to mate him, and Sir *Ralph Winwood* too much offence to undermine him; who finding that new Earls occaſions growing with his advancements (I ſay his occaſions, becauſe I think his miſcarriages were not his nature, but his neceſſity) apt to encroach upon his and other Court-Offices, gave ear to that Intelligence from *Fluſhing*, that might ruine him, and ſet free himſelf. K. *James*.

a Witneſſe his entertainment at London.

The firſt Intimation of his guilt was his earneſtneſſe for a general Pardon; and the firſt argument of it was my Lord Chancellor's ſcruples in ſealing it: whence I date his firſt declining, attended with as much pity as his firſt advancement was with *envy*. We and the Troglodites curſe not the Sun-riſing more heartily, than we worſhip it when it *ſets*.

The

K. *James.* The Gentleman was as to his ſtature rather well compacted than tall; as to his features and favour, comely, rather than beautiful. -- The hair of his head was flaxen, and that of his face yellow: His nature was gentle, his diſpoſition affable, his affections publick, untill a particular perſon and intereſt engroſſed them: and the good Gentleman being ſenſible of failers that might ruine him, was wholly intent upon a *treaſure* that might preſerve him: -- His defect was, that he underſtood onely his own age; and that the experience of man's life cannot furniſh *examples and preſidents for the events of one mans life.*

Obſervations on the Life of George Abbot.

GEorge *Abbot* being one of that happy Ternion of Brothers, whereof two were eminent Prelates, the third Lord Mayor of *London*, was bred in *Oxford*, wherein he became Mr. of Univerſity-Colledge; a pious man, and moſt excellent Preacher, as his Lectures on *Jonah* do declare. He did firſt creep, "then run, then flye into Preferment, "or rather Preferment did flie upon him without "his expectation. He was never Incumbent on any "Living with cure of Souls, but was mounted "from a Lecturer to a Dignitary; ſo that he knew "the Stipend and Benevolence of the one, and the "Dividend of the other, but was utterly unac-"quainted with the taking of Tithes, with the ma-"ny troubles attending it, together with the "cauſeleſs

"cauſeleſſe moleſtations which Parſons preſented K. *James.*
"meet with in their repective Pariſhes. And be-
"cauſe it is hard for one to have a Fellow-ſuffering
"of that, whereof he never had a ſuffering; this
"(ſay ſome) was the cauſe that he was ſo harſh to
"Miniſters when brought before him.

Being Chaplain to the Earl of *Dunbar*, then omni-prevalent with King *James*, he was unexpectedly preferred Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, being of a more Fatherly preſence than thoſe, who might almoſt have been his Fathers for age in the Church of *England*. There are two things much charged upon his memory;

Firſt, That in his houſe he reſpected his Secretary above his Chaplains; and out of it, alwayes honoured Cloaks above Caſſocks, Lay above Clergymen.

Secondly, That he connived at the ſpreading of Nonconformity, inſomuch that a Modern Author ſaid,

Had Biſhop Laud *ſucceeded* Bancroft, *and the projects of Conformity been followed without interruption, there is little queſtion to be made, but that our* Jeruſalem *(by this time) might have been a City at unity within it ſelf.*

"This Arch-Biſhop was much humbled with a
"caſual Homicide of a Keeper of the Lord *Zouch*'s
"in *Bramel-Parke*, though ſoon after he was ſo-
"lemnly quitted from any irregularity thereby.
"In the Reign of King *Charles* he was ſequeſter'd
"from his Juriſdictions, ſay ſome, on the old ac-
"count of that Homicide, though others ſay, for
"refuſing to Licenſe a Sermon of Doctor *Sirpthorps*.
"Yet there is not an Expreſſe of either in the In-
ſtrument

K. James. "strument of Sequestration, the Commission onely "saying in the general, That the Arch-Bishop could "not at that present in his own Person attend those "Services which were otherwise proper for his "Cognizance and Jurisdiction.

To say the truth, he was a man of good intentions, and knew much, but failed in what those ordinarily do that are devoted to our modern singularities, being extreamly obstinate in his opinions, which the King was more willing to understand than follow, because most times he looked upon things according to the rigour of Ecclesiastick maximes, and was either too curious and irresolute by variety of reading, or too peremptory and positive from the strictnesse of his Rules; or too zealous by reason of the seriousnesse of his Study; or wide from the matter, by reason of his *inexperience*, and aptnesse to require in the times he lived, the regularity of the times "he read *of*; heeding "not the force of Circumstances, the errours of "Comparison, or the cautions of Application. I like his Apology for his severity to the Clergy (that he was *austere to prevent others being cruel*) as well as his zeal for the Protestant Religion; onely his Principles betrayed his profession, which he rendered too obnoxious, while he supported it by those novel grounds which our Adversaries could make us confesse were Heterodox, and by those streight-laced foundations which we saw our selves too narrow. As for instance, King *James* his vast capacity took him up once for making the Scripture the onely rule of Civil Affairs; owning the piety, but observing to his face the imprudence of that assertion. Imprudence, I say, as for many

many reaſons, ſo for this, becauſe to aſſert a truth upon a weak principle, is to tempt the world to doubt of the ſtrength of the firſt, when they ſee the weakneſſe of the other. Whether he went off in diſcontent, and ſaid, *He would not attend at the Councel-Table, becauſe he ſhould not wait at the Altar:* Whether he had ſuch malignant followers as called themſelves *Nicodemites*, or Night-Diſciples: Whether he turned noon-day into mid-night, and mid-night into noon-day, having a candle always burning in his Chamber; or if ſo, for what reaſon, I would not have one of my years determine, but rather refer the preſent age to his Contemporaries pen, which deſcribes him thus; K. *James.*

A very learned man he was; his Erudition all of the old ſtamp, fitly principled in the Doctrine of St. *Auguſtine*, pious, grave, and exemplary in his Converſation: But ſome think him a better man than Arch-Biſhop, and that he was better qualified with merit for the Dignity, than with a ſpirit anſwering the Function; in the exerciſe whereof he was conceived too facile and yielding: his extraordinary remiſneſs in not exacting ſtrict Conformity to the preſcribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, ſeemed to reſolve thoſe legal Determinations to their firſt Principle of Indifference, and led in ſuch an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of thoſe tender-conſcienced men to long diſcontinued obedience, was interpreted an innovation.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir George Calvert.

SIr *George Calvert* was bred firſt in *Trinity*-College in *Oxford*, and then beyond the Seas. His Abilities commended him firſt to be Secretary to *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*. Afterwards he was made Clerk of the Council, and at laſt principal Secretary of State to King *James*, ſucceeding Sir *Tho. Lake* in that Office, *Anno* 1619.

H. Holland, *p.* 39. Conceiving the Duke of *Buckingham* highly inſtrumental in his preferment, he preſented him with a Jewel of great value; which the Duke returned him again, not owning any Activity in his Advancement, whom King *James*, *ex mero motu*, reflecting on his Abilities, deſigned for the Place. This Place he diſcharged five years, until he willingly reſigned the ſame, 1624. on this occaſion; He freely confeſſed himſelf to the King, that he was then become a *Roman Catholique*, ſo that he muſt either be wanting to his Truſt, or violate his conſcience in diſcharging his Office: This his Ingenuity ſo highly affected King *James*, that he continued him Privy-Councellor all his Reign, and ſoon after created him Lord *Baltemore* of *Baltemore* in *Ireland*.

During his being Secretary, he had a Patent to him and his Heirs to be *Abſolutus Dominus & Proprietarius*, with the Royalties of a Count Palatine of the Province of *Avalon* in the New-found land, a place

a place ſo named by him in imitation of old *Avalon* in *Somerſetſhire*, wherein *Glaſſenbury* ſtands, the first-fruits of Chriſtianity in *Britain*, as the other was in that part of *America*. Here he built a fair houſe in *Ferry-land*, and ſpent twenty five thouſand pounds in advancing the Plantation thereof. K. *James*.

Indeed his publick ſpirit conſulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of Chriſtianity, and the Kings Dominions, in that his ancient, primitive, and heroick work of planting the world. After the death of King *James* he went twice in perſon to New-found Land. Here when Monſieur *de l'Arade* with three men of War ſent from the King of *France*, had reduced our *Engliſh* Fiſhermen to great extreamity; this Lord with two Ships manned at his own charge, chaſed away the *Frenchmen*, relieved the *Engliſh*, and took ſixty of the *French* Priſoners. He removed afterwards to *Virginia* to view thoſe parts, and thence came into *England*, and obtained of King *Charles* the firſt (who had as great an eſteem of, and affection for him, as King *James*) a Patent to him and his heirs for *Mary-Land* on the North of *Virginia*, with the ſame Title and Royalties conferred on him, as in *Avalon* aforeſaid, now a hopeful Plantation, peopled with eight thouſand *Engliſh* Souls; which in proceſs of time may prove more advantageous to our Nation.

Judge *Popham* and Sir *George Calvert* agreed not more unanimouſly in the publick deſign of Planting, than they differed in the private way of it: the firſt was for extirpating Heathens, the ſecond for converting them. — He ſent away the lewdeſt, *this* the ſobereſt people: the one was for preſent profit, the

K. *James.* the other for a reasonable expectation (it being in the case of planting Countreys, as in that of planting Woods; you must account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompence in the end; it being necessary the Province should first finde her self, and then enrich you.) The Judge was for many Governors, the Secretary for few, and those not concerned Merchants, but unconcerned Gentlemen: The one granted Liberties without any restraint, the other with great caution: The first set up a common Stock, out of which the Island should be provided for by proportions; the second left every one to provide for himself.

Two things are eminent in this man:

1. That though he was a Catholick, yet kept he himself sincere and disingaged from all Interests; and though a man of great judgement, yet not obstinate in his sentiments, but taking as great pleasure in hearing others opinions, as in delivering his own, which he heard moderated and censured with more patience, than applauded.

2. That he carried a digested and exact account of Affairs to his Master every night, and took to himself the pains to examine the Letters which related to any Interest that might be any ways considerable. He was the onely States-man, that being engaged to a decryed party, yet managed his business with that hùge respect for all sides, that all who knew him, applauded him; and none that had any thing to do with him, complained of him.

Observations

K. *James*.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Arthur Chicheſter.

"SIr *Arthur Chicheſter* ſpent his youth, firſt in "the Univerſity, then in the *French* and *Iriſh* Wars, where by his valour he was "effectually aſſiſtant, Firſt, to plough and break "up that barbarous Nation by Conqueſt, and then "to ſow it with ſeeds of civility; when by King "*James* made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Indeed good Laws & Proviſions had been made by his Predeceſſors to that purpoſe: but alas, they were like good Leſſons ſet for a Lute out of tune, uſeleſſe, until the Inſtrument was fitted for them. Wherefore in order to the civilizing of the *Iriſhry*, in the firſt year of his government, he eſtabliſhed two new Circuits for Juſtices of Aſſize, the one in *Connaught*, the other in *Munſter*. And whereas the Circuits in former times onely encompaſſed the *Engliſh* Pale (as the *Cynoſura* doth the Pole) henceforwards like good Planets in their ſeveral Spheres, they carried the influence of Juſtice round about the Kingdome. Yea, in ſhort time *Ireland* was ſo cleared of Thieves and capital Offenders, that ſo many Malefactors have not been found in the 32 Shires of *Ireland*, as in ſix *Engliſh* Shires in the *Weſtern* Circuits. He reduced the Mountains and Glinnes on the South of *Dublin* (formerly thorns in the ſide of the *Engliſh* Pale) into the County of *Wicklow*; and in conformity to the *Engliſh* cuſtome, many *Iriſh* began to cut their Mantles

K. *James.* into Cloaks. So obſervant was his eye over the actions of ſuſpected perſons, that *Tyrone* was heard to complain, *That he could not drinke a full carouſe of Sack, but the State within few hours was advertiſed thereof.*

After he had been continued many years in his Deputyſhip, and deſervedly made a Lord, King *James* recalled him home, and (loth to leave his Abilities unemployed) ſent him Embaſſador to the Emperour and other *German* Princes. Being beſieged in the City of *Mainchine* (a place much indebted to his prudence for ſeaſonable victualling it) by Count *Tilley*, he ſent him word, that it was againſt the Law of Nations to beſiege an Embaſſador: *Tilley* returned, that he took no notice that he was an Embaſſador. The Lord *Chichester* replyed to the Meſſenger, *Had my Maſter ſent me with as many hundred men, as he hath ſent me on fruitleſs Meſſages, your Generall ſhould have known, that I had been a Soldier, as well as an Embaſſador.*

King *James* at his return entertained him with great commendations, for ſo well diſcharging his Truſt; and he died in as great honour as any *Engliſh-man* of our Age. Thus farre the Hiſtorians. Whence I obſerve him ſtout in his nature above any diſorder upon Emergencies, *a* reſolved in his temper above any impreſſions from other Princes, and high in his Propoſal beyond the expectation of his own. *Al verguenzo el Diablo le traxo al Palacio,* The Devil brought the Baſhful to Court, where none ſucceeds but he who can aske enough to be granted, and enough to be *a* abated. There is a memorable obſervation of *Philip* the ſecond, King of *Spain*, called *El prudente*; That when he had "deſigned

a Domanda aſſai, che non Manchera poi calare. Proverb. Hiſp. apud Inſig. D. *Howellum* de legatis.

"designed one for Embaſſador, the man came K. *James.*
"faintly and coldly to him to propoſe ſome things
"for the accommodation of his Embaſſie; and he
"ſaid, *How can I expect that this man can promote and effectuate my buſineſſe, when he is ſo faint and fearful in the ſolicitation of his own?*

Yet was not my Lord *Chicheſter* more reſolute in *Germany*, than wary in *Ireland*, where his opinion was, that time muſt open and facilitate things for Reformation of Religion, by the Proteſtant Plantations; by the care of good Biſhops and Divines, the amplification of the Colledge, the education of Wards, an inſenſible ſeiſure of Popiſh liberties, *&c.* and that the Council there was ſo numerous (fifty or ſixty at leaſt) that the authority of it was debated, and its buſineſſe divulged. In a word, this brave Gentleman had an equal minde, that kept up it ſelf between the diſcourſes of Reaſon, and the examples of Hiſtories, in the enjoyment of a *good* fortune, and a conflict with a *bad*.

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Chancellor Egerton.

THe Lord Chancellour *Egerton*, extracted from the ancient Family of the *Egerton*'s of *Kidley* in *Cheſhire*, was bred in the ſtudy of the Municipal Laws of our Land, wherein he attained to ſuch eminency, that Queen *Elizabeth* made him her Solicitor, then Maſter of the Rolls, and at laſt Keeper of the Great Seal, *May* 6. in the 38 year of her Reign, 1596.

K. *James.* *Olaus Magnus* reporteth, that the Emperour of *Moſcovia* at the Audience of Ambaſſadors, ſendeth for the graveſt and ſeemlieſt men in *Moſco* and the Vicinage, whom he apparelleth in rich Veſts; and placing them in his preſence, pretendeth to Forraigners, that theſe are of his Privy-Council; who cannot but be much affected with ſo many reverent Aſpects. But ſurely all *Chriſtendome* afforded not a perſon which carried more gravity in his countenance and behaviour than Sir *Thomas Egerton*, inſomuch that many have gone to the Chancery on purpoſe onely to ſee his venerable Garb (happy they who had no other buſineſſe) and were highly pleaſed at ſo acceptable a ſpectacle. Yet was his outward Caſe nothing in compariſon of his inward Abilities, quick Wit, ſolid Judgement, ready Utterance. I confeſs Maſter *Cambden* ſaith, he entred his Office *Magna expectatione & integritatis opinione*, with a great expectation and opinion of Integrity: But no doubt, had he reviſed his work in a ſecond Edition, he would have afforded him a full-faced commendation, when this Lord had turned his expectation to performance. In the firſt of King *James*, of Lord Keeper he was made Lord Chancellor, which is alſo another name for the ſame Office: and on *Thurſday* the ſeventh of *November*, 1616. of Lord *Eliſmer* he was created Viſcount *Brackley*. It is given to Courts whoſe Juriſdictions do border, to fall out about their bounds; and the conteſt betwixt them is the hotter, the higher the ſpirits and parts of the reſpective Judges. Great was the contention for many years together betwixt this Lord of Equity, and Sir *Edward Cooke* the Oracle of Juſtice at *Weſtminſter-Hall*,

Hall: I know not which of them got the better; K. *James.*
ſure I am, ſuch another Conteſt would (if this did not) have undone the Conqueror.

He was attended on with ſervants of moſt able parts, and was the ſole Chancellor ſince the Reformation, who had a Chaplain, which (though not immediately) ſucceeded him in his place. He gave over his Office which he held ful twenty years, ſome few dayes before his death; and by his own appointment, his body was brought down and buried at *Duddleſton* in *Cheſhire*, leaving a fair eſtate to his Son, who was afterwards created Earl of *Bridgewater*, as he did to his excellent Son now living.

When he ſaw King *James* his munificence to ſome Courtiers, with the grave Fidelity of a Stateſman, he ſticked not often to tell him, That as he held it neceſſary for his Majeſty amply to remunerate all thoſe his Countrey-men, ſo he deſired him carefully to preſerve his Crown-lands for his own ſupport, ſeeing he or his Succeſſors might meet with Parliaments which would not ſupply his occaſions, but on ſuch conditions as would not be very acceptable unto him. It was an ordinary ſpeech in his mouth to ſay, *Froſt and Fraud both end in Foul.*

His plain, but honeſt advice to my Lord of *Eſſex* was,

1. Not to truſt himſelf, becauſe they that ſtand by, ſee more than they that play the game.

2. To yield to *Time* and *Fortune*, and not do that for his Enemies, which they could never do for themſelves.

3. To have a careful eye upon thoſe actions on

K. *James.* which he knew there were many envious ones. And for himself, his supplication to King *James* was, That since his conceit and sense was grown so heavy, his Memory decay'd, his Judgement weak, his Hearing imperfect, and his Voice faltering, he might *desinere potius quam deficere*, and retire from his Business to his Meditation, as he did; while living, imparting many mysteries of the Chancery; and when dying, bequeathing as many choice Books and Directions to his then Chaplain, and his after-Successor Doctor *Williams*.——Secretary *Winwood* having received the Seal, and left this gracious Message with this good man, that his Majesty would be his Under-keeper, and not dispose of it while he lived to bear the name of Chancellor: nor did any receive the Seal out of the Kings sight, while he lived to bear the name of Chancellor.

A company of Citizens got a Cause passed by keeping a Witnesse away in this manner; one of them gets him to the Tavern, and there leaves him with a quart of Sack before him, and the glass at his mouth, and swears in open Court, that he left him in a condition, wherein if he continueth but *two hours, he is a dead man.* The other Party finde out the cheat, and have their remedy in Chancery: Sir *Edward Cook* brings the matter to the Star-Chamber, and threatneth the Chancellor with a *Premunire.* The business is debated, and sentence passed for my Lord Chancellor; with the comfort whereof, and the Kings and Princes Letter to him upon his Death-bed, he went *to his Grave.*

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Chief-Juſtice Popham.

SIr *John Popham* in his youthful dayes was a ſtout and skilful man at Sword and Buckler as any in that Age, and wilde enough in his Recreations. But oh! ſaith my Author, if Quick-ſilver could be really fixed, to what a treaſure would it amount? Such is wilde youth ſeriouſly reduced to gravity, as by this young man did appear, who applyed himſelf to a more profitable Fencing, the ſtudy of the Lawes; therein attaining to ſuch eminency, that he became the Queens Attorney, afterwards Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England.* Being ſent *Anno* 1600. by the Queen with ſome others to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to know the cauſe of the confluence of ſo many Military men unto his houſe, the Soldiers therein detained him for a time, which ſome made tantamount to an Impriſonment. This his violent detention Sir *John* depoſed upon his Oath at the Earl's Tryal: which I note the rather, for the rarity thereof, that a Lord Chief-Juſtice ſhould be produced as Witneſs in open Court.

In the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, his juſtice was exemplary on Theeves and Robbers. The Land then ſwarmed with people which had been Soldiers, who had never gotten (or elſe quite forgotten) any other Vocation. Hard it was for Peace to feed all the idle mouths which a former War did breed, being too proud to beg, too lazy

K. *James.* to labour: Those infested the High-wayes with their Fellonies; some presuming on their multitudes, as the Robber on the *Northern* Rode, whose knot (otherwise not to be untied) Sir *John* cut asunder with the Sword of Justice. He possessed King *James*, how the frequent granting of Pardons was prejudicial to Justice, rendring the Judges to the contempt of insolent Malefactors; which made his Majesty more sparing afterwards in that kinde. In a word, the deserved death of some scores, preserved the lives and livelihoods of some thousands: Travellers owing their safety to this Judges severity, many years after his death. Neither did he onely punish Malefactors, but provide for them; for observing that so many suffered and *died* for none other reason but because they could not *live* in *England*, now grown too populous for it's self, and *breeding* more Inhabitants than it could *keep*, he first set up the discovery of *New-England*, to maintain and employ those that could not live honestly in the old; being of opinion, that banishment thither would be as well a more lawful, as a more effectual remedy against those extravagancies; the Authors whereof judge it more eligible to *hang*, than to work; to end their days in a moment, than to continue them in pains:— onely a great Judgement observes, it is a shameful and an unblessed thing, to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom to plant: And not onely so, but it spoyleth the Plantation, for they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to work, and do mischief, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certifie over to the Countrey, to the disgrace of the *Common-wealth*.

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Robert Dudley.

SIr *Robert Dudley*, ſon to *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*, by *Douglas Shefield* (whether his Miſtriſs or his Wife, God knows) was born at *Sbene* in *Surrey*, and bred by his Mother (out of his Fathers reach) at *Offington* in *Suſſex*, where he became a moſt compleat Gentleman in all ſuitable Accompliſhments, endeavouring in the Reign of King *James* to prove his Legitimacy; and meeting with much oppoſition from the Court, in diſtaſte, he left his Land, and went over into *Italy*. But worth is ever at home, and carrieth its own welcome along with it. Therefore he became a Favourite to the Duke of *Florence*, who highly reflected on his Abilities, and uſed his Directions in all his Buildings. At this time *Legorn* from a childe, ſtarted to a Man, without ever being a youth, and of a ſmall Town grew a great City on a ſudden, and is much beholding to this Sir *Robert* for its Fairneſſe and Firmneſſe, as chief contriver of both. But by this time his Adverſaries in *England* had procured him to be call'd home by a ſpecial Privy-Seal; which he refuſed to obey, and thereupon all his Lands in *England* were ſeiſed upon by the King, by the Statute of *Fugitives*. Theſe loſſes doubled the love of the Duke of *Florence* unto him. And indeed Sir *Robert* was a much-meriting perſon on many Accounts, being an

Excellent

Excellent
1 *Mathematician*, especially for the Practical part thereof in *Architecture.*
2 *Physician*, his *Catholicon* at this day finding good Esteem amongst those of that Faculty.
3 *Navigator*, especially in the *Western* Seas.

Indeed long before his leaving of *England*, whileſt as yet he was *Rectus in Curia*, well esteemed in Queen *Elizabeths* Court, he sailed with three small Ships to the Isle of *Trinidad*, in which voyage he sunk and took nine *Spanish* ships; whereof one an Armada of 600 Tun.

He was so acceptable to *Ferdinand* the second, Emperour of *Germany*, that by his Letters Patents bearing date at *Vienna*, *March* 9. 1620. he conferred on him and his Heirs the Title of a Duke of the Sacred Empire. Understand it a Title at large (as that of Count *Arundel's*) without the Assignation of any proper Place unto him.

King *James* had heard so much of the *Father*, that he did not care for the *Son*, who might have been neer his Person, had not his Ancestors been so near his Predecessors -- no other Consideration being likely to keep so extraordinary parts at this distance from a King that valued them so highly, or a Kingdom that needed them so much. -- That Prince being as jealous an observer of *Original sin* in Policy, as he was an Orthodox Assertor of it in *Religion*, would trust *no tainted blood.*

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Arch-Biſhop Bancroft.

DOctor *Richard Bancroft*, (whom his Adverſaries character a better States-man than Divine, a better Divine than Preacher, though upon good occaſion he ſhewed he was all theſe) was bred in *Jeſus Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where his parts in diſcovering the bottom of Preſbytery, and his ſufficiency when his Patron *Hatton's* Examiner commended him to Queen *Eliz.* to be Biſhop of *London*, and to King *James* to be Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Indeed he was in effect Arch-Biſhop while Biſhop, to whom Doctor *Whitgift* in his decrepit age remitted the managing of matters, ſo that he was the ſoul of the High-Commiſſion. A great States-man he was, and grand Champion of Church-diſcipline; having well hardned the hands of his Soul, which was no more than needed for him, who was to meddle with Nettles and Bryars, and met with much oppoſition.

No wonder if thoſe who were ſilenced by him in the Church, were loud againſt him in other places. *David* ſpeaketh of poyſon under mens lips; Pſal. 104. 3
This Biſhop taſted plentifully thereof from the mouths of his Enemies, till at laſt (as *Mithridates*) he was ſo habited to poiſons, that they became food unto him. Once a Gentleman coming to viſit him, preſented him a Libel, which he found paſted on his door; who being nothing moved thereat, ſaid, *Caſt it to an hundred more which lie here on a heap*

K. James. heap in my Chamber. Many a Libel, (Lye) (becauſe falſe) (Bell) becauſe loud) was made upon him. The aſperſion of covetouſneſs, though caſt, doth not ſtick on his memory, being confuted by the Eſtate which he left, ſmall in proportion to his great preferment, being but 6000 *l.* after being above twelve years in *London* and *Canterbury*.

He cancelled his firſt Will, wherein he had bequeathed much to the Church: ſuſpecting an impreſſion of popular violence on Cathedrals, and fearing an Alienation of what was bequeathed unto them, he thought fit to cancel his own, to prevent others cancelling his Teſtament. This partly appears by his ſecond Will, wherein he gave the Library at *Lambeth* (the reſult of his own, and three Predeceſſors collections) to the Univerſity of *Cambridge* (which now they poſſeſs) in caſe the Arch-Epiſcopal See ſhould be extinct.

How came ſuch a jealouſie into his minde? what fear of a ſtorme when the Sun ſhined, the Skye clear, no appearance of Clouds? Surely his skill was more than ordinary in the complexion of the Common-wealth, who did foreſee what afterward (for a time) came to paſs. This clauſe providentially inſerted, ſecured this Library in *Cambridge* during the vacancy of the Archi-Epiſcopal See, and ſo prevented the embezelling, at the leaſt the diſmembring thereof, in our late civil diſtempers.

They that accuſe this excellent Prelate of cruelty, never read this ſtory: A Miniſter privately proteſted to him, that *it went againſt his conſcience to conform.* Which way ſaid the good Arch-Biſhop (obſerving the mans ingenuity) will you *live*, *if you be put out of your Benefice?* The other anſwered,

He

He had no other way but to go a begging. Not ſo (ſaid K. *James*. the Arch-Biſhop) *that you ſhall not need to do, but come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance.*

They that exclaimed againſt his unſerviceableneſſe, never obſerved *this paſſage*: A company of young Courtiers appeared extraordinary gallant at a Tilting, far above their Fortunes and Eſtates, giving for their Motto, *Solvat Eccleſia.* Biſhop *Bancroft* then of *London* hearing of it, finds on enquiry that the Queen was paſſing a conſiderable parcel of Church-lands to them, and ſtops the buſineſſe with his own and his friends Intereſt, leaving theſe Gallants to pay the ſhot of their pride and prodigality out of their own purſes.--And *this*; that a prevalent Courtier had ſwallowed up the whole Biſhoprick of *Durham*, had not this Arch-Biſhop ſeaſonably interpoſed his power with King *James* (ready enough to admit ſuch Interceſſions) and daſhed the deſign. They that traduce him for a Papiſt, forget that he fomented the difference between the Seculars, and Regulars, to the weakning, and promoted the foundation of *Chelſey-Colledge*, to the ruining of that cauſe.

But they that perform great actions, reſerving as it is fit the reaſon of them in their own boſomes, may ſufficiently ſatisfie their Conſciences towards God, though they can hardly avoid the cenſures of men.

I ſhall add no more concerning this excellent Prelate, but that it was obſerved as the Hiſtorian writes, That at *Hampton-Court-Conference* Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift* ſpake moſt gravely, Biſhop *Bilſon* moſt learnedly, but Biſhop *Bancroft* [when out of paſſion] moſt politickly. *Obſerva-*

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Grandiſon.

SIr *Oliver Saint-John*, Lord *Grandiſon*, &c. deſcended of an ancient and honourable Family, whoſe prime Seat was at *Lediard-Tregoze* in *Wiltſhire*, though their firſt ſettlement was in *South-Wales*. He was bred in the Wars from his youth, and at laſt by King *James* was appointed Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and vigorouſly purſued the Principles of his Predeceſſors for the civilizing thereof. Indeed the Lord *Mountjoy* reduced that Countrey to obedience, the Lord *Chicheſter* to ſome civility, and this Lord *Grandiſon* firſt advanced it to conſiderable profit to his Maſter. *T. Walſingham a* writeth, that *Ireland* afforded unto *Edward* the third thirty thouſand pounds a year paid into his Exchequer: but it appears by the *b Iriſh* Records (which are rather to be believed) that it was rather a burthen, and the conſtant Revenue thereof beneath the third part of that proportion.

a *In the life of* Richard *the ſecond.*

b *Sir* John Davies *in Diſc. of* Ireland, *pag.* 39, &c.

But now, the Kingdom being peaceably ſetled, the income thereof turned to good Account, ſo that *Ireland* (called the Land of *Ire* for the conſtant broils therein for four hundred years) was now become the Land of Concord.

This noble Perſon recalled into *England*, lived many years in great repute, leaving his Honours to his Siſters ſon by Sir *Edward Villiers*, but the main of his Eſtate to his Brothers ſon Sir *John St. John* Knight and Baronet. So ſweet and charming

ing his Converſation, that he was *beloved* by all his Superiours, and *envied* by no Inferiour; being never advanced to any great Dignity, but he was wiſhed to a greater: So exact his vigilancy, ſo conſtant his induſtry, ſo plauſible his actions, attended with no leſſe civility to all men, than duty to his Soveraign: So frank and ingenious his Integrity, that none feared him; ſo diſcreet his management of Buſineſſe, and ſo ſtrong his judgement, that any might confide in him. One he was that croſſed the *Italian* Proverb, K. *James.*

Di Dunaridi ſenno, e di fede,
In e Manco che non Crede:

having more money, more faith, yea and more wiſdome too than was generally eſteemed. I mean wiſdome of behaviour, wiſdome of buſineſſe, and wiſdome of State; in the laſt whereof he aimed at a general ſettlement, which he obſerved would bear particular errours, provided that Care, Labour, Vigilancy, and prudent Inquietude *attended*, that forceth Difficulties, conſtrains Fortune, *aſſures good Counſels*, corrects *bad*, ſupports and overthroweth deſigns, diſpoſeth of accidents, obſerveth time, manageth hazards, forgets nothing; ſeldome truſts others, and improveth all Occurrents: and that firſt maxime of Policy he obſerved, *That who layeth out moſt, layeth out leaſt*, that petty frugalities undo the main Intereſt.

Obſervations

Observations on the Life of Sir Tho. Overbury.

SIr *Thomas Overbury*, ſon to Sir *Nicholas Overbury*, one of the Judges of the Marches, was born at *Burton* on the Hill in *Glouceſterſhire*, bred in *Oxford*, and attained to be a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman, partly at *Grayes-Inn*, and partly in *France*; which the happineſſe of his Pen both in Poetry and Proſe doth declare. In the later he is obſerved to be the firſt writer of Characters of our Nation. But if the great parts of this Gentleman were guilty of Inſolence and Petulancy, "which ſome ſince have charged on his memory; "reporting of him, that he ſhould ſay, *Somerſet* owed his advancement to him, and that he ſhould walk with his hat on before the Queen; we may charitably preſume, that his reduced age would have corrected ſuch Juvenile extravagancies. It is queſtionable, whether *Robert Carr* Earl of *Somerſet* were more in the favour of King *James*, or this Sir *Thomas Overbury* in the favour of the Earl of *Somerſet*, untill he loſt it by diſſwading that Lord from keeping company with a Lady (the Wife of another perſon of honour) as neither for his credit here, or comfort hereafter. Soon after Sir *Thomas* was by King *James* deſigned Embaſſador for *Ruſſia*. His falſe friends perſwaded him to decline the Employment, as no better than an honourable Grave. Better lye ſome days in the Tower, than more months in a worſe Priſon.

" Prison; A ship by Sea, and a barbarous cold K. James.
" Countrey by Land. Besides, they possessed him,
" that within a small time, the K. should be wrought
" to a good opinion of him. But he that willingly
" goes into a Prison, out of hope to come easily out
" of it, may stay therein so long, till he be too late
" convinced of another Judgement. Whilest Sir
" Thomas was in the Tower, his Refusal was pre-
" sented to the King as an Act of high Contempt,
" as if he valued himself more than the King's ser-
" vice. His strict restraint gave the greater liberty
" to his enemies to practice his death, 1615. which
" was by poyson performed: Yet was his blood le-
" gally revenged, which cost some a violent, and
" others a civill death, as deprived of their Offi-
" ces. The Earl was soon abated in King James his
" affection (Oh! the short distance betwixt the
" cooling and quenching of a Favourite) being
" condemned, and banished the Court.

Exact are the remarks he drew up of Foreign Countreys, & therefore no lesse such his transactions for his own. In this most esteemed with King James and his Master, that he suited both their Geniuses in the easie and clear method, wherein he expressed the most difficult and knotty Affairs; for they both being perplexed with that variety of Affairs in general, that they could not readily look into difficult Cases in particular, loved those that made things out easie and clear to them, as well fitted for their apprehensions, as obvious to their judgement--owning a Soul so quiet, that abate its youthful extravagancies, it knew not a motion but what was Duty and Interest; felt no agitation but what was reason, and what Philoso-

K. *James.* phy conveyed into the ſouls of the wiſeſt, and obſervation inſinuated into the ſpirit of the cloſeſt: if he expected a recompence ſuitable to his ſervices, or an acknowledgement anſwerable to his merit, he underſtood not the humour and nature of mankinde, the intereſt of Favourites, or his own parts, too guilty of reputation to be advanced, and of power not to be ſuppreſſed. — It's *Machiavel*'s rule; *That they who riſe very high, ſhould deſcend timely, and quit the envy, leſt they loſe the honour of their greatneſſe.* Although this Gentleman's skill in accommodating Factions, in the Art of Negotiation, in the charm of Language, in the Intereſt of Princes, in maſtering his own Reſentments as well as his Enemies that provoked him, had preſerved him, if he had known as well how to hold his Tongue, as how to ſpeak; if he had underſtood others humours as well as they did his; and if he had skilled as well from whom to have refuſed kindneſſe, as from whom he deſerved it.-- In a word, he that conſidered ſo many other Maximes, was defective in complyance with his own, *viz. That vertue is there unprofitable, where too great*; and that many had loſt the favour of their *Maſters by over-much* meriting it.

Obſerve-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Clem. Edmonds.

SIr *Clement Edmonds*, that learned and judicious Remembrancer of the City of *London*, was born at * *Shratvardine* in *Shropſhire*, and bred Fellow of *All-Souls* Colledge in *Oxford*, being generally skilled in all Arts and Sciences; witneſſe his faithfull Tranſlations of, and learned Illuſtrations on *Cæſar's* Commentaries. Say not that Comment on Commentary was falſe Heraldry, ſeeing it is ſo worthy a work, that the Author thereof may paſſe for an eminent inſtance to what perfection of Theory they may attain to in matter of War, who were not acquainted with the practick part thereof; being once employed by Queen *Elizabeth*, with a diſpatch to Sir *Francis Vere*, which occaſioned his preſence at the Battel at *Newport*: For he doth ſo ſmartly diſcuſs, *pro* and *con*, and ſeriouſly decide many Martial Controverſies, that his judgement therein is praiſed by the beſt Military Maſters.

* Vere's Commentaries.

King *James* taking notice of his Abilities, made him Clerk of the Council, and Knighted him; and he was at laſt preferred Secretary of State, in the vacancy of that place; but prevented by death, he acted not therein. At this day his goodneſſe in his general carriage out-did his prudence, and his prudence in particular, his goodneſſe; but his induſtry *both* in all things, and in nothing more than in his *Scotch* Negotiations, where he over-reached the ſlye *French*, compoſed and ſetled the unſatiſ-

K. *James.* fied King, and ſent thoſe weekly Advertiſements to his Miſtriſs, that Sir *Robert Cecil* confeſſed the Maſter-wheel of thoſe years revolutions.

When *Charls* the fifth preſented Secretary *Eraſo* to his Son *Philip* the ſecond, he ſaid, *He gave him ſomewhat greater than his Eſtate, and more royal than his Empire.* When Sir *William Waad* introduced Sir *Clement Edmonds* to Court, *he brought thither in that perſon more than he could carry away in his own:* A perſon much accompliſhed in the great precepts and rules he obſerved; more in his experience and application of thoſe he practiſed; wherein he was wiſe, but not preſumptuous; exact, but not pedantick; allowing much to old Obſervations, more to new Circumſtances: He was not more beholding to his Nature, than his Nature to his Study and Meditation; and that to time and experience, which offered at once occaſions of inſtruction, and matter of exerciſes, to his great underſtanding, ſo well acquainted with the affairs of former Ages, that he could not be ſurprized with thoſe of his own, knowing how to command, before he was called to obey, as who truſted not to his own, ſhort and perplexed life, that ſcarce holds out five or ſix important *Negotiations*, and ordinarily ceaſeth to be, before it beginneth to know: but his policy may be gueſſed from his morality; and his publick carriage in the tumults of Affairs, from his private conduct and command in the diſorders of nature, theſe being as well managed by his reaſon, as the former by his prudence: His leſſer skill in governing the little world being an earneſt of that more large in ruling the greater.— The *Government* of others, ſaith Philoſophy, is not fit for him who is a *Slave* to himſelf.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of James Hay, *Earl of* Carliſle.

ONe *Hay* his Anceſtor ſaved *Scotland* from an Army of *Danes* at *Longcarty* with a *a Yoak* in his hand. *James Hay* 600 years after ſaved the King of that Countrey from the *Gowries* at their houſe with a *Culter* in *his*: the firſt had as much ground aſſigned him by King *Kenith* as a Falcon could flye over at *one* flight, and the other as much Land as he could ride round in *two* dayes. The whole Family fell before *Dublin*-Caſtle in former dayes, ſave a childe left in *his* Mothers womb; and had decayed in ours, but that the heir of it was cut out from *his*. He ſerved his Maſter in *Scotland* by his *Generoſity*, and in *England* with his *Hoſpitality*; the decay whereof King *James* obſerved the defect of the *Engliſh* Nobility; and the reſtauration of it, he deſigned the honour of the *Scots* Gentry. Royal was his Maſters munificence towards him, noble *his* towards others; His Majeſty being not more intent upon his advancement for publick ſervice, than he was upon the advancement of others to his private *aſſiſtance*: His Majeſties gracious inclination being for a Reign of Peace, this ſervants eſtate was ſpent upon the Arts of it, I mean upon Feaſts, Maſques, gay Cloathes, and ſuch other Delicacies as might ſoften our harſher natures to quietneſſe, that Princes intereſt, who was firſt to underſtand, and then to manage the ſtrength of this Nation.

a Therefore the Yoke is their ſupporter.

K. *James.* Although he failed in moſt of his *Negotiations*, becauſe he carried his money on his back, rather than in his purſe; rather to *ſpend*, than to beſtow; and amaze Foreigners, rather than oblige them: Yet was his Embaſſie more ſuitable to the *French* vanity, than either the *Dutch* thrift, or the *Germane* plainneſſe; and his carriage more anſwerable to a gawdy Treaty of Marriage, than to a cloſe Agency for Intereſt, or the intricate conſultations of War. So great the report of his Hoſpitality, that an Hoſt of *Delph* demanded ſixty pounds for providing him a Supper, though he never came that way; yet ſo diſpleaſing to the Prince of *Orange*, that when his Steward asked what he ſhould provide extraordinarily for the great Embaſſador's entertainment; the Prince looks on his Bill of Fare, and whereas there was but one Pig, he bid them write two; tartly reflecting as well on my Lords Nation, as his magnificence. ----- One of his Entertainments I underſtand not the reaſon of, I mean his Ante-Suppers; the manner of which was, to have the Board covered at the firſt entrance of Gueſts, with diſhes as high as a tall man could well reach, filled with the choiceſt and deareſt Viands Sea or Land could afford: and all this once ſeen, and having feaſted the eyes of the invited, was removed, and freſh ſet on to "the ſame height, having onely this "advantage of the other, that it was hot; at one "whereof, an Attendant eat to his ſingle ſhare a "whole Pye reckoned to my Lord at twenty "pounds, being compoſed of Amber-greece, Ma-"giſterial of Pearl, Musk, *&c.* yet was ſo far from "being ſweet in the morning, that he almoſt poy-"ſoned his whole Family, flying himſelf like the "Satyr

"Satyr from his own ſtink: and another went away K. *James.*
"with forty pound of Sweet-meats in his Cloak-
"bag. Yet muſt I needs judge him uncharitable that writ of this noble perſon, that when the moſt able Phyſicians, and his own weakneſſe had paſſed a judgement he could not live many dayes, he did not forbear his Entertainments, but made divers brave Cloaths, as he ſaid, to *outface naked and deſpicable Death*; adding withal, *That nature wanted wiſdome, power or love, in making man mortal and ſubject to diſeaſes:* Forgetting (as that cenſorious Pen goeth on) that if every Individual his own luſt had been able to have produced, ſhould have proſecuted an equal exceſſe with *his*, they *would in a far leſſe time than an age have brought themſelves or the world into the ſame diſeaſe he died of*, *which was a Conſumption.*

For my part, I adhere to their Civility that repreſent his nature modeſt, his demeanor fair and Court-like, his obligations general, his intereſt as great with the Favourite as with the King; and ſo much the greater with the King, as he ſtudied him more, and underſtood him better than any man: though one obſerveth, he was rather in his favour, than in his boſome, and therefore he took care, That as his Expedition and Civility made him the great Maſter of Requeſts at Court, ſo his Marriage with the Heir-general of the *Dennies* ſhould get him an Eſtate in the Countrey --- wherewith he compleated his kindneſſe with bounty, and adorned his bounty with courteſie. --- Courteſie not affected, but naturally made up of humility, that ſecured him from *Envy*, and a Civility that kept him in eſteem; he being happy in an *expreſſion* that

K. *James.* was *high*, and not *formal*; and a Language that was *Courtly*, and yet *real.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Lake.

SIr *Thomas Lake* was bred a Scholar under *Saravia* in *Hampſhire*, a States-man under Sir *Francis Walſingham* at Court, where ſuch his dexterity and diſpatch, that he would indite, write, and diſcourſe at the ſame time, more exactly than moſt men could ſeverally perform them, being then cal'ed the *Swift-ſure*; ſuch his celerity and ſolidity in all Affairs! From the Secretaries *Amanuenſis*, he was promoted the Queens Clerk of the Signet, to whom he read *French* and *Latine* to her dying day; for he was reading to her, when the *Counteſſe* of *Warwick* told him *that the Queen was departed.* In which Tongues ſhe often ſaid he ſurpaſſed her Secretaries. Such his ſufficiency (eſpecially in keeping ſecrets) that King *James* employed him in ſome *French* Affairs at his firſt arrival without *Cecil*, and afterwards as Secretary of State above him.

For King *James* (that loved what ever was facile and fluent) being taken among other his Abilities with his *Latine* pen, ſaid, that *he was a Miniſter of State fit to ſerve the greateſt Prince in* Europe; and that the Secretaries place needed *him* more than he *it.* Of whom I have no more to add, but that he was one of the three noble hands that *firſt led Mr.* George Villiers *to* King *James his Favour.*

Obſervati-

Obſervations on the Life of Lyonel Cranfield, *Earl of* Middleſex.

SIr *Lyonel* was born in *Baſinghal ſtreet*, a Citizen, bred in the Cuſtome-houſe, a Merchant-Adventurer; his own Tutor, and his own Univerſity; though his Family was ancient in *Glouceſterſhire*, and his Arms in the Heralds Office. King *James* was taken with him for his brief, clear, ſtrong and pertinent diſcourſes; The Duke of *Buckingham* was diſpleaſed becauſe he would ſtand without him, yea in ſome things againſt him: many were as active as this ſtirring Lord, none more exact; his preſence was comely, his countenance cheerful and grave, his ſoul witty and wiſe, his apprehenſion quick and ſolid, his thoughts ſetled and reſolved. When one asked him how a man might prevent death, he ſaid, *Get to be Lord-Treaſurer, for none died in that Office.* Though no Scholar, yet was he bountiful to Scholars; though a Courtier, yet was he hoſpitable in the Countrey; though he ſuffered much, yet was he contented; and though he loſt much, yet was he charitable. Very ſerviceable he was to the State in the buſineſs of Trade in general, but moſt in that of the Cuſtom-houſe in particular: His firſt preferment was the cuſtody of the Wardrobe, his ſecond was the Maſterſhip of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and his third the Treaſurer-ſhip of *England*. In the laſt whereof, his improvement of the Revenue, gained him not more honour with the King, than it did him envy from

K. James. from the Courtiers; While to piece out the Treasure with the expence, he husbanded the one so thriftily, and retrenched the other so rigidly, that malice it self after many attempts to that purpose, could finde no fault with his exact account in *the boundlesse* trust of the *tempting Treasury*.

When the Prince was in *Spain*, he was the Statesman of the Council-Table, and the chief Minister of the Cabal, managing all the Dispatches, and overlooking all the Expences: In the last of which services he ran counter to the Duke of *Buckingham*'s inclination, and his own Interest; which was to keep himself up by that noble Person's *favour*, as he rose by his *alliance*. The occasion of his preferment might be some saving secrets of the Custome-house-men to improve the Revenue; the reason of his decline, was some thrifty suggestion touching the Courtiers to preserve it.

This is certain, he was a man fit for government, who quickly apprehended where any evil was, and had capacity enough to apply the remedy; onely he had a little too stiffe a nature that would not easily yield, when he found on which side there was most reason; and too much of the City in his maximes, which pretended to attain to that in a short time, which Politicians think not proper to arrive at but by a leasurely succession of Ages and Generations.

Observations

K. *James.*

Obſervations on the Life of Henry Howard *Earl of* Northampton.

THis Family had endeared it ſelf to many Kings by its ſervices, but to none more than King *James* by its obligations. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* being as it were his Mothers Martyr [executed for a deſign to marry her] and all his Relations his Confeſſors [kept under for their inclinations to advance him:] Reaſonable therefore it was, that my Lord that Dukes brother ſhould be made Baron of *Marnhill*, Earl of *Northampton*, Knight of the Garter, Privy-Councellor, Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports. -- Learning in any man had King *James* his affection, eſpecially in a Noble-man, as our States-man, who was as ſerious a Student in *Kings-Colledge* and *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, as a diſcerning obſervator in *Rome* and *Florence* in *Italy*. His *Diſpenſative againſt the ſuppoſed poyſon of Prophecies*, dedicated to Sir *Francis Walſingham*, beſpeaks him a great and a general Scholar: His Speeches at *Cambridge* and in *Star-Chamber*, argue him both witty and wiſe: His expences ſhewed him publick-ſpirited, the unparallel'd port of his Family and dependants an *Ancient Noble-man*: His deſigning of *Audley-End*, and building of *Suffolk-houſe*, an Architect: His Hoſpital for *twelve poor women*, and a Governour at *Riſe* in *Norfolk*; for *twelve poor men*, and a Governour at *Clin* in *Shropſhire*; for *twenty poor men*, and a Governour at *Greenwich* in *Kent* [whereof

K. James. [whereof eight to be choſen out of *Shoſe-Sham* where he was born] a charitable man: his uſing of all his intereſt to avoid the burthen & weight of the Treaſurer's place, and procure it for the Earl of *Suffolke* his Nephew, his noble diſpoſition, not to advance himſelf by Court-flattery, or his fortune by State employment, being a Batchellour and a Student; An inſtance of my Lord *Bacon's* obſervation; "*He that hath Wife and Children, hath given Hoſtages to Fortune, for they are Impediments to great Enterprizes either to Vertue or Miſchief. Certainly the beſt works, and of greateſt merit for the Publick proceed from the unmarried and the Childeleſſe, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the Publick.*

But to conclude this particular; this Lord told his intimate Secretary Mr. *George Penny* (who related it to my Author) that his Nativity (at his Fathers deſire) was calculated by a skilful *Italian* Aſtrologer, who told him that this his Infant-ſon ſhould taſte of much trouble in the middeſt of his life, even to the want of a meals meat; but his old age ſhould make amends for all, with a plentiful eſtate: which came to paſſe accordingly. For his Father dying in his infancy, no plentiful proviſion was made for him: and when his eldeſt Brother *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* was executed, his condition was much impaired; inſomuch that being once in *London* (not overſtocked with money (when his noble Nephews the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Thomas Howard* were out of Town) and loath to pin himſelf on any Table uninvited) he was fain to dine with the Chair of Duke *Humphrey*; but other

(not

(not to ſay better company) *viz.* reading of books in Stationers Shops in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; though afterwards he attained to great wealth, honour and command: However that Lord gave little credit to, and placed leſſe confidence in ſuch Predictions, as appeared by a learned Work he hath written on that ſubject. K. *James.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Ramſey, *Earl of* Holderneſs, *and Sir* Tho. Ereskin *Earl of* Kelly.

BOth their preferments began on the ſame occaſion; both their natures were eminent for the ſame innocence and goodneſſe; both their ſervices tend to the ſame iſſue, and therefore both their Characters come under one obſervation; which it's more proper to take in the word of their Countrey-man and Contemporary that knew them, than in the expreſſion of a ſtranger that onely heard of them. The whole ſtory runs thus:

The name of *Ruthen* in *Scotland* was not notorious, until *Anno* 1568. when *Ruthen* amongſt others, *Confederates*, in thoſe divided times of trouble, laboured much for the *impriſoning* Queen *Mary* Mother to King *James*. In 1582. his ſon *William* was created Earl *Gowry*, in the time of that *King's minority*, though the Father bore deadly hatred to the King's proſperity. And in 1584. himſelf was in actual *Rebellion*, in which he ſuffered at *Dondee*. His eldeſt ſon *John*, then in Travel in *Italy*, returns

K. *James.* returns home to inherit his lands and honours; but not one jot changed in disposition from the *traiterous* wayes of his *Predecessors:* For not long after he falls into this *Conspiracy*; which is not so *ancient*, but that many then and now living can, and my self have heard the *repetition.*

The house of *Gowry* were all of them much addicted to *study Chymistry*; and these more to *practise* it, often publishing (as such Professors usually do) more *rare experiments* then ever could be *performed*; wherein the King (a general Scholar) had little faith. But to *infuse* more *credit* to the practice, *Alexander Ruthen* the second brother takes this occasion, and withal *conspires* with *Gowry* to *assassinate* the King; and taking *opportunity* in his *hunting*, not far from his house St. *Johnstone*, invites the King to be an eye-witnesse of his *productions.* In their way Sir *Thomas Erskin* (after Lord *Kelly*) overtakes them and others, Demanding of the Duke of *Lenox*, then present, why *Alexander* had *ingrossed* the King's eare, to carry him from his *Sports? Peace man*, said the Duke, *Wee's all be turn'd into gold.* Not far they rid, but that the Earl *Gowry* made good by *protestation* his Brother's *story.* And thus was the King brought to be a Guest.

Neer the end of *Dinner*, at his *Fruit*, and the *Lords* and *Waiters* gone to eat, *Alexander* begs of the King, at this opportunity to *withdraw*, and to be partaker of his *Production*, to the view of that which yet he could not believe.

And up he leads the King into by-lodgings, locking each door behind them, till they came into a *Back Room*; where no sooner entered, but that *Alexander* claps on his *Bonnet*, and with *stern countenance*

countenance, faces the King, and ſays; *Now Sir, you* K. *James.*
muſt know, I had a Father, whoſe blood calls for re-
venge ſhed for your ſake. The King *amazed*, deales
gently with his *fury*, excuſes the *guilt* of his *death*,
by his then-*Infancy*. Adviſing him not to lay *violent*
hands on the ſacred *Perſon* of his *Anointed* Sove-
raign, Eſpecially in a cauſe of his *Innocency*: Pleading
the *Laws* of God & Man; which ſo much wrought
upon him, that he ſaid, Well, I will ſpeak with
my *Brother*; and ſo put the King into a *Lobby Room*
next the *Chamber*; where no ſooner *entered*, but
that there appeared a fellow *weaponed*, ready for *ex-*
ecution, to whoſe *cuſtody* the King is committed till
his *return*.

Alexander gone down, the fellow trembles
with *Reverence*, puts down his *Sword*, and craves
pardon; which gave the King occaſion to work up-
on that paſſion, and to aſk him whether he reſol-
ved to *murther him*? Being aſſured to the contra-
ry, the King gets leave to open a *window*, that
looked into a back *Court*. When preſently *Alex-*
ander returns, and tells the King that he muſt *dye*:
But much *affrighted* at the fellow's *countenance*,
with his ſword offers *violence* to the King; Which
the *fellow ſeemingly oppoſes*, and between them be-
gan a *ſcuffle*, which gave advantage to the King to
cry *Treaſon* at the *Window*, which looked into a
back-Court, where Sir *Thomas Erſkin*, and one
Herries, were come in purſuit of the King, who was
rumoured to be gone out the back-way to his *hunt-*
ing.

At the cry of *Treaſon*, and known to be the
King's *voice*, they both haſtened up a back-ſtair,
called the *Turn-pike*, being *directed* by a ſervant of
the

K. James. the house, who saw *Alexander* ascend that way. And so forcing some doors, they found them above, panting with the *fray*; and up comes also at heels of them, *John Ramsey* (after Earl of *Holderneſſe*:) by them *Alexander* was soon dispatched.

Not long after came the Earl *Gowry* (by his double key) the *first way*, with a case of *Rapiers*, his usual *weapons*, and ready drawn. To whom *Erskin* said, as to divert his *purpose*; *What do you mean, my Lord? the King is kill'd*: (for the King was *shadowed*, having cast himself upon a *Bed* from his sight, and his Cloak was thrown upon the Body of *Alexander*, bleeding upon the ground.) At which *Gowry* stops, sinking the points of his *weapons*; when suddenly *Herries* strikes at him with a hunting *Falchion*. And *Ramsey* having his Hawk on his fist; casts her off, and steps in to *Gowry*, and *stabs* him to the *heart*; and forthwith more *Company* came up.

Not long after this Conspiracy, *Herries* dies well rewarded. *John Ramsey* hath the Honour of *Knighthood*, with an additional bearing to his Coat of Arms, *A Hand holding forth a Dagger, reversed proper, piercing a bloody Heart, The point crowned Emperial*, with this Distick, *Hæc Dextra Vindex principis & patriæ*. Afterwards he was created Lord *Haddington*, and Earl of *Holderneſſe*.

Sir *Thomas Erskin* was afterwards created *Earl* of *Kelly*, *Knight* of the *Garter*, *Captain* of the King's *Guard*, and *Groom* of the Stool; and the *Fellow* designed for the Murtherer, had a large *Pension* confirmed by *Act* of their Parliament.

And

And all theſe men (but *Herries*) were living, with other witneſſes, at King *James* his journey, when he went from hence to viſit *Scotland*, and met together by direction at the ſame houſe, with *Ceremony*; and all of them, with a number of *Courtiers*, aſcended into the ſame *Room*, the blood yet remaining, where the King related the *Story*, which was confirmed by them. And afterwards kneeling down, with tears of Contrition for his *Sins* to God, and thankfulneſſe for this *Mercy*, uſing many pious Ejaculations, embraced all theſe *Actors* in the former *Tragedy*; when the poor *fellow* alſo kiſt the King's hand. K. *James*

Theſe circumſtances gave occaſion then, that this whole ſtory was freſhly revived, to the common *Satisfaction* of the whole *Countrey*, and our *Engliſh* Courtiers. And in eſpecial, unto the very reverend Biſhop, and nobly born, *James Mountague*, then preſent, to whom the King addreſſed himſelf in this *Relation*, and from whoſe *Mouth* I received theſe *particulars*, at his return into *England*.

And thus much we have by word of mouth: ſomewhat I ſhall add out of writings, for more ſatisfaction.

This Treaſon was attempted the fourth of *Auguſt* 1600. And though there followed ſundry Suſpitions and Examinations of ſeveral other Perſons, ſuppoſed *Abbettors* and *Contrivers*; yet it lay undiſcovered, *tanquam è poſtliminio*, until eight years after, by the circumſpection principally of the Earl of *Dunbar*, a man of as great wiſdome as thoſe times and that Kingdome could boaſt of, upon the perſon of one *George Sprot*, Notary-publick of,

K. *James.* *Ayemouth* in *Scotland*, from ſome words which at firſt he ſparingly or *unawares expreſſed*, and alſo by ſome papers which were found in his houſe; whereof being examin'd, with a little ado he confeſſed, and was condemned and executed at *Edenburgh* the 12th of *Aug.* 1608.

A *Relation* I conceive not common, but in my hands to be produced, and written by that learned Gentleman *William Hart*, then Lord *Juſtice* of *Scotland*, and *Principal* in all the Acts of Judicature herein.

Neither of theſe Lords profeſſed any skill in Politicks; yet neither wanted a ſtrong judgement, which they could make good uſe of in time and place convenient, giving teſtimonies in thoſe Employments they had, of a ſtrict ſecrecy, a great moderation, and a happy compliance with opportunity, Qualities exceedingly well lodged in men of *Intereſt* and *Command*, eſpecially in theſe two, who neither too eaſily cloſed with others reſolutions, nor too obſtinately adhered to their own.

Obſervations on the Fall of Sir Tho. Lake.

A Great Eſtate this Gentleman had honeſtly got, and a greater eſteem, being King *James* his right hand, and the *Scots* both hands; that with which they begged, and that with which they beſtowed; the inſtrument of the meaner ſorts relief, and the greaters bounty; untill that *Malice* and *Revenge*, two violent *paſſi-*

ons,

ons, over-ruling the *Weaker Sex*, concerning his *Wife* and *daughter*; involved him in their *quarrell*, the chief and onely cauſe of his *ruine*. He had by his *Wife* ſons and daughters: His eldeſt married unto the Lord Baron *Roſſe* (in right of a Grandmother) the ſon of *Thomas* Earl of *Exeter* by a former venter. And upon the credit of Sir *Thomas Lake*, he was ſent Embaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*, in a very *gallant Equipage*, with ſome hopes of his own to continue *Lieger*, to ſave charges of tranſmitting any other. K. *James*.

In his abſence there fell out an extream *deadly* ſewd ('tis no matter for what) between the Lady *Lake* and the Counteſs of *Exeter*. A youthful Widow ſhe had been, and *vertuous*, and ſo became *Bedfellow* to this *aged*, *gowty*, *diſeaſed*, but noble *Earl*. And that *preferment* had made her ſubject to *Envy* and *Malice*.

Home comes the Lord *Roſſe* from his Embaſſie, when being fallen into ſome neglect of his Wife and his kindred, I conceive upon refuſal of an increaſe of *allowance* to her *ſettlement* of *Joynture*, which was promiſed to be compleated at his return; not long he ſtayes in *England*, but away he gets into *Italy*, turns a profeſſed *Roman Catholick*, being cozened into that *Religion* by his publick *Confident Gondamore*.

In this his laſt abſence (*never* to *return*) the *Mother* and *Daughter* accuſe the *Counteſs* of former *Incontinency* with the Lord *Roſſe* whileſt he was here, and that therefore upon his *Wives diſcovery* he was fled from hence, and from her *Marriage-Bed*; with other deviſed *Calumnies*, by ſeveral deſignes and contrivements, to have poyſoned the *Mother* and *Daughter*.

K. James. This quarrel was ſoon blazon'd at Court, to the *King's eare*, who as privately as could be, ſingly *examines* each party. The *Counteſs* with tears and imprecations profeſſeth her *Innocency*; which to oppoſe, the Mother *Lake* and her Daughter counterfeit her hand to a whole ſheet of Paper; wherein they make the *Counteſs* with much *contrition* to *acknowledge* her ſelf *guilty*, crave pardon for *attempting* to *poyſon* them, and deſire *friendſhip* with them all.

The *King* gets ſight of this, as in favour to them, and demands the *time*, *place*, and *occaſion* when this ſhould be writ. They tell him, that all the parties met in a viſit at *Wimbleton* (the houſe of the Lord of *Exeter*) where, in diſpute of their *differences*, ſhe *confeſſes* her guilt of attempting their poiſon. And being deſirous of abſolution and friendſhip (being required thereto) conſents to ſet down all *Circumſtances* therein, under her own *hand*, which preſently ſhe writ at the *Window* in the upper end of the great *Chamber* at *Wimbleton*, in preſence of the *Mother* and *Daughter*, the Lord *Roſſe*, and one *Diego* a *Spaniard* his confiding *Servant*. But now they being gone, and at *Rome*, the King forthwith ſends Mr. *Dendy* (one of his *Serjeants* at *Armes*, ſometimes a Domeſtick of the Earl of *Exeters*, an *honeſt* and worthy *Gentleman*) poſt to *Rome*, who ſpeedily returns with *Roſſe* and *Diego's* hand, and other teſtimonials, confirming, That all the ſaid *Accuſation*, and *Confeſſion*, *Suſpitions* and *Papers* concerning the *Counteſſe*, were notorious *falſe* and *ſcandalous*; and confirms it by receiving the *Hoaſt*, in aſſurance of her *Honour*, and his *Innocency*. The *King* well ſatisfied

tisfied, ſends to the *Counteſſes Friends* and *Truſtees* for her *Joynture* and *Eſtate*; who comparing many of her *letters* with this Writing, do confeſſe it *counterfeit*. K. *James*

Then he tells the *Mother* and *Daughter*, That this writing being denied by her, and their teſtimonies, being parties, would not prevail with any belief, but any other *Additional witneſſe* would give it ſufficient credit. To which they aſſure *him*, That one *Sarah Swarton*, their *Chambereſſe*, ſtood behind the Hanging, at the entrance of the *Room*, and heard the *Counteſs* read over what ſhe had *writ*: and her alſo they procure to *ſwear* unto this *before* the *King*.

To make further *tryal*, the *King* in a hunting journey at *New-park* near *Wimbleton*, gallops thither, views the *Room*, obſerving the great diſtance of the *Window* from the lower end of the Room; and placing himſelf behind the *Hanging*, and ſo other *Lords* in turn, they could not *hear* one *ſpeak loud* from the *window*.

Then the *Houſekeeper* was call'd, who proteſted thoſe Hangings had conſtantly furniſht that *Room* for thirty years; which the *King* obſerved to be two foot *ſhort* of the *ground*, and might diſcover the *woman*, if hidden behind them. I may preſent alſo, the King ſaying, *Oaths cannot confound my ſight*.

Beſides all this, the *Mother* and *Daughter* counterfeit another Writing, a *Confeſſion* of one *Luke Hutton*, acknowledging for 40 pound annuity, the *Counteſs* hired him to poiſon them; which *Man*, with wonderful providence was *found* out privately, and denies it to the *King*.

K. *James.* And thus prepared, the *King* ſends for Sir *Thomas Lake*, whom indeed he very much valued; tells him the danger to imbarque himſelf in this Quarrel, adviſing him to leave them to the *Law*, being now ready for the *Star-Chamber*. He humbly thanked his Majeſty, *but could not refuſe to be a Father and a Husband*; and ſo puts his *Name* with theirs in a *croſſe Bill*, which at the hearing, took up five ſeveral days, the *King* ſitting in *Judgement*. Bnt the former teſtimonies, and ſome private *confeſſions* of the Lady *Roſſe*, and *Sarah Wharton*, which the King kept in private, from publick proceedings, made the Cauſe for ſome of the days of Tryal, appear doubtful to the Court, until the *King's* diſcovery, which concluded the *Sentence*, and was pronounced in ſeveral *Cenſures*; Sir *Thomas Lake* and his Lady fined *ten thouſand pounds to the King*, *five thouſand pounds to the Counteſs*, *fifty pounds to* Hutton, Sarah Wharton *to be whipt at a Carts tail about the ſtreets*, *and to do penance at St.* Martin's *Church*. The Lady *Roſſe*, for confeſſing the truth and plot in the midſt of the Tryal, was *pardoned by the Major Voices from penal Sentence*.

The King, I remember, compared their *Crime* to the firſt plot of the firſt *ſin in Paradiſe*, *the Lady* Lake *to the Serpent*, her *Daughter* unto *Eve*, and Sir *Thomas* to poor *Adam*, whom he thought in his *conſcience*, that his *love* to his *Wife* had beguiled him. I am ſure, he paid for all, which, as he told me, coſt him *thirty thouſand pounds*, and the loſſe of his *Maſters* favour, and Offices of *gain* and *honour*, but truly with much pitty and compaſſion of the Court.

Obſervia-

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Suffolk.

HIS Uncle *Northampton* negotiated his preferment, and his Father *Norfolke* deſerved it, for whoſe ſake the eldeſt Son *Philip* Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord Marſhal, and this ſecond firſt Chamberlain, and then Treaſurer; wherein as the Earl of *Middleſex* underſtood well the priviledges of the City, ſo my Lord kenned well the Revenues of the Crown. But his fair Daughter, that gained him moſt favour, did him moſt harm; he falling with his ſon *Somerſet's* miſcarriages, when he might have ſtood without his Relation: being as plain as his brother *Henry* was ſubtle; as *obliging*, as he was *inſinuating*; as knowing, as he was cunning; the one converſing with *Books*, the other with *Men*. A Gentleman from whom I requeſted his Character, returns me no more but this: *He was a man never endued with much patience, and one that much retarded the progreſſe of his fortune, by often ſpeaking publickly with too much liberty:* Otherwiſe very true to the Maximes of his Age. 1. Linking himſelf to the *Scots*. 2. Buying Fee-Farm Rents to avoid envy, as my Lord of *Saliſbury* before him in the *Scots* Debenturers names. 3. Promoting *Northern* Suits. And 4. projecting for money.

He was alſo Chancellor of *Cambridge*, loving and beloved of the Univerſity. When at his firſt com-

K. *James.* ing to *Cambridge*, Mr. *Francis Nethersole* Oratour of the University, made a Latine Speech unto him; the Lord returned, *Though I understand not Latine, I know the sense of your Oration is to tell me that I am welcome to you; which I believe verily: I thank you for it heartily, and will serve you faithfully in any thing within my power.* Doctor *Harsenet* the Vice-Chancellor laying hold on the handle of so fair a Proffer, requested him to be pleased to entertain the King at *Cambridge*; a favour which the University could never compasse from their former great and wealthy Chancellours; *I will do it* (saith the Lord) *in the best manner I may, and with the speediest conveniency.*

Nor was he worse than his word, giving his Majesty such a Treatment in the University, as cost him five thousand pounds and upwards. Hence it was, that after his death, *Thomas* his second son Earl of *Bark shire* (not suing for it, nor knowing of it) was chosen to succeed him, losing the place (as some suspected) not for lack of Voices, but fair counting them.

Observations on the Life of Sir Rob. Cary.

HE was born an ingenious man, of good parts and breeding; but of so uncourtly a temper, that in all likelihood we had not heard of him, had he not had the luck to have been the first Messenger let out of the Court by the favour of his Father the Lord Chamberlain, to bring King

King *James* news that Queen *Elizabeth* was dead; when the *Scots* expectation was ſo *tyred*, that *they thought Queen* Eliz. *would never dye, as long as there was an old woman that could either wear good cloaths, or eat good meat in* England. Upon which good account he is a Bed-chamber-man to King *James*, and a Tutor to Prince *Charles*; though he had made better uſe of his Talent as a Soldier, than as a Courtier, having too much of the Candor of that Family; that as the Hiſtorian obſerved, *ſpake of things always as they deſerved*: And though he had wit enough, yet he had not the judgement or way to make *thoſe ſtand in awe of him*, who were *moſt obliged to him.* K. *James.*

Obſervations on the Lives of Sir Robert Naunton, *and Sir* Francis Nethersole.

SIr *Robert Naunton* is the Author of one Book of Obſervations upon the States-men of Qu: *Eliz.* times, & muſt be the ſubject of another of King *James his*: He noted then in his youth, what he was to practice afterwards in his more reduced years. His Univerſity-Studies at *Trinity-Colledge*, whereof he was Commoner; and at *Trinity-Hall*, whereof he was Fellow; His Speeches both while Proctor and Orator of *Cambridge*, diſcovered him more inclined to publick Accompliſhments, than private Studies: He improved the opportunity of the ſpeech he was to make before K. *James* at *Hinchinbrook*

K. James. *inbrook* ſo well, that as His Majeſty was highly affected with his Latine and Learning, ſo he exactly obſerved his prudence and ſerviceableneſſe; whereupon he came to Court as Sir *Thomas Overburies* Aſſiſtant firſt, and then as Sir *George Villiers* friend, who promoted him to be Secretary of State, *Jan.* 8. 1617. as his Majeſty did a while after to be Mr. of the Wards. The firſt place whereof he diſcharged with as much ability and dexterity, as he did the ſecond with integrity; onely he was obſerved cloſe-handed, whether out of his natural inclination "to Parſimony, or ſome fixed deſign to re- "gulate and reduce the great expences of this Na- "tion; or from ſome hidden and refined politick conſideration, that that might be done by a wary obſervation of men's integrity and inclination, which was uſually done with money: and indeed, as a great man obſerveth, to procure good "in- "formation of particulars touching perſons, their "natures, their deſires and ends, their cuſtomes "and faſhions, their helps and advantages, and whereby they chiefly ſtand: So again, their weakneſſes and diſadvantages, and where they lye moſt open and obnoxious; their friends, factions, and dependencies: and again, their oppoſites, envyers, and Competitors; their moods and times, their principles, rules, obſervations, *&c.* their actions how conducted, how favoured, how oppoſed, *&c.* is the onely way of ſucceſſe in buſineſſe, and of prevailing in fortune, eſpecially if attended with this Gentleman's two maſter-Qualities; 1. Reſervedneſs, the ſecurity; 2. Slowneſs of belief, the ſinew of wiſdome. Finding his temper agreeable with the Univerſity, he allowed himſelf more ſcope and liberty

liberty; but obſerving his particular conſtitution not ſuitable to the general ſtate of his times, the whole courſe of his life was more cloſe, retyred, and reſerved, opening it ſelf but with an half-light, and a full advantage: and what he was to others, he believed all others were to him, as hardly truſting *them*, as he was underſtood *himſelf*, unleſſe ſurprized in his countenance by the motions of it, or in his actions by the ſuddenneſſe of them, or in his temper by his paſſion, but as far as can be gueſſed, from the Letters that paſſed between them about the Palatinate. He was of the ſame make in the State, as Arch-Biſhop *Abbot* was in the Church, zealous and ſullen; if others had a better wit than *he* in abuſing him, he had a better *memory* than they to think of it; for one Mr. *Wiemark* a wealthy man, a great Novilant, and conſtant *Paul's* walker, hearing the news that day of the beheading of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; *His head* (ſaid he) *would do well upon the ſhoulders of Sir* Robert Naunton *Secretary of State.* Theſe words were complained of, and *Wiemark* ſummoned to the Privy-Council, where he pleaded for himſelf, that he intended no diſreſpect to Mr. Secretary, whoſe known worth was above all detraction; onely he ſpake in reference to an old proverb, *Two heads are better than one*; and for the preſent he was diſmiſſed. Not long after, when rich men were called on for a contribution to St. *Pauls*, *Wiemark* at Council-Table ſubſcribed a hundred pounds; but Mr. Secretary told him, *Two hundred were better than one*; which betwixt fear and charity *Wiemark* was fain to ſubſcribe. K. *James.*

Neither was he ſooner up, than he gave his Colleague

K. *James.* league and Succeſſor in the Orators place, Sir *Francis Netherſole*, his hand to advance him too; whom after his elegant Speech on Prince *Henry*, we finde a prudent Agent with the Princes of the Union, and a faithful Secretary to the Queen of *Bohemia*, for whom he did much, and ſuffered more. Yet was he lately alive, and as *charitable* in his elder yeares, as ever he was *noble* in his younger.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Arthur Ingram.

SIr *Arthur* had *wit* in *Italy*, where he was a Factor, and *wealth* in *London*, where he was a Merchant, to be firſt a *Cuſtomer*, and then a Cofferer to that King, who had this happineſſe, that he underſtood ſo much of all his affairs, as to make a judgement of what perſons might be moſt ſerviceable to him in each of them. So pragmatical a perſon as this Gentleman, was neceſſary among the Cuſtome-houſe-men, who were about to engroſſe all the wealth of the Kingdome; and as uſeful among the Green-cloath-men, who ſhared amongſt themſelves vaſt Concealments. The activity of his head had undone him, had not the odium of it been allayed by the diſcretion of his tongue; whatever he ſpake, being naturally accompanied with ſuch a kinde of modeſty and affability as gained the affection, and attracted the reſpect of all that converſed with him; onely ſome wary men were jealous of that watchful and ſerene habit

he

he had attained to in every conference and action, as well to obſerve as to act: though it was more than they needed, he having not that good ſtay and hold of himſelf, his much obſerving tempting him to much medling; though never more need of it than at that time, when ninety and odd thouſand pounds were ſpent upon the Palſgrave; to reimburſe which money, he ſet up the improvement of Coyn, the Farthings, the borrowing of money of the Cuſtomers, and as many other Projects to get money, as others had to ſpend it. K. *James.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Yelverton.

THis Gentleman's relation to Sir *Thomas Overbury* brought him to the Earl of *Somerſet's* ſervice, and my Lord of *Somerſet's* ſervice recommended him to the Kings favour; whereby he was at firſt his Counſel learned, and afterwards his Attorney-General; in which laſt place his duty enjoyned him the impeachment of that Earl, but his gratitude forbad him: Loth he was to refuſe his Maſters command, more loth to have a hand in his Patrons ruine; his civility outweighed his prudence, & his obligations his ſafety: for refuſing to implead his Mr. as a great Delinquent at the Bar, he was ſent by the Council as a greater to the Tower, where he continued until (as ſome ſay) the Duke of *Buckingham* came to him at mid-night; and hearing from him ſuch myſteries of State as nearly concerned his own ſafety, not onely releaſed,

K. *James.* ſed, but advanced him to a place of Judicature which his Integrity and Ability might deſerve, b his niceneſſe and narrowneſſe could not keep i *Law and Equity have two Courts, but Law and Di cretion ſhould dwell in one breaſt.* The truth there is a great advantage in the "well-ſettin forth of a mans vertues, fortunes, merits; a "again, in the Artificial covering of a ma "weakneſſes, defects, diſgraces; ſtaying upo "the one, ſliding from the other, making uſe "circumſtances, *&c.* which this good and pla man was a ſtranger to, being not ſo true to hi ſelf, or ſo ſetled, but that either upon heat, bravery, or kindneſſe, or trouble of minde a weakneſſe, he would open himſelf to his Enemies tisfaction, and his own hazard.— Yet I mu needs ſay, That his Letter of ſubmiſſion to t Duke was *ingenuous*, if he was *guilty*; and *Co ly*, if he was *innocent*. Sir *Francis Bacon* took a w ſer courſe in my Lord of *Eſſex* his Caſe, than he the Earl of *Somerſet's*; for when that Lord ente tained deſtructive, before diſpleaſing Counſ the knowing Knight fairly forſook not his perſo whom his pity attended to his Grave, but his pr &tiſes; and herein was not the *worſe* friend, for b ing the *better* Subject.

Obſervatio

K. Jmeas.

Obſervations on the Life of Biſhop Mountague.

James Mountague ſon to Sir *Edward Mountague*, was born at *Boughton* in *Northamptonſhire*, bred in Chriſts-Colledge in *Cambridge*: He was afterwards Maſter, or rather nurſing Father to *Sidney-Colledge*; For he found it in bonds to pay twenty Marks *per annum* to *Trinity-Colledge* for the ground whereon it is built, and left it free, aſſigning it a rent for the diſcharge thereof. When the Kings Ditch in *Cambridge* made to defend it by its ſtrength, did in his time offend it with its ſtench, he expended a hundred Marks to bring running-water into it, to the great conveniency of the Univerſity. He was afterwards Biſhop firſt of *Bath* and *Wells*, then of *Wincheſter*, being highly in favour with King *James*, who did ken a man of merit, as well as any Prince in *Chriſtendome*. He tranſlated the Works of King *James* into Latine, and improved his greatneſſe to do good Offices therewith. He dyed *Anno Dom.* 1618. *Ætat.* 49. and lyeth buried within his fair Monument, within his fairer, I mean a goodly Tomb in the Church of *Bath*, which oweth its well-being and beauty to his Munificence. King *James* caſt his eye upon him at *Hinchingbrook* (where the Univerſity of *Cambridge* met him as he came from *Scotland*) becauſe he obſerved him one of thoſe he knew he muſt oblige, I mean a Gentleman: He ſet his heart upon him at Court,

K. James. Court, becauſe he found him one he intended to employ, I mean a *Scholar*. He was the onely man of all the Doctors he converſed with there, and the onely man of all the Biſhops he conſulted with at *White-Hall*. His nature inclined him to magnificence, and his vertue to *Thrift*; ſparing from leſſer vanities, what he might expend upon greater enterprizes; never ſparing when juſt deſigns called for great charge. Grateful he was to his followers, though not prodigal: Good men chooſe rather to be loved "for their benefits to the Community, "than thoſe to private perſons: His underſtanding was as large as his heart was honeſt, comprehenſive both of *men* and *things*; even thoſe things that were either below or beſides his care, going not beſides his obſervation.

He anticipated his age with his worth, and died at fourſcore in merit, when not fifty in yeares; filling his time not with dayes but with vertues ſo early, as ſeemed rather innate than acquired: For which he was ſo *popular* in the Countrey, as well as favoured at Court; that a *corpulent* Officer of *Bath*-Church being appointed on the day of his Burial to keep the doors, entred on his employment in the morning, but was buried himſelf before night, and before the Biſhop's body was put in the ground; becauſe being bruiſed to death by the *preſſing* in of *people*, his Corps requsred ſpeedy interment.— In thoſe days the *Plebs concurred* with with the King in their affections *to*, becauſe they *ſubmitted* to him *in* their choice of perſons; for then wiſdome was thought to dwell in the *Head*, and good Folks thought their Soveraign wiſer than *themſelves*.

Obſervations

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edm. Anderſon.

SIr *Edmund Anderſon* was born a younger brother of a Gentile Extract at *Flixborough* in *Lincolnſhire*, and bred in the inner Temple. I have been informed that his Father left him a thouſand pounds for his portion, which this our Sir *Edmund* multiplyed into many, by his great proficiency in the Common-Law, being made the 24th of Queen *Elizabeth* Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. When Secretary *Daviſon* was ſentenced in the Star-Chamber for the buſineſſe of the Queen of *Scots*, Judge *Anderſon* ſaid of him, that therein he had done * *juſtum, non juſte*; and ſo acquitting him of all malice, cenſured him with the reſt of his indiſcretion. When *H. Cuffe* was arraigned about the riſing of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and when Sir *Edward Coke* the Queens Solicitor oppoſed him, and the other anſwered Syllogiſtically, our *Anderſon* (ſitting there as a Judge of Law, not Logick) checked both Pleader and Priſoner, *ob ſtolidos ſyllogiſmos*, for their fooliſh Syllogiſmes, appointing the former to preſſe the Statute of *Edward* the third. He died in the third of King *James*, leaving great Eſtates to ſeveral ſons. He was a pure Legiſt, that had little skill in the affairs of the world, always alledging a deciſive Caſe or Statute on any matter or queſtion, without any regard to the decency, or reſpect to be had towards a State, or Government, and without that account of a moderate interpreta-

* Cambden *Eliz. Anno* 1587.

Idem, An. no 1600.

K. James. on some circumstances of things require, being so much the lesse useful as he was incompliant, and one whom none addressed to, because, as one observes of Cardinal *Corrado*; *Such think they do in some manner sacrifice themselves, when they do but in the least act against their own opinions, to do a man a little pleasure.* There are a kinde of honest men of good conscience, whose capacities being narrow, entertain private resolutions, inconsistent with publick interest; who may for me passe for good men, but shall never be censed or registred for good Citizens; because when streight-laced and short apprehensions are resolved into conscience and maximes, those men are obliged to be so obstinate as to change or remit nothing of their first resolutions, how unreasonable soever in themselves, or dangerous in the consequence.

Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, *by himself.*

1. I Was born at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, March 2. 1544. descended both by Father and Mother of worshipful Parents. My Father, in the time of Queen *Mary*, being noted and known to be an enemy to Popery, was so cruelly threatned, and so narrowly observed, by those that maliced his Religion, that for the safeguard of himself and my Mother, who was wholly affected as my Father, he knew no way so secure as to flye into *Germany*.

2. My

2. My Father fixed his abode in the City of *Geneva*; where, as far as I remember, the *English* Church consisted of some hundred persons. I was at that time of twelve years of age, but through my Fathers cost and care, sufficiently instructed to become an Auditor of *Chevallerius* in Hebrew, of *Beroaldus* in Greek, of *Calvin* and *Beza* in Divinity, and of some other Professors in that University (which was newly then erected) besides my domestick Teachers in the house of *Philibertus Saracenus*, a famous Physitian in that City, with whom I was boarded, where *Robertus Constantius*, that made the *Greek Lexicon*, read *Homer* to me. K. James

3. In the first of Queen *Elizabeth*, my Father returned, and setled his dwelling in the City of *London*. It was not long after, that I was sent away from thence to the University of *Oxford*, recommended to the teaching and tuition of Doctor *Humphrey*. In the year 1563, I took the degree of *Batchellor of Arts*; within which year I was chosen *Probationer* of *Merton* Colledge, and the next year ensuing admitted *Fellow*. Afterwards, in the year 1565, by special perswasion of some of my Fellows, and for my private exercise, I undertook the publick reading of a Greek Lecture in the same Colledge-Hall, without requiring or expecting any stipend for it: Nevertheless it pleased the Fellowship of their own accord to allow me soon after four marks by the year, and ever since to continue the Lecture to that Colledge.

4. In the year 1566, I proceeded *Master of Arts*, and read for that year in the School-streets natural Philosophy. After which time, within less than

K. *James.* three years ſpace, I was won by intreaty of my beſt affected friends to ſtand for the Proctorſhip, to which I and my Colleague were quietly elected in the year 1569, without any competition or counter-ſuit of any other. After this for a long time, I ſupplied the Office of Univerſity-Oratour, and beſtowed my time in the ſtudy of ſundry faculties, without any inclination to profeſſe any one above the reſt; inſomuch as at laſt I waxed deſirous to travel beyond the Seas, for attaining to the knowledg of ſome ſpecial modern Tongues, and for the encreaſe of my experience in the managing of affairs; being wholly then addicted to employ my ſelf and all my cares in the publick ſervice of the State.

5. After my return, in the year 1585, I was employed by the Queen to the King of *Denmark*, and to the *German* Princes: Next, to *Henry* the third, King of *France*: After this, in 88, for the better conduct of her Highneſſe Affairs in the Provinces United, I was thought a fit perſon to reſide in thoſe parts, and was ſent thereupon to the *Hague* in *Holland*; where, according to the Contract that had formerly paſs'd between her Highneſſe and the States, I was admitted for one of their Council of Eſtate, taking place in their Aſſemblies next to Count *Maurice*, and yielding my ſuffrage in all that was propoſed. During all that time, what approbation was given of my painful endeavours by the Queen, by the Lords in *England*, by the States of the Countrey there, and by all the *Engliſh* Soldiery, I refer it to be notified by ſome others Relation.

6. I received from her Majeſty many comfortable Letters of her gracious acceptance of my diligence

gence and care: and among the Lords of the Coun- K. *James.*
cil had no man more to friend, then was the Lord
Treasurer *Burleigh*. For when occasion had been offered of declaring his conceit as touching my service, he would always tell the Queen (which I received from her self and some other Ear-witnesses) that there was not any man in *England* so meet as my self to undergo the Office of the Secretary. And sithence his son, the present Lord Treasurer, hath signified unto me in private conference, that when his Father first intended to advance him to that place, his purpose was withal to make me his Colleague: But that the daily provocations of the Earl of *Essex* were so bitter and sharp against him, and his comparisons so odious when he put us in a balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reason to use his best means, to put any man out of hope of raising his fortune, whom the Earl with such violence, to his extream prejudice, had endeavoured to dignifie.

7. When I had well considered, how ill it did concur with my natural disposition, to become or to be counted either a stickler or partaker in any publick faction; how well I was able, by Gods good blessing, to live of my self, if I could be contented with a competent livelihood; I resolved thereupon to possess my soul in peace all the residue of my days, to take my farewel of State-employments, and so to retire me from the Court.

8. Now although after this, by her Majesties direction, I was often called to the Court, by the now Lord Treasurer, then Secretary, and required by him, and also divers times since, by order from the King, to serve as Ambassador in *France*,

K. *James.* and to negotiate in other very honourable employments, yet I would not be removed from my former final resolution; but have continued at home my retired course of life, which is now methinks to me as the greatest preferment the State can afford.

9. This I must confesse of my self, that though I did never repent me yet of my often refusals of honourable offers, in respect of enriching my private Estate; yet somewhat more of late I have blamed my self and my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my Reverend Mother the University of *Oxford*, and to the advancement of her good by such kinde of means as I have since undertaken.

10. Having examined what course I might take, I concluded at the last to set up my staffe at the Library door; being throughly perswaded, that in my solitude and surcease from the Common-wealth affairs, I could not busie my self to better purpose then by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and waste) to the publick use of Students.

11. For the effecting whereof, I found my self furnished in a competent proportion, of such four kinds of aids, as unlesse I had them all, there was no hope of good successe. For without some kinde of knowledge, as well in the learned modern Tongues, as in sundry other sorts of Scholastical literature; without some purse-ability to go through with the charge; without very great store of honourable friends to further the design, and without special good leisure to follow such a work, it could but have proved a vain attempt, and inconsiderate.

12. But

12. But how well I have ſped in all my endeavours, and how full proviſion I have made for the benefit and eaſe of all frequenters of the Library; that which I have already performed in fight; That beſides, which I have given for the maintenance of it; and that which hereafter I purpoſe to add, by way of enlargement to that place (for the project is caſt, and whether I live or die, it ſhall be, God willing, put in full execution) will teſtifie ſo truly and abundantly for me, as I need not to be the publiſher of the dignity and worth of mine own inſtitution. *Written with mine own hand*, Anno 1609. Decemb. 15. K. *James.*

Obſervations on the Life of Henry Vere *Earl of* Oxford.

"HEnry *Vere* was ſon of *Edward Vere*, the ſeventeenth Earl of *Oxford*, and *Anne Trentham* his Lady; whoſe principal habitation (the reſt of his patrimony being then waſted) was at *Heningham-Caſtle* in *Eſſex*: A vigorous Gentleman, full of courage and reſolution, and the laſt Lord Chamberlain of *England* of this Family. His ſturdy nature would not bow to Court-compliants, who would maintain what he ſpake, ſpeak what he thought, think what he apprehended true and juſt, though ſometimes dangerous, and diſtaſtful. Once he came into Court with a great milk-white Feather about his hat, which then was ſomewhat unuſual, ſave that a perſon of his merit might make a faſhion.

K. James. "The Reader may ghess the Lord who said to him "in some jeer, *My Lord, you wear a very fair Fea-* "*ther: It's true* (said the Earl) *and if you mark* "*it, there is ne're a Taint in it.* Indeed his Fami- "ly was ever loyal unto the Crown, deserving their "Motto,

Vero nil Verius.

Going over one of the four *English* Colonels into the Low-Countries, and endeavouring to raise the siege of *Breda*, he so over-heated himself with Marching, Fighting and vexing (the Designe not succeeding) that he dyed after, *Anno Dom.* 16..... He married *Diana*, one of the Co-heirs of *William* Earl of *Exeter*, (afterwards to *Edward* Earl of *Elgin*) by whom he left no Issue.

Observations on the Life of Sir Francis Vere.

Sir Francis Vere (*Governour of* Bril *and* Portsmouth) *was of the ancient, and of the most noble extract of the Earls of* Oxford; *and it may be a question, whether the Nobility of his house, or the honour of his Achievements might most commend him, who brought as much glory to his name, as he received honour from it: He was amongst his Queens Sword-men inferiour to none, but superiour to many: He lived oftner in the Camp, than Court: but when his pleasure drew him thither, no man had more of the Queens favour, and none lesse envied. He was a Soldier of great worth, and commanded thirty years in the*

the ſervice of the States, and twenty years over the Engliſh in "Chief as the Queens Generall; and he "that had ſeen the Battel of Newport, might there "beſt have taken him and his noble Brother the Lord "of Tilbury to the life. They report that the Queen K. James. as ſhe loved Martial men, would court this Gentleman as ſoon as he appeared in her preſence; for he ſeldome troubled it with the noyſe and alarms of ſupplication; his way was another ſort of undermining, as reſolved in the Court as in the Camp, as well to juſtifie his *Patron, as to ſerve her Majeſty, telling her the plain truth more ſincerely than any man; chooſing (as he ſaid) rather to fall by the malice of his enemies, than be guilty of Ingratitude to his friends: Yea, and when he ſued for the government of Portſmouth, and ſome Grandees objected, that that place was always beſtowed on Noblemen, he anſwered; There were none ennobled but by their Princes favour, and the ſame way he took.

*The E. of Eſſex

*The Lo Norris.

The Veres compared.

Veri ſcipiadæ, Duo fulmina belli.

SIr Francis and Sir Horace Vere, ſons of Jeffery Vere Eſquire, who was ſon of John Vere, the fifteenth Earl of Oxford; We will firſt conſider ſeverally, and then compare joyntly, to ſee how their Actions and Arms performed, what their birth and bloud promiſed.

Sir

K. *James.* SIr *Fran.* was of a fiery spirit & rigid nature, undaunted in all danger, not overvaluing the price of mens lives to purchase a victory therewith. He served on the Scene of all *Christendome* where War was acted. One Masterpiece of his valour was at the Battel of *Newport*, when his ragged Regiment (so were the *English-men* called, from their ragged Cloathes) helped to make all whole, or else all had been lost.

Another was, when for three years he defended *Ostend* against a strong and numerous Army, surrendring it at last a bare Skeleton to the King of *Spain*, who paid more years purchase for it, than probably the World would endure. He dyed in the beginning of the Reign of K. *James*, about the year of our Lord, 16....

SIr *Horace* had more meekness, & as much valour as his brother; so pious, that he first made peace with God, before he went to war with man. One of an excellent temper; it being true of him what is said of the *Caspian* Sea, that it doth never ebb nor flow; observing a constant tenor; neither elated nor depressed with success. Had one seen him returning from a victory, he would by his silence have suspected that he had lost the day; and had he beheld him in a retreat, he would have collected him a Conqueror, by the cheerfulness of his spirit. He was the first Baron of K. *Charls* his Creation. Some years after coming to Court, he fell suddenly sick and speechless, so that he died afore night, *A. Dom.* 163... No doubt he was well prepared for death, seeing such his vigilancy, that never any enemy surprised him in his Quarters.

Now

Now to compare them together (such their Eminency, that they would hardly be parallel'd by any but themselves:) Sir *Francis* was the elder Brother, Sir *Horace* lived to be the elder man. Sir *Francis* was more feared, Sir *Horace* more loved by the Soldiery: The former in Martial Discipline was oftentimes *Rigidus ad ruinam*, the latter seldome exceeded *ad terrorem*. Sir *Francis* left none, Sir *Horace* no Male-Issue, whose four Co-Heirs are since Matched into honourable Families. Both lived in War, much honoured; dyed in peace, much lamented. K. *James.*

What is a great question among all Martial men, was so between these Brethren; whether to repair a reputation ruined by some infamous disgrace, "and the honour abused by some notori-"ous losse, the General ought to oppose the for-"tune that oppresseth him, and hazard what remains, to recover what is lost? Sir *Francis* was of opinion, *That though it's not the interest of a Supream Prince, yet it is the concern of a Subordinate Commander to support his credit at the rate of his Army.* But Sir *Horace* was never for sacrificing the whole for the advancing of any part, or of many, for the humouring of one; but chose rather to break the impetuosity of his misfortunes by yielding to them, and rather recover both himself and his successe by a prudent retreat, than lose both in an obstinate misadventure.-- It being far more eligible to suffer in the imaginary interest of repute, than that real one of strength; though appearances are yet so useful, that dexterously to manage the reputation of Affairs, is to imprint in men a great opinion of vertue and fortune, to enhance successes, and raise

K. James. raise that respect and confidence that seldome fail to the share of *reservation* and *fear*. But apart from that too much caution that betrayeth, and over-much rashnesse that hazardeth our fortunes, both these Heroes were very choice in the places of their Engagements; for when all the Generals before the Battel of *Newport* were for quitting the upper Downs, Sir *Francis Vere* well knowing how much it imported the businesse of the day to hold a place of such advantage, perswaded Count *Maurice* rather to expect the Enemy in that ground, than attaque him in a worse; wherein as his opinion prevailed, so all that were present, were Eye-witnesses both of the truth of his conjecture, and the soundnesse of his judgement: For the Enemy, as he said, did not long gaze upon them; but charging up the hills, were beaten back so effectually, that our men had the execution of them for half a mile; which was no small advantage to the fortune of that day.

Neither were they lesse observant of their time, that Mother of Action, than their place; neither hasty nor slow to manage an opportunity that is neither often nor long the same; — or of the order of their Army than both, whereof each part assisted the other at *Newport* and elsewhere so readily, that their shouts and charges equally amazed their Friends and Enemies.

The Reliefs of *Rhingbergh* were actions of great resolution, ready dispatch, a watchful circumspection, and good pursuit: The succour of *Lithenbooven* was a performance of great and mature deliberation; the surprize of *Zutphen* by young Soldiers in womens apparel, was a piece of service of many

many particular stratagems; and the Siege of *Daventer* of as much sage advice.--- All instances of the wonders that courage can do when wise, valour when sober, a passion when rational, and a great spirit when advised. K. *James.*

Observations on the Life of Richard Cosin, *LL. D.*

Richard Cosin, LL. D. (one of the greatest Civilians our Nation bred, the grand Champion of Episcopacy, was (amongst all the Countreys of *England*) born in the Bishoprick of *Durham*. His Father was a person of Quality, a Captain of a Company at *Muscleborough*-Field, whence his valour returned with victory and wealth; when crossing the River *Tweed* [O the uncertainty of all earthly happiness!] he was drowned therein, to the great losse of his son *Richard*; and greater, because he was not sensible thereof, as left an Infant in the Cradle. His Mother afterwards married one Mr. *Medow*, a *York-shire* Gentleman, who bred this his Son-in-law at a School at *Skipton* upon *Craven*; wherein such was his proficiency, that before he was twelve years old (little lesse then a wonder to me, in that age, from so far a Countrey) he was admitted into *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. Some of his friends in *Queens-Colledge* in that University had a design to fetch him thence, had not Doctor *Beaumont* prevented the plot, in making him Scholar and Fellow as soon as by his Age, Degree, and the Statutes he was capable thereof.

He

K. James. He was a general Scholar, Geometrician, Muſici-an, Phyſitian, Divine, but chiefly Civil and Canon Lawyer. By Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift* he was preferred to be firſt Chancellor of *Worceſters* [in that a place *non tam gratioſus quam negotioſus*] and afterwards Dean of the Arches, wherein he carried himſelf without giving (though many took) offence at him.

Of theſe one wrote a Book againſt him called the *Abſtract* [abſtracted, ſaith my Author, from all Wit, Learning, and Charity] to whom he returned ſuch an anſwer in defence of the High-Commiſſion, and Oath *Ex Officio*, that he put his Adverſary to ſilence.

Others lay to his charge, that he gave many blanck Licences, the common occaſion of unlawful Marriages; and the procurer is as bad as the thief robbing many a Parent of his dear Childe thereby. But always malice looks through a multiplying glaſſe. *Euclio* complained, *Intromiſiſti ſexcentos Coquos*, Thou haſt let in ſix hundred Cooks, when there was but two truly told [*Antrax* and *Congrio*] ſo here was but one, which a Fugitive ſervant ſtole from a Regiſter to make his private profit thereby. GOD in his ſickneſſe granted him his deſire which he made in his health; that he might be freed from Torture, which his corpulency did much ſuſpect, beſtowing *Euthanaſia* upon him, a ſweet and quiet departure. Pious his dying expreſſions; *I deſire to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt*, Phil. 1. *The wages of ſin is death*, Rom. 6. *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly*, Revel. 12. And his laſt words were theſe: *Farewell my ſurviving friends; remember your Mortality, and Eternal life.*

Plau. in Aularia.

He

He gave forty pounds to the building of a Cham- K. *Jmes.*
ber in *Trinity-Colledge*, and fifteen pounds *per annum* for the maintenance of two Scholarships therein; a good gift out of his estate, who left not above fifty pounds a year clear to his Heir: a great argument of his integrity, that he got no more in so gainful a place. Dying at Doctors Commons; he was buried by his own appointment in *Lambeth* Church, and Doctor *Andrews* preached his Funeral-Sermon. Amongst the many Verses made by the University of *Cambridge*, this (with the allowance of Poetical Licence) came from no bad Fancy.

Magna Deos inter lis est exorta: creatas
Horum qui lites dirimit, ille deest
Cosinum potiere dii componere tantas
Lites, quod vero jure peritus erat.

A most moderate man he was in his own nature, but more earnest in the businesse of the Church, in the behalf of which he writ many Books of validity, &c.

It must not be forgotten, that Doctor *Barlow* (afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*) was bred by Doctor *Cosen* at his charge in his own Family; who in expression of his Thankfulness, wrote this Dr. *Cosins* Life, out of which most of the aforesaid Character hath been taken.

Observa-

Observations on the Life of the Lord Chief-Justice Cook.

THis accomplished person was well born at *Mileham* in *Norfolk*, of *Robert Cook* Esquire, and *Winifred Knightly* his Wife, and as well bred. 1. When ten years of age at *Norwich* School. 2. At *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. 3. After four years University-study, first in *Cliffords* Inne, and then in the Inner Temple. The first occasion of his Rise was his stating of the Cooks Case of the Temple so exactly, that all the House who were puzzled with it admired him; and his pleading it so, that the whole Bench took notice of him. Such his proficiency, that at the end of six years (exceeding early in that strict age) he was call'd to the Bar, and soon after for three years chosen Reader in *Lyons* Inne. Here his learned Lecture so spread forth his fame, that crouds of Clients sued to him for his Counsel; and his own suit was the sooner granted, when tendering his Affections in order to Marriage, unto *Bridget* daughter and Coheir of *John Paston* Esquire, whose portion moderately estimated, *Viis & modis*, amounted unto thirty thousand pounds, her vertues not falling under valuation, and she enriched her Husband with ten Children.

Then began preferment to presse upon him; the City of *Norwich* choosing him Recorder, the County of *Norfolke* their Knight for Parliament, the Queen her Speaker therein, as also her Solicitor and

and Attorney. King *James* honoured him with Knighthood, and made him Chief-Justice, first of the Common-Pleas, then of the Kings-Bench. Thus beginning on a good bottom left him by his Father, marrying a Wife of extraordinary wealth; having at the first great and gainful practice, afterwards many and profitable Offices, being provident to choose good pennyworths in Purchases, leading a thrifty life, living to a great age during flourishing and peaceable times (born as much after the persecution under Qu: *Mary*, as dying before our Civil Wars) no wonder if he advanced to a fair estate, so that all his sons might seem elder brethren, by the large possessions left unto them. K. *James*.

Some falsely character him a back-friend to the Church and Clergy, being a grand Benefactor to the Church of *Norwich*, who gratefully under their publick Seal honoured him with this ensuing Testimony.

Edwardus Coke *Armiger*, *sæpius & in multis difficillimis Negotiis Ecclesiæ nostræ auxiliatus est, & Nuper eandem contra Templorum Helluones, qui Dominia, Maneria & Hæreditamenta nostra devorare sub Titulo obscuro* (Concelatum dicunt) *sponte suâ nobis insciis, & sine mercede ullâ legitimè tutatus est; atque eandem suam nostri Defensionem in perpetuam tantæ rei memoriam, & posterorum gratiâ, (si opus fuerit) magna cum industria & scriptis redegit, & Nostræ Ecclesiæ donavit.*

K. James. As for the many Benefices in his own Patronage, he freely gave them to worthy men, being wont to say in his Law-language, *That he would have Church-Livings passe by Livery and Seisin, not Bargain and Sale.*

He was our English *Trebonianus*, very famous for his Comments on *Littleton* and our Common-Law. 1628 A Parliament was call'd, and the Court-party was jealous of Sir *Edward*'s activity against them, as who had not *digested* his discontentments as he had done the Law. Hereupon to prevent his Election as a Member, he was confined to *Buckinghamshire* as a Sheriffe.

He scrupled to take the Oath, pretending many things against it, and particularly that the Sheriff is bound thereby to prosecute *Lollards*, wherein the best Christians may be included.

It was answered; *That he had often seen the Oath given to others without any regret, and knew full well that* Lollard *in the modern sense imported the opposers of the present Religion, as established by Law in the Land.*

No excuses would serve his turn, but he must undertake that Office: However his friends beheld it as an injurious degradation of him, who had been Lord Chief-Justice, to attend on the Judges at the Assizes.

Five sorts of people he used to fore-design to misery and poverty; Chymists, Monopolizers, Concealers, Promoters, and rhyming Poets. For three things he would give God solemn thanks; That he never gave his body to Physick, nor his heart to cruelty, nor his hand to corruption. In three things he did much applaud his own successe; In

In his fair fortune with his Wife, in his happy ſtudy of the Laws, and in his free coming by all his Offices, *nec precè, nec pretio*, neither begging nor bribing for Preferment. K. *James*

His Parts were admirable: he had a deep Judgement, faithful Memory, active Fancy, and the Jewel of his minde was put into a fair Caſe, a beautiful body with a comely countenance: A caſe, which he did wipe and keep clean, delighting in good Cloaths, well worn; and being wont to ſay, *That the outward neatneſſe of our bodies, might be a Monitor of purity to our ſouls.*

In his Pleadings, Diſcourſe, and Judgements, he declined all Circumlocutions, uſually ſaying, *The matter lies in a little Room* *. In all Places, Callings, and Juriſdictions, he commended Modeſty and Sobriety within their boundaries, ſaying, *If a River ſwelleth beyond the bankes, it loſeth its owne Channel.*

* *Though ſome obſerve that his digreſſions marred his repute, and had broke his neck, had he lived in any Kings reign but King* James's.

If any adverſe party croſſed him, he would patiently reply, *If another puniſheth me, I will not puniſh my ſelf.* In the higheſt Term of Buſineſſe he made Vacation to himſelf at his Table, and would never be perſwaded privately to retract what he had publickly adjudged, profeſſing, *He was a Judge in a Court, not in a Chamber.* He was wont to ſay, *No wiſe man would do that in proſperity, whereof he ſhould repent in adverſity.* His Motto was, *Prudens qui Patiens*; and his practice was accordingly, eſpecially after he fell into the diſfavour of King *James*, when he did *Frui ſuo Infortunio*, and improved his loſſe to his advantage. He triumphed in his own Innocency, that he had done nothing illegally; calling to minde the Motto which he gave

K. James. in his Rings when made Sergeant, *Lex est tutissima Clasis*, The Law is the safest Helmet. And now he had leasure to peruse what formerly he had written, even thirty Books with his own hand, most pleasing himself with a Manual, which he called *VADE MECUM*, from whence at one view he took a prospect of his Life past, having noted therein most Remarkables. His most learned and laborious Works on the Lawes will last to be admired by the Judicious Posterity; whilest Fame hath a Trumpet left her, and any breath to blow therein. His judgement lately passed for an Oracle in Law; and since the credit thereof hath causelesly been questioned, the wonder is not great. If the Prophet himself, living in an incredulous Age, found cause to complain, *Who hath believed our report?* it need not seem strange that our licentious Time have afforded some to shake the Authenticalnesse of the Reports of any earthly Judge.

He constantly had Prayers said in his own house, and charitably relieved the Poor with his constant Almes. The Foundation of *Sutton*'s Hospital (when indeed but a Foundation) had been ruined before it was raised, and crush'd by some Courtiers in the hatching thereof, had not his great care preserved the same. The Free-School at *Thetford* was supported in its being by his assistance; and he founded a School on his cost at *Godrick* in *Norfolk*.

It must not be forgotten, that Doctor *Whitgift* afterward Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, sent unto his Pupil when the Queen's Attorney, a fair new Testament, with this Message; *He had long enough studied Common Law, now let him study the Law of God.*

When

When he was under a cloud at Court, and out-ed of his Judges place, the lands belonging to the Church of *Norwich*, which formerly he had so industriously recovered and setled thereon, were again called into question, being begged by a Peer. Sir *Edward* desired him to desist, telling him, that otherwise he would put on his Gown and Cap, and come into *Westminster-Hall* once again, and plead there in any Court in justification of what he had done. He died at *Stoke-Poges* in *Buckingham-shire*, on *Wednesday* the third of *September*, being the 83 of his age, whose last words were these, *Thy Kingdome come, thy Will be done.* K. *James*.

The infirmities of this Judge, as my Lord *BACON* recited them in a Letter to him, were these:

1. That he delighted to speak more than hear.

2. That he would run out of his Profession; and as he observed of Divines, so it was observed of him, none erred worse out of his element.

3. That he conversed with Books rather than Men, and onely with such men that he spake to as Scholars, rather than treated as friends.

4. That he obtruded those things as Novelties that were stale.

5. That he would jest on men in place, and insult on men in misery.

6. That he made the Law lean too much to his opinion.

7. That his Tenants in *Norfolk* were hardly used; and that though he had ten thousand pounds *per an.* he relieved not the poor.

K. James. 8. That in his last proceedings against *Somerset*, he was too open and dilatory, giving too much advantage, and breaking out to some unadvised expressions.

9. That he stood out against Power; for which, and other failures, he was dismissed the Council-board with this expression from King *James*, *That he was the fittest instrument to serve a Tyrant.*

Indeed he had some projects for the Revenue, and looked for the Treasury, when he was absolutely cast off; though he made such shift, that throw him where you would (as King *James* said) he fell upon his legs.

Observations on the Life of Sir Ralph Winwood.

SIr *Ralph Winwood* was a Gentleman well seen in most Affairs, but most expert in matters of Trade and War; for he was first a Soldier, and then an Agent in the *Netherlands*, where he remonstrated against *Vorstius* learnedly and resolutely; representing as well his Masters parts as his power: It was the very guize of that time to be learned; the wits of it were so excellent, the helps and assistants of it were so great; Printing was so common; the world (by Navigation) so open, great experiments so disclosed; the leisure of men so much, the age was so peaceable; and his *Majestie*, after whom all writ, so knowing.

Whe

When the Earl of *Somerſet* was made Chamber- K. *James.*
lain by his Majeſty in his Fathers place, Sir *Ralph Winwood* was by the Queen made Secretary in *his*; ſucceeding him in his Office, but exceeding him in his ſucceſſe (*Fortune may begin any mans greatneſs, but Vertue muſt continue it*) for this Favourite taking upon him to over-rule *Winwood*, *Winwood* makes it his buſineſſe to overthrow him; to which purpoſe his Agents diſcover ſome *ſecrets* abroad (*you may underſtand more of* England *at* Amſterdam *than at* London) and he uſeth his Arts at home; for Mr. *Villiers* being now brought to Court, when others were for raiſing him by intereſt, Sir *Ralph* was for advancing him with Compliance — a *Complyance* as he ſaid, that muſt either ſupple or break his Adverſaries, and either way ruine them.--Accordingly Sir *George* is directed to offer his ſervice to the Earl of *Somerſet*; that Earl fatally tells him, *He would have none of his ſervice, but would break his Deſigne.*-- Theſe words coming ſo croſs to the Kings inclination, and the Court's plot, provoked all perſons to look further into Sir *Ralph Winwood's* Intelligence concerning Sir *Tho. Overbury's* death. Now "mens weakneſſes and faults are beſt known "by their enemies, their vertues and abilities from "their friends; their cuſtomes and times from "their ſervants; their conceits and opinions from "their familiars, to whom they are leaſt masked. To all theſe he applyeth himſelf, until he had diſcovered as much of the practices concerning *Overbury*, as might humble the Earl; and as much *corruption* in the conveyance of publick money to the building of *Audley-End*, as might diſplace his Father.

K. *James.* An Apothecaries boy gives the first, and a servant that carried the money the second, both whom he surprized with the *Spanish* proverb; *Di mentura, y ſacaras verdad: Tell a lye, and finde a truth.* Indeed the natures and diſpoſitions, the conditions and neceſſities, the factions and combinations, the animoſities and diſcontents; the ends and deſigns of moſt people were clear and tranſparent to this watchful man's intelligence and obſervation, who could do more with King *James* by working on his fear, than others by gratifying his pleaſure.

When I obſerve how cloſe and ſilent he was at the Council-Table, it puts me in minde of the man that gave this reaſon why he was ſilent in a Treaty and Conference: *Becauſe* (ſaid he) *the Enemy might know, that as there are many here that can ſpeak, ſo here is one that can hold his peace.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Francis Bacon.

SIr *Francis* was born where we are made men, bred where we are made States-men; being equally happy in the quickneſſe of the City, and politeneſs of the Court: He had a large minde from his Father, and great abilities from his Mother; his parts improved more than his years: his great, fixed, and methodical memory, his ſolid judgement, his quick fancy, his ready expreſſion, gave high aſſurance of that profound and univerſal knowledge

knowledge and comprehenſion of things which then rendered him the obſervation of great and wiſe men, and afterwards the wonder of all. The great Queen was as much taken with his witty diſcourſes when a School-boy, as with his grave Oracles when her Counſel *learned*. He was a Courtier from his Cradle to his Grave, ſucking in experience with his milke, being inured to policy as early as to his Grammar: Royal Maximes were his *Sententiæ Puerilis*; and he never ſaw any thing that was not noble and becoming. The Queen called him her young *Lord Keeper*, for his grave ingenuity at ſeven years of age; and he could tell her *Majeſty he was two years younger for her happy Reigne*. At twelve, his induſtry was above the capacity, and his minde above the reach of his Contemporaries: A prodigy of parts he muſt be, who was begot by wiſe Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, born of the accompliſhed Mrs. *Anne Cook*, and bred under the wiſe, learned, and pious Doctor *Whitgift*. His ſtrong obſervations at Court, his ſteady courſe of ſtudy in the Univerſity, muſt be improved by a well-contrived Travell abroad: where his converſation was ſo obliging, his *way* ſo inquiſitive, his prudence ſo eminent, that he was Sir *Amie Paulet*'s Agent between the Junćto of *France* and the Queen of *England*: He allayed the ſolidity of *England* with the Ayre of *France*, untill his own Affairs and the Kingdomes ſervice called him home at his Fathers death to enjoy a younger Brothers eſtate, and act his part: Policy was his buſineſs, the Law was onely his livelyhood; yet he was ſo great a States-man, that you would think he only ſtudied men: ſo great a Scholar, that you would ſay, he onely ſtudied Books. Such

K. *James.*

inſight

K. James. insight he had in the Law, that he was at thirty his Majesties Advocate; such his judgement, that he was the Student of *Grayes-Inn*'s Oracle; so generous and affable his disposition, that he was all mens love and wonder: He instilled wholsome precepts of Prudence and Honour to Noble-men (particularly the Earl of *Essex*, to whom he was more faithful, than he to himself:) Great principles of Arts and Sciences to the learned; noble Maximes of Government to Princes, excellent rules of Life to the Populacy. When his great Patron *Essex* sunk, *he* was buoyed up by his own steadiness, and native worth, that admitted him to the Qu[illegible] own presence, not onely to deliver matter of Law, which was his profession, but to debate matters of State, which was his element: his judgement was so eminent, that he could satisfie the greatest; his condescention so humble, that he instructed the meanest: his extraordinary parts, above the modell of the age, were feared in Queen *Elizabeths* time, but employed in King *James* his. Favour he had in her Reign, but Trust onely in *him*: It's dangerous in a factious Age to have my Lord *Bacon*'s parts, or my Lord of *Essex* his favour. Exact was his correspondence abroad and at home; constant his Letters, frequent his Visits, great his Obligations, moderate and temperate his Inclination; peaceable, humble, and submissive his minde; *complying* and *yielding*, his temper: In Queen *Elizabeths* time, when he could not rise by the publick way of service, he did it by that more private of Marriage, and other commendable Improvements; whereby he shewed a great soul could be rich in spight of Fortune, though it scorned it

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in point of Honour. In the House of Commons none more popular, none more zealous, none so knowing a Patriot: In the house of Lords, none more successfully serviceable to the Crown: the easie way of Subsidies was his design in Queen *Elizabeths* time; the union with *Scotland* was his contrivance in King *James's*. K. *James*.

His *make* and port was stately, his speech flowing and grave, each word of his falling in its place; the issue of great reason when conceived, and of great prudence when expressed: so great skill he had in observing and contriving of occasions and opportunities, in suiting of Humours, and hitting of Junctures and Flexures of Affairs, that he was in his time the Master of speech and action, carrying all before him. The Earl of *Salisbury*, saith Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, was a good Orator, but a bad Writer; the Earl of *Northampton* was a good Writer, but a bad Orator; Sir *Francis Bacon* excelled in *both*: Much he said he owed to his Books, more to his innate Principles and Notions: When *he thought*, he said, he aimed more at Connexion than Variety: When he spake, he designed rather the life and vigour of expression, and perspicuity of words, than the elegancy or order of phrase. His axiome was; *Words* should wait on *things*, rather than *things* on *words*; and his resolution was, *That all affected elegance was below the gravity and majesty of a publick discourse*: He rather *judged Books* and *Men*, than either read or talked with them.

His Exercises were man-like and healthful; his Meditations coherent; his Table temperate and learned, where his great Discourses were the entertain-

K. James. tertainment, and he himself the treat; resolving Cases most satisfactorily, stating Questions most exactly, relating Histories most prudently, opening great Secrets most clearly, answering Arguments and replying most familiarly, and speaking what he had thorowly weighed and considered most effectually. --- All matters and speeches came from him with advantage; so acute and ready his wit, so faithful his memory, so penetrating his judgement, so searching his head, so large and rational his soul.

My Lord of *Salisbury* said, he had the clearest prospect of things of any man in his age; and K. *James* said, *That he knew the method of handling Matters after a milde and gentle manner.* His Religion was rational and sober, his spirit publick, his love to Relations tender, to Friends faithful; to the hopeful liberal, to men universal, to his very Enemies civil. He left the best pattern of Government in his actions under one King, and the best principles of it in the Life of the other. His Essays and History made him the admiration of polite *Italy*; his Accomplishments, the wonder of *France*; Monsieur *Fiat* saying to him, after an earnest desire to see him, *That he was an Angel to him, of whom he had heard much, but never saw him.* Solid and juycy Meat was his Diet, and Rubarb his Physick: four hours in the morning he made his own, not by any means to be interrupted: businesse was his fate, retyrement his inclination. *Socrates* brought Morality from Discourse to Practice; and my Lord *Bacon* brought Philosophy from Speculation to Experience. *Aristotle* he said, taught many to dispute, more to wrangle, few to finde out Truth, none to manage

manage it according to his principles: — My Lord *Bacon* was a man ſingular in every faculty, and eminent in all: His Judgement was ſolid, yet his memory was a wonder; his Wit was quick, yet his Reaſon ſtaid; his Invention was happy, yet methodical; and one fault he had, that he was above the age he lived *in*; above *it* in his bounties to ſuch as brought him Preſents (ſo remembring that he had been *Lord-Chancellour*, that he forgot he was but Lord *Verulam*: Great his *underſtanding*, and great his *minde* too) above it in his kindneſſe to ſervants, to whom he had been a better Maſter, if he had been a worſe; and more kinde, if he had been leſſe indulgent to them. For the firſt of his Exceſſes, King *James* jeered him in his progreſs to *New-market*, ſaying, when he heard he gave ten pounds to one that brought him ſome Fruit, *My Lord, my Lord, this is the way to Beggars-buſh.* For the ſecond, he reflected upon himſelf, when he ſaid to his ſervants as they roſe to him in his Hall; *Your riſe hath been my fall.* Though indeed he rather truſted to their honeſty, than connived at their falſhood; for he did impartial Juſtice commonly to both parties, when one ſervant was in fee with the *Plaintiff*, and the other with the *Defendant*: -- How well he underſtood his own time, his Letters, and complyances evidence; than whom none higher in ſpirit, yet none humbler in his Addreſſes [*The proudeſt man is moſt ſervile.*] How little he valued wealth, appeareth, in that when his ſervants would take money from his Cloſet, even while he was by, he would laugh, and ſay, *I poor men, that is their portion.* How well he kenned the art of Converſe, his *Eſſayes* diſcover, a piece

K. *James.*

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K. *James.* (as he observed himself) that of all his Works was most current, for that they *come home to mens businesse and bosomes.* How far skilled in the Art of Government, his *H.* 7. War with *Spain*, *Holy War*, *Elements of the Law*, irrefragably demonstrate; and how well seen in all Learning, his *Natural History*, and *Advancement of Learning* answerably argue. In a word, how sufficient he was, may be conjectured from this instance, that he had the contrivance of all King *James* his Designs, untill the Match with *Spain*; and that he gave those Directions to a great States-man *, which may be his Character, and our conclusion. Onely be it observed, that though this peerlesse Lord is much admired by *English-men*, yet is he more valued by *Strangers*; distance, as the Historian hath it, diminishing his faults to Foreigners, while we behold his perfections abated with his failings; which set him as much below pity, as his Place did once above it; Sir *Julius Cæsar* (they say) looking upon him as a burden in his Family, and the Lord *Brooke* denying him a bottle of small beer.

* Vid. *Duke of Buckingham's Life.*

Observations

K. James

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord John Digby.

John Lord *Digby* of *Sherborn*, and Earl of *Briſtol*, was a younger Son of an ancient Family, long flouriſhing at *Coleſhull*. To paſſe by his younger years, (all children being alike in their Coats) when he had onely an Annuity of fifty pounds *per annum*, onely his youth gave pregnant hopes of that Eminency, which his mature age did produce. He did ken the Embaſſador's craft, as well as any in his age, employed by King *James* in ſeveral Services to Foreign Princes, recited in his Patent, as the main motives of the Honours conferred upon him. But his managing the matchleſſe Match with *Spain* was his Maſter-piece, wherein a good (I mean a great) number of State-Traverſes were uſed on both ſides: Where if he dealt in *Generalities*, and did not preſſe *Particulars*, we may gheſſe the reaſon of it from that expreſſion of his; *I will take care to have my Inſtructions perfect, and will purſue them punctually*: If he held Affairs in ſuſpence, that it might not come to a War on our part, it may be he did ſo with more regard to his Mr. King *James* his inclination, than his own apprehenſion: If he ſaid; *That howſoever the buſineſſe went, he would make his fortune thereby*, it rather argued his weakneſſe that he ſaid ſo, his ſufficiency that he could do ſo, than his unfaithfulneſſe that he did ſo. This is certain, that he choſe rather to come home, and ſuffer the utmoſt diſ-

pleaſure

K. James. pleasure of the King of *England*, than stay in *Spain*, and enjoy the highest favour of the King of *Spain*. He did indeed intercede for some indulgence to the Papists; but it was, because otherwise he could do no good for the Protestants. — But whatever was at the bottom of his Actions, there was *resolution* and *nobleness* atop, especially in these actions. 1. Being carried from Village to Village after the King of *Spain*, without that regard due to his person, or place; he expressed himself so generously, that the *Spanish* Courtiers trembled; and the King declared, *That he would not interrupt his Pleasures with business at* Lerma, for any Embassador in the world but the *English*; nor for any *English* Embassador but *Don Juan*. 2. When impure *Scioppius* upon his Libel against K. *James*, and Sir *Humphrey Bennet's* complaint to the Arch-Duke against him, fled to *Madrid*; my Lord observing that it was impossible to have Justice done against him from the Catholique King because of the Jesuites, put his Cousin *George Digby* upon cutting him; which he did over his Nose and Mouth wherewith he offended, so that he carried the mark of his Blasphemy to his Grave. 3. When he was extraordinary Embassador in *Germany*, upon his return by *Heydelbergh*, observing that Count *Mansfield's* Army, upon whom depended the fortune of the *Palsgrave*, was like to disband for want of money, he pawned all his Plate and Jewels to buoy up that sinking Cause for that time. That his spirit was thus great abroad, was his honour; but that it was too great at home, was his unhappiness: for he engaged in a fatal Contraft with the Duke of *Buckingham*, that hazarded both their safeties, had not this

this Lord feared the Duke's power (as the Duke this Lord's policy) and ſo at laſt it became a drawn Battle betwixt them; yet ſo, that this Earl loſt the love of King *Charles*, living many years in his diſfavour: But ſuch as are in a Court-cloud, have commonly the Countreys Sun-ſhine; and this Peer during his Eclipſe, was very popular with moſt of the Nation. It is ſeldome ſeen, if a Favourite once broken at Court, ſets up again for himſelf; the hap (rather than happineſs) of this Lord, the King graciouſly reflecting on him at the beginning of the Long *Parliament*, as one beſt able to give him the ſafeſt Counſel in thoſe dangerous times. But how he incenſed the *Parliament* ſo far, as to be excepted pardon, I neither do know, nor dare enquire. Sure I am, that after the ſurrender of *Exeter*, he went over into *France*, where he met with that due reſpect in Foreign, which he miſſed in his Native Countrey. The worſt I wiſh ſuch, who cauſeleſly ſuſpect him of Popiſh inclinations (ſaith my Author) is, that I may hear from them but half ſo many ſtrong Arguments for the *Proteſtant Religion*, as I heard from him, who was to his commendation a cordial Champion for the Church of *England*. This Family hath been much talked of this laſt forty years; though all that I can ſay of it is this, that great ſpirits, large parts, high honours, penned within narrow Eſtates, ſeldome bleſſe their owners with *moderation*, or the places they live in with *peace*. K. *James*.

Observations on the Life of the Lord Spencer.

HEe was the fifth Knight of his Family, in an immediate ſucceſſion, well allied and extracted, being deſcended from the *Spencers*, Earls of *Gloucester* and *Winchester*. In the firſt year of the Reign of King *James*, being a moneyed man, he was created Baron of *Wormeleiton* in the County of *Warwick*. He had ſuch a ready and quick Wit, that once ſpeaking in Parliament of the valour of their *Engliſh* Anceſtors in defending the Liberty of the Nation, returned this Anſwer to the Earl of *Arundel*, who ſaid unto him, *Your Anceſtors were then keeping of Sheep; If they kept Sheep, yours were then plotting of Treaſon.* But both of them were at preſent confined; but to the Lord *Spencer* the Upper-Houſe ordered Reparations, who was firſt and cauſeleſly provoked. This Lord was alſo he, who in the firſt of King *James* was ſent (with Sir *William Dethick*, principal King of Arms) to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtenbergh*, elected into the Order of the Garter, to preſent and inveſt him with the Robes and Ornaments thereof; which were accordingly with great ſolemnity performed in the Cathedral of *Studgard*.---- And this was the Lord, that when the Earl of *Briſtol* charged the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſtarted up, and demanded; *Is this all you have to ſay againſt*

against the Duke? The Earl replyed, *Yes my Lord, and I am sorry it is so much.* Then quoth the Lord *Spencer*, If this be all, *Ridiculus mus*; and so sate down again. K. *James.*

The End of the Observations upon the Lives of the Statesmen and Favourites of *England*, in the Reign of King *James*.

THE STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND, IN The Reign of King *Charles* I.

Observations on the Life of the Duke of Buckingham.

NAture bestowed on him an exact comliness, his Mother a noble education (not so much to study, as converse;) His Travels to *France*, carriage and experience. "About which "times, he falls into intrinsecal society with Sir *Joh.* "*Greham*, then one of the Gentlemen of his Ma- "jesties Privy-Chamber; who, I know not upon "what Luminaries he espyed in his Face, dissuaded "him from Marriage, and gave him rather encou- "ragement to wooe *Fortune* at Court, than court it "in the City: Which advice sank well into his fancy,

K. Charls. "for within some while, the King had taken by "certain glances (whereof the first was at *Apthorpe* in a Progresse) such liking of his Person, "that he was resolved to make him a Master-piece, "and to mould him as it were Platonically to his "own Idea. Neither was his Majesty content one-"ly to be the Architect of his Fortune, without "putting his gracious hand likewise to some part of "the work it self; Insomuch that it pleased him to "descend, and to avale his goodnesse, even to the "giving of his foresaid friend Sir *John Graham* se-"cret directions, how, by what degrees he should "bring him into favour. His own parts and obser-vation gained him prudence and discretion; His Fa-mily and Ancestors in *Leicester-shire*, gentility and repute; so that there wanted nothing but Interest to set him up a Courtier: Sir *Thomas Compton*, who had married his Mother, supplyed him with the one, and the Earls of *Bedford*, *Pembrook*, and *Hert-ford*, who would eclipse *Somerset*, helped him to the other: For those three Lords meeting one night at *Baynards-Castle*, and commanding *Somerset*'s pi-cture should be abused in their way; next day Sir *Thomas Lake* leads him into Court, buying him the Cup-bearers place: A while after the Countess of *Bedford* ushereth him to the Presence-Chamber, entering him a Bed-chamber-man, and the Earl of *Pembrook* supports him, untill he was a Favourite. The Courtiers wished him well, be-cause he was an *English-man*: the Nobility favour-ed him, because a Gentleman; the Ladies have a kindnesse for him, because the exactest Courtier in *Christendome*; the King observes him much, for his compleat body, more for his pregnant parts; and

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the States-men now consulting *Somerset's* removal, and finding King *James* his good nature loth to leave the bosome of one *Minion*, until he had reposed himself in another, made it their plot to advance him. His carriage was free and debonair; his passions even and smooth, and one faith, carried in his pocket; his nature noble and open; his temper industrious and inquisitive; his intellectuals clear and capable; his minde tractable and docible; his spirit resolute and undaunted. ---- The first month he comes to Court, he takes place above all his fellows; and being removed with some affront by a creature of *Somerset's*, gives him a box on the ear; an action that gave him and his friends a seasonable occasion of a Contest with *Somerset*, and him a clear conquest over him: *Somerset* as Chamberlain would have cut off his hand, and he as Favourite was like to have cut off his head. This new Favourite riseth; all are weary of *Somerset* the first *Minion*, all welcome the second. The King is first his Tutor, and then his Patron, instructing him before he employed him. Three sorts of studies he engaged him in; the first was for delights in private Retyrements; the second, for ornament in Discourse; the third, for ability in Businesse. He had Princely apprehensions of the principles and Maximes of Government, a distinct notion of all his Affairs, an excellent way to make use of other mens Abilities; and these incomparable Rules from my Lord *Bacon*, which were transcribed in his Life. K. *Charls.*

Sir, In the first place, I shall be bold to put you in minde of the present condition you are in; You are not onely a Courtier, but a Bed-chamber-man, and

Compleat Instructions for a Statesman, given by L. B. to D. B.

K. Charls. and so are in the eye and care of your Master; but you are also a Favourite; The Fourite of the time, and so are in his bosome also; The world hath so voted you, and doth so esteem of you, (for Kings and great Princes, even the wisest of them, have had their Friends, their Favourites, their Privadoes, in all ages; for they have their affections as well as other men) of these they make several uses: sometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts with them, and to ripen their judgements thereby; sometimes to ease their cares by imparting them; and sometimes to interpose them between themselves and the envy or malice of their People (for Kings cannot erre, that must must be discharged upon the shoulders of their Ministers; and they who are nearest unto them must be content to bear the greatest load.) Truly Sir, I do not believe or suspect that you are chosen to this eminency, out of the last of these considerations; for you serve such a Master, who by his wisdome and goodnesse, is as free from the malice or envy of his Subjects, as, I think I may say truly, ever any King was, who hath sate upon his Throne before him: But I am confident, his Majesty hath cast his eyes upon you, as finding you to be such as you should be, or hoping to make you to be such as he would have you to be; for this I may say without flattery, your outside promiseth as much as can be expected from a Gentleman. But be it in the one respect, or other, it belongeth to you to take care of your self, and to know well what the name of a Favourite signifies: If you be chosen upon the former respects, you have reason to take care of your actions and deportment, out of your grati-

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tudes for the King's sake; but if out of the later, you ought to take the greater care, for your own sake. K. Charls.

You are as a new-risen Star, and the eyes of all mankind upon you; let not your own negligence make you fall like a Meteor.

The contemplation then of your present condition must necessarily prepare you for action; what time can be well spar'd from your attendance on your Master, will be taken up by suitors, whom you cannot avoid, nor decline, without reproach; for if you do not already, you will soon finde the throng of suitors attend you; for no man, almost, who hath to do with the King, will think himself safe, unlesse you be his good Angel, and guide him, or you least, that you be not a *Malus Genius* against him; so that, in respect of the King your Master, you must be very wary, that you give him true information; and if the matter concern him in his Government, that you do not flatter him; if you do, you are as great a Traytor to him in the Court of Heaven, as he that draws his sword against him: and in respect of the Suitors which shall attend you, there is nothing will bring you more honour and more ease, then to do them what right in justice you may, and with as much speed as you may; for believe it, Sir, next to the obtaining of the suit, a speedy and a gentle denyal (when the case will not bear it) is the most acceptable to suitors; they will gain by their dispatch, whereas else they shall spend their time and money in attending; and you will gain in the ease you will finde in being rid of their importunity. But if they obtain what they reasonably desired, they will be doubly bound to you

for

K. Charls. for your favour: *Bis dat qui nito dat*; is multiplie the courtesie, to do it with good words, and speedily.

That you may be able to do this with the best advantage, my humble advice is this; when Suitors come unto you, set apart a certain hour in a day to give them audience: If the businesse be light and easie, it may by word onely be delivered, and in a word be answered; but if it be either of weight, or of difficulty, direct the suitor to commit it to writing, (if it be not so already) and then direct him to attend for his answer at a set time to be appointed, which would constantly be observed, unlesse some matter of great moment do interrupt it: when you have received the Petition (and it will please the Petitioners well, to have access unto you to deliver them into your own hand) let your Secretary first read them, and draw lines under the materiall parts thereof (for the matter for the most part, lies in a narrow room.) The Petitions being thus prepared, do you constantly set apart an hour in a day to peruse those Petitions, and after you have ranked them into several files, according to the subject matter, make choice of two or three friends, whose judgements and fidelitie you believe you may trust in a business of the nature, and recommend it to one or more of them, to inform you of their opinions, and of their reasons for, or against the granting of it; and if the matter be of great weight indeed, then it would not be amisse to send several Copies of the same Petition to several of your friends, the one not knowing what the other doth, and desire them to return their answers to you by a certain time, to be prefi-

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and in wiſeing; ſo ſhall you receive an impartial answer; and by comparing the one with the other, you ſhall both diſcern the abilities and faithfulneſſe of your friends, and be able to give a judgement thereupon, as an Oracle. But by no means truſt to your own judgement alone, for no man is infallible; nor truſt onely to your ſervants, who may miſlead you, or miſ-inform you; by which they may perhaps gain a few crowns, but the reproach will lie upon your ſelf, if it be not rightly carried. K. Charls.

For the facilitating of your diſpatches, my advice is further, that you divide all the Petitions, and the matters therein contained, under ſeveral heads, which, I conceive, may be fitly ranked into theſe eight ſorts.

1. Matters that concern Religion, and the Church and Church-men.
2. Matters concerning Juſtice, and the Laws, and the profeſſors thereof.
3. Councellors, and the Council-Table, and the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom.
4. Foreign Negotiations and Embaſſies.
5. Peace and War, both foreign and civil, and in that the Navy and Forts, and what belongs to them.
6. Trade at home and abroad.
7. Colonies, or foreign Plantations.
8. The Court, and Curiality.

And whatſoever will not fall naturally under one of theſe heads, believe me, Sir, will not be worthy of your thoughts, in this capacity we now ſpeak of. And of theſe ſorts, I warrant you, you will finde enough to keep you in buſineſs.

K. Charls.

I begin with the first, which concerns Religion.

1. In the first place, be you your self rightly perswaded and setled in the true Protestant Religion, professed by the Church of *England*, which doubtlesse is as sound and orthodox in the doctrine thereof, as any Christian Church in the world.

2. In this you need not be a Monitor to your gracious Master the King; the chiefest of his Imperial Titles, is, to be *The Defender of the Faith*; and his learning is eminent, not onely above other Princes, but above other men; be but his scholar, and you are safe in that.

3. For the Discipline of the Church of *England*, by Bishops, and will not poſitively say, as some do, that it's *Jure Divino*; but this I say, and think, *in nimio*, that it is the neereſt to Apoſtolical truth; and confidently I shall say, it is fitteſt for Monarchy of all others: I will use no other authority to you, than that excellent Proclamation set out by the King himself in the first year of his Reign, and annexed before the Book of Common Prayer; which I desire you to read; and if at any time there shall be the least motion made for Innovation, to put the King in minde to read it himself: It is most dangerous in a State to give ear to the least alterations in Government.

4. Take heed, I beseech you, that you be not an instrument to countenance the *Romiſh Catholicks*: I cannot flatter; the world believes that some neer in blood to you are too much of that perswasion; you must use them with fit reſpects, according to the bonds of nature; but you are of kin, and so a friend to their persons, not to their errors.

I 5. The

5. The Arch-Bishops and Bishops, next under the King, have the government of the Church and Ecclesiastical affairs; be not you the mean to prefer any to those places, for any by-respects, but onely for their learning, gravity and worth; their lives and Doctrine ought to be exemplary. K. Charls

6. For Deans, and Canons or Prebends of Cathedral Churches: In their first institution they were of great use in the Church; they were not onely to be of Council with the Bishop for his revenue, but chiefly for his Government in causes Ecclesiasticals use your best means to prefer such to those places who are fit for that purpose, men eminent for their learning, piety, and discretion, and put the King often in minde thereof; and let them be reduced again to their first institution.

7. You will be often sollicited, and perhaps importuned to prefer Scholars to Church-Livings; you may further your friends in that way, *cæteris paribus*; otherwise, remember, I pray, that these are not places meerly of favour, the charge of souls lies upon them; the greatest account whereof will be required at their own hands; but they will share deeply in their faults who are the instruments of their preferment.

8. Besides the *Romish Catholicks*, there is a generation of Sectaries, the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and others, of their kinds; they have been several times very busie in this Kingdom, under the colour of zeal for reformation of Religion: The King your Master knows their disposition very well; a small touch will put him in minde of them; he had experience of them in *Scotland*, I hope he will beware of them in *England*; a little countenance or connivance sets them on fire.

9. Order

K. Charles

9. Order and decent ceremonies in the Church are not only comely but commendable; but there must be great care, not to introduce Innovations, they will quickly prove scandalous: men are generally over-prone to suspition; the true Profession of Religion is seated in the golden mean; the extreams unto her, are the extreams on either hand.

10. The persons of Church-men are to be had in due respect, for their words-sake, and protected from scorn: but if a Clergy-man be loose and scandalous, he must not be patroniz'd nor wink't at; the example of a few such, corrupt many.

11. Great care must be taken, that the patrimony of the Church be not sacrilegiously diverted to lay-uses: His Majesty in his time hath religiously stopped a leak that did much harm, and wouldst have done more. Be sure, as much as in you lyes, stop the like upon all occasions.

12. Colledges and Schools of Learning are to be cherished and encouraged, there to breed up a new stock to furnish the Church and Common-wealth, when the old store are transplanted. This Kingdom hath in later ages been famous for good literature; and if preferment shall attend the deservers, that will not want supplies.

Next to Religion, let your care be to promote Justice. By justice and mercy is the Kings throne established.

1. Let the rule of Justice be the Laws of the Land, an impartial arbiter between the King and his people, and between one Subject and another. I shall not speak superlatively of them, lest I be suspected of partiality, in regard of my own profession; but this I may truly say, they are second to none in the Christian world.

2. And,

And, as far as it may lie in you, let no Arbitrary power be intruded: the people of this Kingdome love the Laws thereof, and nothing will oblige them more, then a confidence of the free enjoying of them. What the Nobles, upon an occasion once said in Parliament, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, is imprinted in the hearts of all the people. K. Charls.

But because the life of the Laws lies in the due execution and administration of them, let your eye be in the first place, upon the choice of good Judges: These properties had they need to be furnished with; To be learned in their profession, patient in hearing, prudent in governing, powerful in their attention to perswade & satisfie both the parties and hearers, just in their judgement; and, to sum up all, they must have these three Attributes; They must be *men of courage, fearing God, and hating covetousnesse*; An ignorant man cannot, a Coward dares not be a good Judge.

By no means be you perswaded to interpose your self, either by word or letter, in any cause depending, or like to be depending in any Court of Justice, nor suffer any other great man to do it where you can hinder it; and by all means dissuade the King himself from it, upon the importunity of any for themselves or their friends: If it should prevail, it perverts Justice; but if the Judge be so just, and of such courage (as he ought to be) as not to be enclined thereby, yet it always leaves a staine of suspition behind it. Judges must be as chaste as *Cæsar's* Wife, neither to be, nor to be suspected to be, unjust; and Sir, the honour of the Judges in their judicature, is the Kings honour whom they represent.

5. There

K. Charls.

5. There is great use of the service of the Judges in their Circuits, which are twice in the year held throughout the Kingdome; the tryal of a few causes between party and party, or delivering of the Gaols in several Counties, are of great use for the expedition of justice; yet they are of much more use for the government of the Counties through which they pass, if that were well thought upon.

6. For if they had instructions to that purpose, they might be the best intelligencers to teh King, of the true state of his whole Kingdome, of the disposition of the people, of their inclinations, of their intentions and motions, which are necessary to be truly understood.

7. To this end, I could wish, that against every Circuit all the Judges should, sometimes by the K. himself, and sometimes by the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, in the King's name, receive a charge of those things which the present times did much require; and at their return should deliver a faithful account thereof, and how they found and left the Counties through which they passed, and in which they kept their Assizes.

8. And that they might the better perform this work, which might be of great importance, it will not be amiss that sometimes this charge be publick, as it useth to be in the Star-Chamber at the end of the Terms next before the Circuit begins, where the King's care of justice, and the good of his people, may be published; and that sometimes also it may be private, to communicate to the Judges some things not so fit to be publickly delivered.

9.

9. I could wish also that the Judges were directed to make a little longer stay in a place than usually they do; a day more in a County would be a very good addition, (although their wages for their Circuits were increased in proportion) it would stand better with the gravity of their employment; whereas now they are sometimes enforced to rise over-early, and to sit over-late, for the dispatch of their businesse, to the extraordinary trouble of themselves and of the people, their times indeed not being *horæ juridicæ*; And, which is the main, they would have the more leisure to inform themseves (*quasi aliud agentes*) of the true estate of the Country. K. *Charls.*

10. The attendence of the Sheriffs of the Counties, accompanied with the principal Gentlemen, in a comely, not a costly equipage, upon the Judges of Assize at their coming to the place of their sitting, and at their going out, is not onely a civility, but of use also: It raiseth a reverence to the persons and places of the Judges, who coming from the King himself on so great an errand, should not be neglected.

11. If any sue to be made a Judge, for my own part, I should suspect him; but if either directly or indirectly he should bargain for a place of judicature, let him be rejected with shame: *vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.*

12. When the place of a chief Judge of a Court becomes vacant, a puisne Judge of that Court, or of another Court, who hath approved himself fit and deserving, would be sometimes preferred; it would be a good encouragement for him, and for others, by his example.

K. Charl. 13. Next to the Judge, there would be care used in the choice of such as are called to the degree of Serjeants at Law (for such they must be first, before they be made Judges) none should be made Serjeants, but such as probably might be held fit to be Judges afterwards, when the experience at the Barr hath fitted them for the Bench: Therefore by all means cry down that unworthy course of late times used, that they should pay moneys for it: It may satisfie some Courtiers, but it is no honour to the person so preferred, nor to the King, who thus prefers him.

14. For the Kings Counsel at the Law, especially his Attorney and Solicitor General, I need say nothing; their continual use for the Kings service, not onely for his Revenue, but for all the parts of his Government, will put the King, and all those who love his service, in minde to make choice of men every way fit and able for that employment: they had need to be learned in their profession, and not ignorant in other things; and to be dexterous in those affairs whereof the dispatch is committed to them.

15. The Kings Attorney of the Court of Wards is in the true quality of the Judges; therefore what hath been observed already of Judges, which are intended principally of the three great Courts of Law at *Westminster*, may be applied to the choice of the Attorney of this Court.

16. The like for the Attorney of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, who partakes of both qualities, partly of a Judge of that Court, and partly of an Attorney General; for so much as concerns the proper Revenue of the Dutchy.

17. I

17. I must not forget the Judges of the four Circuits in the twelve Shires of *Wales*, who although they are not of the first magnitude, nor need be of the degree of the Coyf (onely the chief Justice of *Chester*, who is one of the number, is so) yet are they considerable in the choice of them, by the same rules as the other Judges are; and they sometimes are, and fitly may be, transplanted into the higher Courts. K. *Charls.*

18. There are many Courts (as you see) some superiour, some provincial, and some of a lower orb; It were to be wished, and is fit to be so ordered, that every of them keep themselves within their proper spheres. The harmony of justice is then the sweetest, when there is no jarring about the jurisdiction of the Courts; which me-thinks wisdome cannot much differ upon, their true bounds being for the most part so clearly known.

19. Having said thus much of the Judges, somewhat will be fit to put you in minde concerning the principal Ministers of Justice: and in the first, of the high Sheriffs of the Counties, which have been very ancient in this Kingdome, I am sure before the Conquest; The choice of them I commend to your care, and that at fit times you put the King in minde thereof; That as neer as may be they be such as are fit for those places, for they are of great trust and power: The *Posse Comitatus*, the power of the whole County, being legally committed unto them.

20. Therefore it is agreeable with the intention of the Law, that the choice of them should be by the commendation of the great Officers of the Kingdom, and by the advice of the Judges, who

K. *Charls* are presumed to be well read in the condition of the Gentry of the whole Kingdom: And although the King may do it of himself, yet the old way is the good way.

21. But I utterly condemn the practice of the latter times, which hath lately crept into the Court (at the back-stairs) That some who are prick'd for Sheriffs, and were fit, should get out of the Bill; and others who were neither thought upon, nor worthy to be, should be nominated, and both for money.

22. I must not omit to put you in minde of the Lords Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants of the Counties: their proper use is for ordering the Military affairs, in order to an invasion from abroad, or a rebellion or sedition at home; good choice should be made of them, and prudent instructions given to them, and as little of the Arbitrary power as may be left unto them; and that the Muster-Masters, and their Officers under them, incroach not upon the Subject; that will detract much from the King's service.

23. The Justices of Peace are of great use; Antiently there were Conservators of the peace, these are the same, saving that several Acts of Parliament have altered their denomination, and enlarged their jurisdiction in many particulars; The fitter they are for the peace of the Kingdome, the more heed ought to be taken in the choice of them.

24. But negatively, this I shall be bold to say, that none should be put into either of those Commissions with an eye of favour to their persons, to give them countenance or reputation in the places where they live

live, but for the King's ſervice ſake; nor any put out for the diſfavour of any great man: It hath been too often uſed, and hath been no good ſervice to the King. K. *Charls.*

25. A word more, if you pleaſe to give me leave, for the true rules of the moderation of Juſtice on the Kings part. The execution of juſtice is committed to his Judges, which ſeemeth to be the ſeverer part: but the milder part, which is mercy, is wholly left in the King's immediate hand: And Juſtice and Mercy are the true ſupporters of his Royal Throne.

26. If the King ſhall be wholly intent upon Juſtice, it may appear with an over-rigid aſpect; but if he ſhall be over-remiſs and eaſie, it draweth upon him contempt. Examples of Juſtice muſt be made ſometimes for terrour to ſome; Examples of Mercy, ſometimes, for comfort to others: the one procures fear, and the other love. A King muſt be both feared and loved, elſe he is loſt.

27. The ordinary Courts of Juſtice I have ſpoken of, and of their Judges and judicature; I ſhall put you in minde of ſome things touching the High Court of Parliament in *England*, which is ſuperlative; and therefore it will behove me to ſpeak the more warily thereof.

28. For the inſtitution of it, it is very antient in this Kingdom: It conſiſteth of the two Houſes, of Peers and Commons, as the Members; and of the King's Majeſty, as the head of that great body: By the King's authority alone, and by his Writs, they are aſſembled, and by him alone they are prorogued and diſſolved; but each Houſe may adjourn it ſelf.

K. *Charls.* 29. They being thus Assembled, are more properly a Council to the King, the Councel of the Kingdome, to advise his Majesty in those things of weight and difficulty, which concern both the King and People, then a Court.

30. No new Laws can be made, nor old Laws abrogated or altered, but by common consent in Parliament, where Bills are prepared and presented to the two Houses, and then delivered: but nothing is concluded but by the King's Royal assent; They are but Embroys, 'tis he giveth life unto them.

31. Yet the House of Peers hath a power of Judicature in some cases; properly, to examine, and then to affirm, or if there be cause, to reverse the judgements which have been given in the Court of King's Bench, (which is the Court of highest jurisdiction in the Kingdome, for ordinary Judicature) but in these cases it must be done by Writ of Error *in Parliamento*: And thus the rule of their proceedings is not *absoluta potestas*, as in making new Laws (in that conjuncture as before) but *limitata potestas*, according to the known Laws of the Land.

32. But the House of Commons have only power to censure the Members of their own House, in point of election or misdemeanors, in or towards that House; and have not, nor ever had power, so much as to administer an Oath to prepare a judgement.

33. The true use of Parliaments in this Kingdome is very excellent; and they would be often called, as the affairs of the Kingdom shall require; and continued so long as is necessary, and no longer, for

for then they be but burthens to the people, by rea- K. *Charls.*
son of the priviledges justly due to the Members of
the two Houses and their Attendants; which their
just rights and priviledges are religiously to be ob-
served and maintained; but if they should be unju-
stly enlarged beyond their true bounds, they might
lessen the just power of the Crown, it borders so
near upon popularity.

34. All this while I have spoken concerning the Common Laws of *England*, generally, and properly so called, because it is most general and common to almost all cases and causes, both civil and criminal: But there is also another Law, which is called the Civil or Ecclesiastical Law, which is confined to some few heads; and that is not to be neglected: and although I am a professor of the Common-Law, yet am I so much a lover of Truth and of Learning, and of my native Countrey, that I do heartily perswade that the professors of that Law, called Civilians (because the Civil Law is their guide) should not be discountenanced nor discouraged; else whensoever we shall have ought to do with any foreign King or State, we shall be at a miserable losse, for want of Learned men in that profession.

III. I come now to the consideration of those things which concern Councellors of State, The Council-Table, and the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdome, which are those who for the most part furnish out that honourable Board.

1. Of Councellors, there are two sorts: The first, *Consiliarii nati*, (as I may term them) such are the Prince of *Wales*, and others of the King's Sons (when he hath more;) of these I speak not,

K. *Charls.* for they are naturally born to be Councellors to the KING, to learn the art of Governing betimes.

2. But the ordinary sort of Councellors are such as the King, out of a due consideration of their worth and abilities, and withal, of their fidelities to his Person and to his Crown, calleth to be of Councel with him in his ordinary Government. And the Council-Table is so called, from the place where they ordinarily assemble and sit together; and their Oath is the onely ceremony used, to make them such, which is solemnly given unto them, at their first admission: These honourable persons are from thenceforth of that Board and Body: They cannot come untill they be thus called, and the King at his pleasure may spare their attendance; and he may dispense with their presence there, which at their own pleasure they may not do.

3. This being the quality of their service, you will easily judge what care the King should use, in his choice of them; It behoveth that they be persons of great trust and fidelity, and also of wisdome and judgement, who shall thus assist in bearing up the King's Throne; and of known experience in publick affairs.

4. Yet it may not be unfit to call some of young years, to train them up in that Trade, and so fit them for those weighty affairs, against the time of greater maturity; and some also for the honour of their persons: But these two sorts not to be tyed to so strict attendance, as the others from whom the present dispatch of business is expected.

5. I could wish that their number might not be so over-great, the persons of the Councellors would

would be the more venerable. And I know that Queen *Elizabeth*, in whose time I had the happiness to be born, and to live many years, was not so much observed, for having a numerous, as a wise, Councel K. *Charls.*

6. The duty of a Privy-Councellor to a King, I conceive, is, not onely to attend the Councel-board, at the times appointed, and there to consult of what shall be propounded; But also to study those things which may advance the King's honour and safety, and the good of the Kingdome, and to communicate the same to the King, or to his fellow Councellors, as there shall be occasion. And this, Sir, will concern you more then others, by how much you have a larger share in his affections.

7. And one thing I shall be bold to desire you to recommend to his Majesty: That when any new thing shall be propounded to be taken into consideration, that no Counsellor should suddenly deliver any positive opinion thereof; it is not so easie with all men to retract their opinions, although there shall be cause for it: But onely to hear it, and at the most but to break it, at first, that it may be the better understood against the next meeting.

8. When any matter of weight hath been debated, and seemeth to be ready for a resolution; I wish it may not be at that sitting concluded (unless the necessity of the time press it) left upon second cogitations there should be cause to alter, which is not for the gravity and honour of that Board.

9. I wish also that the King would be pleased sometimes to be present at that Board, it adds a Majesty to it: And yet not to be too frequently there,

K. *Charls.* there, that would render it leſſe eſteemed when it is become common; Beſides, it may ſometimes make the Councellors not to be ſo free in their debates in his preſence, as they would be in his abſence.

10. Beſides the giving of Counſel, the Councellors are bound by their Duties *ex vi termini*, as well as by their Oaths, to keep counſel; therefore are they called *de Privato Conſilio Regis, & â ſecretioribus conſiliis Regis.*

11. One thing I add, in the negative, which is not fit for that Board, the entertaining of private cauſes, of *meum & tuum*; thoſe ſhould be left to the ordinary courſe and Courts of Juſtice.

12. As there is great care to be uſed for the Councellors themſelves to be choſen, ſo there is of the Clerks of the Council alſo, for the ſecreting of their Conſultations; and methinks, it were fit that his Majeſty be ſpeedily moved, to give a ſtrict charge, and to binde it with a ſolemn order (if it be not already ſo done) that no copies of the orders of that Table be delivered out by the Clerks of the Councel, but by the order of the Board; nor any not being a Councellor, or a Clerk of the Councel, or his Clerk, to have acceſſe to the Councel-Books: and to that purpoſe, that the ſervants attending the Clerks of the Councel be bound to ſecrecy, as well as their Maſters.

13. For the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdome, I ſhall ſay little; for the moſt of them are ſuch, as cannot well be ſevered from the Councellorſhip; and therefore the ſame rule is to be obſeved for both, in the choice of them: In the general, onely, I adviſe this, let them be ſet in thoſe

those places for which they are probably the most fit. K. *Charls.*

14. But in the quality of the persons, I conceive it will be most convenient to have some of every sort, (as in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* it was) one Bishop at the least, in respect of questions touching Religion, or Church-Government; one or more skilled in the Laws; some for Martial affairs, and some for Foreign affairs: By this mixture one will help another, in all things that shall there happen to be moved: But if that would fail, it will be a safe way, to consult with some other able persons well versed in that point which is the subject of their Consultation, which yet may be done so warily, as may not discover the main end therein.

IV. In the next place, I shall put you in minde of the Foreign Negotiations and Embassies, to or with Foreign Princes or States, wherein I shall be little able to serve you.

1. Onely I will tell you what was the course in the happy dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, whom it will be no dis-reputation to follow: She did vary, according to the nature of the employment, the quality of the persons she employed; which is a good rule to go by.

2. If it were an Embassy of Gratulation or Ceremony (which must not be neglected) choice was made of some noble person, eminent in place, and able in purse, and he would take it as a mark of favour, and discharge it without any great burthen to the Queen's Coffers, for his owne honours sake.

3. But

K. Charls. 3. But if it were an Embaſſie of weight, concerning affairs of State, choice was made of ſome ſad perſon of known judgement, wiſdome and experience, and not of a young man, not wayed in State-matters; nor of a meer formal man, whatſoever his title or outſide were.

4. Yet in company of ſuch, ſome young towardly Noblemen or Gentlemen were uſually ſent alſo, as Aſſiſtants or Attendants, according to the quality of the perſons, who might be thereby prepared and fitted for the like employment, by this means, at another turn.

5. In their company were alwayes ſent ſome grave and ſad men, skilful in the Civil Laws, and ſome in the Languages, and ſome who had been formerly converſant in the Courts of thoſe Princes, and knew their wayes; theſe were Aſſiſtants in private, but not truſted to manage the Affairs in publick; that would detract from the honour of the principal Embaſſador.

6. If the Negotiation were about Merchants affairs, then were the perſons employed for the moſt part Doctors of the Civil Law, aſſiſted with ſome other diſcreet men; and in ſuch the charge was ordinarily defrayed by the Company or Society of Merchants, whom the Negotiation concerned.

7. If Legier Embaſſadors or Agents were ſent to remain in or neer the Courts of thoſe Princes or States (as it was ever held fit, to obſerve the motions, and to hold correſpondency with them, upon all occaſions) ſuch were made choice of, as were preſumed to be vigilant, induſtrious, and diſcreet men, and had the language of the place whither they were ſent; and with theſe were ſent ſuch as were

were hopeful to be worthy of the like employment at another time. K. *Charls.*

8. Their care was, to give true and timely Intelligence of all Occurrences, either to the Queen her self, or the Secretaries of State, unto whom they had their immediate relation.

9. Their charge was always born by the Queen, duly paid out of the Exchequer, in such proportion, as, according to their qualities and places might give them an honourable subsistence there: But for the reward of their service, they were to expect it upon their return, by some such preferment as might be worthy of them, and yet be little burthen to the Queens Coffers or Revenues.

10. At their going forth, they had their general Instructions in writing, which might be communicated to the Ministers of that State whither they were sent; and they had also private Instructions, upon particular occasions; and at their return, they did always render an account of some things to the Queen her self, of some things to the body of the Council, and of some others to the Secretaries of State, who made use of them, or communicated them, as there was cause.

11. In those days there was a constant course held, that by the advice of the Secretaries, or some principal Councellors, there were always sent forth into several parts beyond the Seas some young men, of whom good hopes were conceived of their towardlinesse, to be trained up, and made fit for such publick Employments, and to learn the Languages. This was at the charge of the Queen, which was not much, for they travelled but as private Gentlemen; and as by their industry their deserts

K. *Charls* deserts did appear, so far were they further employed or rewarded. This course I shall recommend unto you, to breed up a Nursery of such publick Plants.

V. For Peace and War, and those things which appertain to either; I in my own disposition and profession am wholly for peace, if please God to blesse the Kingdom therewith, as for many years past he hath done: and,

1. I presume I shall not need to perswade you to the advancing of it; nor shall you need to perswade the King your Master therein, for that he hath hitherto been another *Solomon* in this our *Israel*; and the Motto which he hath chosen (*Beati Pacifici*) shews his own judgement: But he must use the means to preserve it, else such a jewel may be lost.

2. God is the God of Peace (it is one of his Attributes) therefore by him alone we must pray, and hope to continue it: there is the foundation.

3. And the King must not neglect the just ways for it; Justice is the best Protector of it at home, and providence for War is the best prevention of it from abroad.

4. Wars are either Foreign or Civil; for the Foreign War by the King upon some neigbour Nation, I hope we are secure; the King, in his just and pious disposition, is not inclinable thereunto; his Empire is long enough, bounded with the Ocean, as if the very situation thereof had taught the King and People to set up their rests, and say, *Ne plus ultra*.

5. And

5. And for a war of invasion from abroad; one- K. *Charls.*
ly we must not be over-secure, that's the way to
invite it.

6. But if we be always prepared to receive an Enemy, if the ambition or malice of any should incite him, we may be very confident we shall long live in peace and quietnesse, without any attempt upon us.

7. To make the preparations hereunto the more assured: In the first place, I will recommend unto you the care of our out-work, the Navy Royal and Shipping of our Kingdome, which are the walls thereof; and every great Ship is as an impregnable fort; and our many safe and commodious Ports and Havens in every of these Kingdomes, are as the redoubts to secure them.

8. For the body of the Ships, no Nation of the world doth equal *England*, for the Oaken Timber wherewith to build them; and we need not borrow of any other, iron for Spikes, or Nails to fasten them together: but there must be a great deal of providence used, that our Ship-Timber be not unnecessarily wasted.

9. But for Tackling, as Sails and Cordage, we are beholden to our neighbours for them, and do buy them for our money; that must be foreseen and layd up in store against a time of need, and not sought for when we are to use them: But we are much too blame, that we make them not at home, onely Pitch and Tar we have not of our own.

10. For the true Art of building of Ships, for burthen and service both, no Nation in the world exceeds us: Ship-wrights and all other Artizans belonging to that Trade must be cherished and encouraged.

11. Powder

K. *Charls.* 11. Powder and Ammunition of all sorts we can have at home, and in exchange for other home commodities we may be plentifully supplied from our Neighbours, which must not be neglected.

12. With Mariners and Seamen this Kingdom is plentifully furnished, the constant Trade of Merchandizing will furnish us at a need; and navigable Rivers will repair the store, both to the Navy Royal, and to the Merchants, if they be set on work, and well payed for their labour.

13. Sea-Captains and Commanders, and other Officers must be encouraged, and rise by degrees, as their fidelity and industry deserve it.

14. Our strict League of amity and alliance with our neere Neighbours the *Hollanders*, is a mutual strength to both; the shipping of both, in conjuncture, being so powerful, by Gods blessing, as no Foreigners will venture upon; This League and Friendship must inviolably be observed.

15 From *Scotland* we have had in former times some Alarms and Inrodes into the Northern parts of this Kingdome; but that happy union of both Kingdomes under one Soveraign, our gracious King, I hope, hath taken away all occasions of breach between the two Nations; let not the cause arise from *England*, and I hope the *Scots* will not adventure it; or if they do, I hope they will finde, that although to our King they were his first-born Subjects, yet to *England* belongs the birth-right: But this should not be any cause to offer any injury to them, nor to suffer any from them.

16. There remains then no danger, by the blessing of God, but a Civil War, from which God of his

his mercy defend us, as that which is most desperate of all others. The King's wisdome and justice must prevent it, if it may be; or if it should happen, *quod absit*, he must quench that wilde-fire with all the diligence that possible can be. K. *Charls*

17. Competition to the Crown, there is none, nor can be; therefore it must be a fire within the bowels, or nothing, the cures whereof are these; *Remedium præveniens*, which is the best physick either to a natural body, or to a State; by just and equal Government to take away the occasion; and *Remedium puniens*, if the other prevail not: The service and vigilance of the Deputy-Lieutenants in every County, and of the high-Sheriff, will contribute much herein to our security.

18. But if that should not prevail, by a wise and timous inquisition, the peccant humours and humorists must be discovered, and purged, or cut off; mercy in such a case, in a King, is truly cruelty.

19. Yet if the Heads of the Tribes can be taken off, and the mis-led multitude will see their error, and return to their obedience, such an extent of mercy is both honourable and profitable.

20. A King, against a storm, must fore-see, to have a convenient stock of treasure; and neither be without money, which is the sinews of War, nor to depend upon the courtesie of others, which may fail at a pinch.

21. He must also have a Magazine of all sorts, which must be had from Forein parts, or provided at home; and to commit them to several places, under the custody of trusty and faithfull

K. Charls. Ministers and Officers, if it be possible.

22. He must make choice of expert and able Commanders to conduct and manage the War, either against a foreign invasion, or a home-rebellion; which must not be young and giddy, which dare, not onely to fight, but to swear, and drink, and curse; neither fit to govern others, nor able to govern themselves.

23. Let not such be discouraged, if they deserve well, by mis-information, or for the satisfying the humours or ambition of others, perhaps out of envy, perhaps out of treachery, or other sinister ends: A steady hand in governing of Military Affairs, is more requisite then in times of peace, because an errour committed in war, may perhaps prove irremediable.

24. If God shall blesse these endeavours, and the King return to his own house in peace, when a Civil War shall be at an end, those who have been found faithful in the Land must be regarded, yea, and rewarded also; the traiterous, or treacherous, who have misled others, severely punish'd; and the neutrals, and false-hearted friends and followers, who have started aside like a broken bow, be noted, *Carbone nigro*; and so I shall leave them, and this part of the work.

VI. I come now to the sixth part, which is Trade, and that is either at home, or abroad. And I begin with that which is at home; which enableth the Subjects of the Kingdom to live, and layeth a foundation to a foreign Trade by traffique with others, which enableth them to live plentifully and happily.

1. For the Home-trade, I first commend unto your

your consideration the encouragement of Tillage, which will enable the Kingdom for Corn for the Natives, and to spare for exportation: And I my self have known, more than once, when in times of dearth, in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, it drained much coin of the Kingdom, to furnish us with Corn from foreign parts. K. *Charles*

2. Good Husbands will finde the means by good husbandry, to improve their lands by Lime, Chalk, Marl, or Sea-sand, where it can be had: But it will not be amiss, that they be put in minde thereof, and encouraged in their industries.

3. Planting of Orchards in a soil and air fit for them, is very profitable, as well as pleasureable; Sider and Perry are notable Beverage in Sea-voyages.

4. Gardens are also very profitable, if planted with Artichokes, roots, and such other things as are fit for food; whence they are called Kitchin-gardens, and that very properly.

5. The planting of Hop-yards, sowing of Woad, and Rape-seed, are found very profitable for the Planters, in places apt for them, and consequently profitable for the Kingdome, which for divers years was furnished with them from beyond the Seas.

6. The planting and preserving of Woods, especially of Timber, is not onely profitable, but commendable, therewith to furnish posterity, both for building and shipping.

7. The Kingdom would be much improved, by draining of drowned lands, and gaining that in from the over-flowing of salt waters and the sea, and from fresh waters also.

8. And many of those grounds would be exceeding fit for Dairies; which, being well housewiv'd are exceeding commodious.

9. Much good land might be gained from Forests and Chases, more remote from the King's access, and from other commonable places; so as always there be a due care taken, that the poor Commoners have no injury by such improvement.

10. The making of navigable Rivers would be very profitable; they would be as so many indraughts of wealth, by conveying of commodities with ease from place to place.

11. The planting of Hemp and Flax would be an unknown advantage to the Kingdome, many places therein being as apt for it, as any Forreign parts.

12. But add hereunto, that it be converted into Linen-cloath, or Cordage, the commodity thereof will be multiplied.

13. So it is of the Wools and Leather of the Kingdome, if they be converted into Manufactures.

14. Our *English* Dames are much given to the wearing of costly Laces; and, if they be brought from *Italy*, or *France*, or *Flanders*, they are in great esteem; whereas, if the like Laces were made by the *English*, so much threed as would make a yard of Lace, being put into that Manufacture, would be five times, or perhaps ten, or twenty times the value.

15. The breeding of Cattel is of much profit, especially the breed of Horses, in many places, not onely for travel, but for the great saddle; the *English*

Iſh Horſe, for ſtrength, and courage, and ſwiftneſſe together, not being inferiour to the horſes of any other Kingdome. *K. Charl.*

16. The Minerals of the Kingdom, of Lead, Iron, Copper, and Tynn eſpecially, are of great value, and ſet many able-bodied ſubjects on work; it were great pity they ſhould not be induſtriouſly followed.

17. But of all Minerals, there is none like to that of Fiſhing upon the coaſts of theſe Kingdomes, and the ſeas belonging to them: our Neighbors within half a days ſail of us, with a good winde, can ſhew us the uſe and value thereof; and, doubteleſſe there is ſea-room enough for both Nations, without offending one another; and it would exceedingly ſupport the Navy.

18. This Realm is much enriched, of late years, by the Trade of Merchandize which the *Engliſh* drive in Foreign parts; and, if it be wiſely managed, it muſt of neceſſity very much increaſe the wealth thereof; care being taken, that the exportation exceed in value the importation, for then the balance of Trade muſt of neceſſity be returned in Coin, or Bullion.

19. This would eaſily be effected, if the Merchants were perſwaded, or compelled to make their returns in ſolid commodities, and not too much thereof in vanity, tending to exceſs.

20. But eſpecially care muſt be taken, that Monopolies, which are the Cankers of all trading, be not admitted, under ſpecious colours of publick good.

21. To put all theſe into a regulation, if a conſtant Commiſſion to men of honeſty and underſtan-

K. Charls. ding were granted, and well pursued, to give order for the managing of these things both at home and abroad, to the best advantage; and that this Commission were subordinate to the Councel-board, it is conceived it would produce notable effects.

VII. The next thing is that of Colonies and Foreign Plantations; which are very necessary, as outlets to a populous Nation, and may be profitable also, if they be managed in a discreet way.

1. First, in the choice of the place; which requireth many circumstances, as the situation neer the Sea, for the commodiousness of an intercourse with *England*; the temper of the Air and climate, as may best agree with the bodies of the *English*, rather inclining to cold, than heat; that it be stored with Woods, Mines, and Fruits, which are naturally in the place; that the soil be such as will probably be fruitful for Corn, and other conveniencies, & for breeding of Cattel; that it hath Rivers, both for passage between place and place, and for fishing also, if it may be; that the Natives be not so many, but that there may be elbow-room enough for them, and for the Adventives also: All which are likely to be found in the *West-Indies*.

2. It would be also such as is not already planted by the Subjects of any Christian Prince, or State, nor over-neerly neighbouring to their Plantation. And it would be more convenient, to be chosen by some of those Gentlemen or Merchants which move first in the work, than to be designed unto them from the King; for it must proceed from the option of the people, else it sounds like an Exile: so the Colonies must be raised by the leave of the King, and not by his command.

3. After

3. After the place is made choice of, the first step must be, to make choice of a fit Governour, who although he have not the name, yet he must have the power of a *Vice-Roy*; and if the person who principally moved in the work be not fit for that trust, yet he must not be excluded from command; but then his defect in the Governing part must be supplied by such Assistants as shall be joyned with him, or as he shall very well approve of. K. *Charls.*

4. As at their setting out they must have their Commission, or Letters Patents from the King, that so they may acknowledge their dependency upon the Crown of *England*, and under his protection; so they must receive some general instructions how to dispose of themselves when they come there, which must be in nature of Lawes unto them.

5. But the general Law, by which they must be guided and governed, must be the Common Law of *England*; and to that end it will be fit, that some man, reasonably studied in the Law, and otherwise qualified for such a purpose, be perswaded (if not thereunto inclined of himself, which were the best) to go thither as a Chancellor amongst them, at first; and when the Plantation were more setled, then to have Courts of Justice there, as in *England*.

6. At the first planting, or as soon after as they can, they must make themselves defensible both against the Natives, and against Strangers; and to that purpose, they must have the assistance of some able Military man, and convenient Arms and Ammunition for their defence.

7. For the Discipline of the Church in those parts, it will be necessary, that it agree with that

K. *Charls.* which is setled in *England*; else it will make a Schism, and a rent in Christs Coat, which must be seamless: and, to that purpose, it will be fit, that by the King's supream power in Causes Ecclesiastical, within all his Dominions, they be subordinate under some Bishop and Bishoprick of this Realm.

8. For the better defence against a common Enemy, I think it would be best, that Foreign Plantations should be placed in one Continent, and neer together; whereas, if they be too remote the one from the other, they will be dis-united, and so the weaker.

9. They must provide themselves of houses, such as for the present, they can, and, at more leisure, such as may be better; and they first must plant for Corn and Cattel, *&c.* for food, and necessary sustenance; and after, they may enlarge themselves for those things which may be for profit and pleasure, and to traffique withal also.

10. Woods for shipping in the first place, may doubtless be there had, and Minerals there found, perhaps, of the richest; howsoever, the Mines out of the fruits of the earth, and seas, and waters adjoyning, may be found in abundance.

11. In a short time they may build Vessels and Ships also for Traffique with the parts neer adjoyning, and with *England* also, from whence they may be furnished with such things as they may want, and in exchange, or barter, send from thence other things, with which quickly, either by Nature, or Art, they may abound.

12. But these things would, by all means be prevented; That no known Bankrupt, for shelter; nor known

known Murderer, or other wicked person, to avoid the Law; nor known Heretick, or Schismatick, be suffered to go into those Countreys; or, if they do creep in there, not to be harboured or continued: else, the place would receive them naught, and return them into *England*, upon all occasions, worse. K. *Charls.*

13. That no Merchant, under colour of driving a Trade thither, or from thence, be suffered to work upon their necessities.

14. And that to regulate all these inconveniences, which will insensibly grow upon them, that the King be pleased to erect a subordinate Council in *England*, whose care and charge shall be, to advise, and put in execution, all things which shall be found fit for the good of those new Plantations; who, upon all occasions, shall give an account of their proceedings to the King, or to the Councel-board, and from them receive such directions as may best agree with the Government of that place.

15. That the King's reasonable profit be not neglected, partly, upon reservation of moderate rents and services; and partly upon Customs; and partly, upon importation and exportation of Merchandize; which, for a convenient time after the Plantation begin, would be very easie, to encourage the work; but, after it is well setled, may be raised to a considerable proportion, worthy the acceptation.

VIII. I come to the last of those things which I propounded, which is, the Court, and Curiality.

The other did properly concern the King, in his Royal

K. Charls. Royal capacity, as *Pater patriæ*; this more properly, as *Paterfamilias*: And herein,

1. I shall, in a word, and but in a word onely put you in minde, That the King in his own person, both in respect of his Houshold, or Court and in respect of his whole Kingdom; (for a little Kingdom is but as a great Houshold, and a great Houshold, as a little Kingdom) must be exemplary, *Regis ad exemplum, &c.* But for this, God be praised, our charge is easie; for your gracious Master, for his Learning and Piety, Justice and Bounty, may be, and is, not onely a president to his own Subjects, but to foreign Princes also; yet he is still but a man, and seasonable *Memento's* may be useful; and being discreetly used, cannot but take well with him.

2. But your greatest care must be, that the great men of his Court (for you must give me leave to be plain with you, for so is your injunction laid upon me) your self in the first place, who is first in the eye of all men, give no just cause of scandal, either by light, or vaine, or by oppressive carriage.

3. The great Officers of the King's Houshold had need be both discreet and provident persons both for his Honour, and for his Thrift: they must look both ways, else they are but half-sighted: Yet in the choice of them, there is more latitude left to affection, than in the choice of Councellors, and of the great Officers of State, before touched, which must always be made choice of meerly out of judgement, for in them the Publick hath a great interest.

4. For

4. For the other Miniſterial Officers in Court (as, for diſtinction ſake, they may be termed) there muſt be alſo an eye unto them, and upon them; they have uſually riſen in the Houſhold by degrees, and it is a noble way, to encourage faithful ſervice; But the King muſt not binde himſelf to a neceſſity herein, for then it will be held *ex debito*; neither muſt he alter it, without an apparent cauſe for it: but to diſplace any who are in, upon diſpleaſure, which for the moſt part happeneth upon the information of ſome great man, is, by all means to be avoided, unleſſe there be a manifeſt cauſe for it. K. Charles

5. In theſe things you may ſometimes interpoſe, to do juſt and good offices: but for the general, I ſhould rather adviſe, meddle little, but leave the ordering of thoſe Houſhold-affairs to the White-ſtaffs, which are thoſe honourable perſons, to whom it properly belongeth, to be anſwerable to the King for it; and to thoſe other Officers of the Green-cloth, who are ſubordinate to them, as a kinde of Councel, and a Court of Juſtice alſo.

6. Yet for the Green-cloath Law, (take it in the largeſt ſenſe) I have no opinion of it, farther then it is regulated by the juſt Rules of the Common-Laws of *England*.

7. Towards the ſupport of his Majeſties own Table, and of the Princes, and of his neceſſary Officers, his Majeſty hath a good help by Purveyance, which juſtly is due unto him; and, if juſtly uſed, is no great burthen to the Subject; but by the Purveyors, and other under-Officers, is many times abuſed. In many parts of the Kingdome, I think it is already reduced to a certainty in money; and if it be

K. Charls. be indifferently and discreetly managed, it would be no hard matter to settle it so throughout the whole Kingdom; yet to be renewed from time to time, for that will be the best, and safest, both for the King, and People.

8. The King must be put in minde, to preserve the Revenues of his Crown, both certain, and casual, without diminution, and to lay up treasure in store against a time of extreamity; empty Coffers give an ill sound, and make the people many times forget their Duty; thinking that the King must be beholden to them for his supplies.

9. I shall by no means think it fit, that he reward any of his servants with the benefit of forfeitures either by Fines in the Court of Star-Chamber, or High-Commission Courts, or other Courts of Justice; or that they should be farmed out, or bestowed upon any, so much as by promise, before judgement given; it would neither be profitable, nor honourable.

10. Besides matters of serious consideration, in the Courts of Princes, there must be times for pastimes and disports: When there is a Queen, and Ladies of Honour attending her, there must sometimes be Masques, and Revels, and Enterludes; and when there is no Queen, or Princess, as now, yet at Festivals, and for entertainment of Strangers, or upon such occasions, they may be fit also: Yet care would be taken, that in such cases, they be set off more with wit and activity, then with costly and wasteful expences.

11. But for the King and Prince, and the Lords and Chivalry of the Court, I rather commend, in their turns and seasons, the riding of the great Horse,

orſe, the Tilts, Barriers, Tennis, and Hunting, K. Charles
which are more for the health and ſtrength of thoſe who exerciſe them, than in an effeminate way to eaſe themſelves and others.

And now the Prince groweth up faſt to be a man, and is of a ſweet and excellent diſpoſition; it would be an irreparable ſtain and diſhonour upon you, having that acceſſe unto him, if you ſhould miſ-led him, or ſuffer him to be miſ-lead by any flattering Paraſites: The whole Kingdom hath a deep intereſt in his virtuous education; and if you, keeping that diſtance which is moſt fit, do humbly interpoſe your ſelf, in ſuch a caſe, he will one day give you thanks for it.

12. Yet Dice and Cards may ſometimes be uſed for recreation, when field-ſports cannot be had; but not to uſe it as a mean to ſpend the time, much leſs to miſ-pend the thrift of the Gameſters.

SIR, I ſhall trouble you no longer; I have run over theſe things as I firſt propounded them; pleaſe you to make uſe of them, or any of them, as you ſhall ſee occaſion; or to lay them by, as you think beſt, and to add to them, as you daily may, out of your experience.

I muſt be bold again, to put you in minde of your preſent condition; you are in the quality of a Sentinel; if you ſleep, and neglect your charge, you are an undone man, and you may fall faſter than you have riſen.

I have but one thing more to minde you of, which neerly concerns your ſelf; you ſerve a great and gracious Maſter, and there is a moſt hopeful young Prince, whom you muſt not deſert; it behoves you to carry your ſelf wiſely and evenly be-

tween

K. Charls

tween them both: adore not so the rising Son, th
you f[illegible]get the Father, who raised you to t
height; nor be you so obsequious to the Father, th
you give just cause to the Son, to suspect that yo
neglect him: But carry your self with that judg
ment, as, if it be possible, may please and conte
them both, which, truly, I believe, will be no ha
matter for you to do; so may you live long belov
of both, which is the hearty prayer of

Your most obliged and devoted servant.

THese were his Rules, and this his practice: My Lord of *Nottingham* he bought nobly from the Admiralty; his Assistant, Vice-Admiral *Mansfel*, he entertained civilly, and procured that place for life, which he had onely during pleasure. The Warden of the Cinque-ports resigned his place seasonably; the Master of the Horse gave up his preferment and his life opportunely.— He advanced his Relations prudently, gratifying them, and fortifying himself: He made an excellent choice of Servants and Confederates; entertained the ablest and most faithful Assistants: Doctor *Williams* and Dr. *Laud* were of his Council for the Church, Sir *Francis Bacon* for the State. From the first he received frequent Schedules of Persons and Doctrines; from the other constant Transcripts of Rules and Intelligence: Never any man more constant to his approved friend, never any more fatal to his known Enemies: He was the instrument of all the Subjects services to his Soveraign, and of his Sovereign's favours to his Subjects: no place was bestowed

bestowed without his knowledge; no action passed K. *Charles*
without his approbation; not an eminent man but depended on him, and was subordinate to him: His dispatches were many, and pregnant testimonies that he was a great Master of his Time, and a greater of his Method and Affairs. Great he was indeed, and humble too, not raised by his present fortune above the sense of his former: *envied* he was, not *hated*; applauded in the same Parliament for his services, & declaimed against for his preferments; ever studious of the Peoples Interest, which is the care of *few* Favourites; never happy in their love, which is the fate of *all*. He approved himself both to the declining Monarch, and the rising, as having won himself not so much to their affections, which were alterable, as to their judgements, which were lasting; and made his preferment rather a matter of Interest, which is real, than of favour, which is personal: Looking on *Somerset* laid at his feet, *Bristol* and *Williams* brought on their knees, *Carlisle* and *Pembrook* beneath him, and *Holland* behinde him; and every man that would not owe his preferment to his favour, must owe his ruine to his frown. He was intrusted with the greatest service and secret in *Spain*, when he dived to the bottome of that Countreys policy, and the Intrigues of *Europes* Counsels; and could come off in the Match with *Spain* to the King and Kingdoms minde dextrously, when Sir *Walter Aston* and my Lord of *Bristol* were at a losse about it, to both their displeasures, *weakely*, amidst the open entertainment, and secret working of that place. — In his attendance on the King in *Scotland* as Counsellor of that Kingdome, he carried himself with singular sweetnesse

and

K. Charls. and temper, as it behoved him, being now in f
vour, and succeeding one of their own. They th
censure his sudden advancements and great prefer
ments, consider not, that

"Certainly the hearts of great Princes, if the
"be considered as it were in Abstract, without th
"necessity of States, and circumstances of time, be
"ing besides their natural Extent, moreover ont
"opened and dilated with Affection, can take n
"full and proportionable pleasure in the exerci
"of any narrow bounty. And albeit at first the
"give onely upon choice and love of the Perso
"yet within a while themselves likewise begin t
"love their givings, and to foment their deeds, n
"lesse than Parents do their children.

Besides that, "by so long, and so private, an
"so various consociation with a Prince of such ex
"cellent nature, he had now gotten as it were
"two lives in his own Fortune and Greatnesse;
"whereas otherwise the Estate of a Favourite is
"the best but a Tenant at will, and rarely trans
"mitted.

"And the more notable, because it had been
"without any visible Eclipse or Wane in himself, a
"midst divers variations in others. How general
"his care, appears in that amidst his more impor
"tant Negotiations, he condescended to this noble
"act of charity to a Scholar and to Learning; which
"I must, for my part, celebrate above all his Expen
"ces. There was a collection of certain rare Manu
"scripts exquisitely written in *Arabick*, and sought
"in the most remote parts, by the diligence of *Erpe*
"*nius* the most excellent Linguist. These had been
"left to the Widow of the said *Erpenius*, and were

"upon

"upon ſale to the Jeſuites of *Antwerp*, liquoriſh K. *Charls.*
"Chapmen of ſuch Ware. Whereof the Duke get-
"ting knowledge by his worthy and learned Secre-
"tary, Doctor *Maſon*, interverted the bargain,
"and gave the poor Widow for them five hundred
"pounds, a ſum above their weight in ſilver, and a
"mixed act both of bounty and charity; the more
"laudable, being much out of his natural Element.
Theſe were they, which after his death were as nobly preſented as they had been bought to *Cambridge* by his Dutcheſs, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood by the foreſaid Doctor her Lords intention to furniſh the ſaid Univerſity with other choice Collections from all parts at his own charge.

"The Duke's Anſwers to his Appeachments, in
"number thirteen, I finde very diligently and ci-
"villy couched: and though his heart was big, yet
"they all ſavour of an humble ſpirit one way, and an
"equitable conſideration another, which could not
"but poſſeſſe every vulgar conceit, and ſomewhat
"allay the whole matter; that in the bolting and
"ſifting of near fourteen years of ſuch power and
"favour, all that came out could not be expected
"to be pure, and white, and fine Meal, but muſt
"needs have withal among it a certain mixture of
"Padar and Bran in this lower age of humane
"fragility. Howſoever this tempeſt did onely ſhake,
"and not rent his Sails.

His defence againſt danger was noble, but his contempt of it nobler; for when Sir *George Goring* adviſed him onely to turn out of the ordinary road, "He reſolved not to wave his way upon this reaſon,
"perhaps more generous then provident; That if,
"as he ſaid, he ſhould but once by ſuch a diverſion

K. *Charls.* "make his enemy believe he were afraid of dan-
"ger; he should never live without. And when
his young Nephew the Lord Viscount *Fielding* of-
fered him another time to put on his Coat and
blew Ribbon, while they passed through a Town
where they apprehended some design against the
Duke; "*He would not* (as he said) *accept of such*
"*an offer in that case from a Nephew, whose life be*
"*tendered as much as himself*: But after some short
direction to his company, he rode on without
perturbation of minde, though a drunken fellow
laid hold of his Bridle under pretence of begging,
to begin a tumult.

a *Sir Hen. Wotton's life of the Duke of Buckingh.*

"Neither (for ought I can *a* hear) was there a-
"ny further enquiry into that practice, the Duke
"peradventure thinking it wisdome not to reserve
"discontentments too deep.

"But in the middest of these little dangers, his
"Grace was not unmindful of his civil course, to
"cast an eye upon the ways to win unto him such
"as have been of principal credit in the lower house
"of Parliament; applying lenitives, or subducting
"from that part where he knew the Humours were
"sharpest; amidst which thoughts, he was sur-
"prized by a fatal stroke, written in the black
"book of Necessity. Whereof he was forewarned
as well by his own as others apprehensions, as ap-
pears by his last Addresses to the Arch-Bishop of
Canterbury, the Earl of *Holland*, and his sacred Ma-
jesty.

"And certain it is, that some good while before
"Sir *Clement Throckmorton*, a Gentleman then li-
"ving, of grave judgement, had in a private con-
"ference advised him to wear a privy Coat; whose
"counsel

"counſel the Duke received very kindly, but gave him this anſwer; *That againſt any popular fury, a ſhirt of male would be but a ſilly defence; and as for any ſingle mans aſſault, he took himſelf to be in no danger.*--So dark is Deſtiny. Since he is dead, he is charged; K. *Charls.*

1. For advancing his Relations; which yet was humanity in him, and not a fault.

2. For enriching himſelf; though as it is ſaid of that *French* Peer, he was rich onely in Obligations, his Eſtate being at the mercy of Suitors.

"To his familiar Servants, ſo open-handed he "was, though many of them ſo ungrateful as to deny relation unto him, either about his perſon in "ordinary attendance; or about his affairs of "State, as his Secretaries; or of Office, as his "Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight "whom he long uſed to ſolicite his Cauſes: He left "all both in good Fortune: and, which is more, in "good Fame: Things very ſeldom conſociated in "the inſtruments of great Perſonages.

3. He had many Offices, but committed himſelf a moſt willing Pupil to the directions of ſuch as were generally thought fit to manage affairs of that nature, condeſcending to the meaneſt Arts, to adapt himſelf to his employments.

4. He was not bookiſh, it's true; his Affairs forbad him ſtudy, yet had he a natural readineſſe to diſcourſe of all ſubjects; which wanted nothing towards applauſe, but the candor and benevolence of his hearers, whoſe diſ-ingenuity oft-times turned his moſt honeſt diſcourſes to accuſations; witneſſe that ebullition of his joy to his Majeſty in behalf of his People, which Sir *John Eliot* made Treaſon againſt them.

K. Charls

5. He was great indeed, but gentle and affable insomuch, that "though his memory were a place "so taken up with high thoughts, and unlikely to "have any room for matters of so small impor- tance, he was ever known to entertain his younger acquaintance with much familiarity,-- and all me with that civility, wherein was observed his "pe- "culiarity, happy bravery of deriving favours, and "conferring them with so many noble Circumstan- "ces, as the manner was as obliging as the matter "and mens understandings oft-times as much pur- "led as their gratitude.

6. He would intercede, it's confessed, for poor Malefactors, more out of his innate compassion, than any designe to obstruct the course of Justice; believing doubtless (saith my Author) *that hanging was the worst use a man could be put to.*

"In fine, a Gentleman he was of that choice and "curious make for exteriour shape, as if Nature "had not in his whole frame drawn one line amiss; "nor was his Fabrick raised by soft and limber "studs, but sturdy and virile. His intellectuals "gained him rather the opinion of a wise man "than of a wit. His skill in Letters very mean; so "finding Nature more indulgent to him in the or- "naments of the body, than of the minde, the "tendency of his youthful Genius was rather to "improve those excellencies wherein his choice fe- "licity consisted, than to addict himself to moro- "and sullen Bookishnesse; therefore his chief ex- "ercises were, dancing, fencing, vaulting, and the "like, as indications of strenuous Agility; yet "could he have foreseen where all the Climacteric "and motions of his Advance should have termi- "nated

nated, that from no more than a meer Gentle- K. *Charls.*
man, it ſhould be his luck to vault into the dig-
nity of a Duke, and truſt of a Privy-Counſellor,
we may preſume his early ſtudies would not have
caſt ſo much neglect upon a thing ſo important
to him as a States-man, though not very faſhio-
nable as a Courtier. The temperature of his
minde was, as to moral habits, rather diſpoſed
to good than bad; his deportment was moſt af-
fable and debonair, a rare example in one raiſed
ſo high and ſo ſpeedily: To his Relations liberal,
firm to his friend, formidable to his enemy. He
was a Courtier, and a young man, a profeſſion and
age prone to ſuch deſires, as when they tend to
the ſhedding of no man's blood, to the ruine of
no Family, Humanity ſometimes connives at,
though ſhe never approves. So that take him in
his publick capacity (wherein onely he comes un-
der our obſervation, which meddles not with
mens private converſe or moralities any further
then they are ſubſervient to their State-employ-
ments) we may ſay of him, as one doth of his Ma-
ſter; *That in him the things we can wiſh, are fewer
than thoſe we praiſe.*

But be it for ever remembred, That the villain,
whoſe deſpair of advancement made him careleſſe
of his own life, and Maſter of this *Lords*, talked in his
examination of a Sermon at St. *Faiths*, not his
own Pariſh-Church, where he heard; *That every
man in a good cauſe might be Judge and Executioner
of ſin*; which he applied to himſelf. Whence raw
diſcourſers in Divinity ſhould learn how prudently
they ſhould preach; and itching hearers, how wa-
rily they ſhould hear.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Noy.

SIr *William Noy*, born in *Cornwal*, was bred in *Lincolns-Inne*, a moſt ſedulous Student, conſtantly converſant with ancient Writings, verifying his Anagram:

WILLIAM NOY,

I moyl in Law.

He was for many years the ſtouteſt Champion for the Subjects Liberty, until King *Charles* entertained him to be his Attorney. The diſ-ingenuity of the Parliament, & his impendent neceſſity, would have put another Soveraign on extraordinary wayes; but to King *Charles* it was enough, they were illegal. No extreamity, though never ſo fatal, could provoke him to irregularities; yet whatever wayes the Laws allowed, or Prerogative claimed, to ſecure a deſperate People, that would undo themſelves, he was willing to hearken to: therefore for a cunning man, the cunningeſt at ſuch a project of any within his three Dominions he ſends for his Attorney-General *Noy*, and tells him what he had in contemplation, bids him contrive the Mode, but a ſtatutable one, for defraying the expence: Away goeth the ſubtle Engineer, and at length,--from old Records bolts out an ancient common

common Precedent of raiſing a Tax for ſetting out a Navy in caſe of danger. K. *Charls.*

The King glad of the diſcovery, as *Treaſure-trove*, preſently iſſued out Writs, firſt to the Port-Towns within the Realm, declaring that the ſafety of the Kingdome was in danger (and ſo it was indeed) and therefore that they ſhould provide againſt a day prefixed twenty ſeven Ships of ſo many Tun, with Guns, Gun-powder, Tackle, and all other things neceſſary.

But this buſineſſe is no ſooner ripened, than the *Author* of it dyeth, *Aug.* 6. 1634. He was a man paſſing humorous, but very honeſt; clowniſh, but knowing; a moſt indefatigable plotter, and ſearcher of ancient Records, whereby he became an eminent inſtrument both of good and evill (and of which moſt, is a great queſtion) to the King's Prerogative: For during the times that Parliaments were frequent, he appeared a ſtout Patriot for the Common-wealth; and in the laſt was an active opponent in the differences concerning Tonnage and Poundage: But when the diſſolution of that was in ſome mens apprehenſions, the end of all; No ſooner did the King ſhew him the Lure of advancement, but quitting all his former Inclinations, he wheeled about to the Prerogative, and made amends with his future ſervice for all his former diſ-obligements. -- This is ſomething ſmart; more to his advantage is *that* character Arch-Biſhop *Laud* gives him; *That he was the beſt friend the Church ever had of a Lay-man, ſince it needed any ſuch* (and indeed he was very vigilant over its Adverſaries, witneſs his early foreſight of the danger, and induſtrious proſecution of the illegality of the de-

K. *Charls.* sign of buying Impropriations set up by persons not well-affected to the present constitution) and that of the Historian, that he loved to hear Dr. *Preston* preach, because he spake so *solidly, as if he knew Gods will.* --- To which I add a passage from the mouth of one present thereat.

The Gold-smiths of *London* had (and in due time may have) a custom once a year to weigh gold in the *Star-Chamber*, in the presence of the Privy-Council and the King's Attorney. This solemn weighing by a word of Art they call the Pixe, and make use of so exact scales therein, that the Master of the Company affirmed, that they would turn with the two hundredth part of a grain. *I should be loth* (said the Attorney *Noy*, standing by) *that all my Actions should be weighed in those Scales*; with whom all men concur that *know themselves*: And this was the first evidence of his parts, and the occasion of his reputation. Three Graziers at a Fair had left their money with their Hostess while they went to Market; --- one of them calls for the money, and runs away; -- the other two come upon the woman, and sue her for delivering that which she had received from the three, before the three came and demanded it. — The Cause went against the Woman, and Judgement was ready to be pronounced: when Mr. *Noy* being a stranger, wisheth her to give him a Fee, because he could not plead else; and then moves in Arrest of Judgement, that he was retained by the Defendant, and that the case was this: The *Defendant* had received the money of the three together, and confesseth was not to deliver it untill the same three demanded it; and therefore the money is ready, Let the three

men

men come, and it shall be paid: a motion which altered the whole proceeding. Of which, when I hear some say it was obvious, I remember that when *Columbus* had discovered *America*, every one said it was easie: And he one day told a company at Table where he was, that he could do a stranger thing than that discovery; he would make an Egge stand an end on a plain Table: the speculatives were at a losse how it should be done; --- he knocks the Egg upon the end, and it stands: Oh! was that all, they cryed; *Yes* (saith he) *thus is all!* and you see how hard a thing it is to conceive a thing in the *Idea*, which it's nothing to apprehend in the *performance*. I need say no more of this Gentleman, but that Sergeant *Maynard* will say to this hour, he rose mainly at first by being looked upon as Mr. *Noy*'s Favourite. K. *Charls.*

Observations on the Life of Sir John Savil.

THe methods of this Gentleman's advancement exactly parallel those of his Countrey-man Sir *Thomas Wentworth*: Both had the same foundation of wealth and honour to *build on*; both had solid and strong parts to act by; both began with Popularity in the Countrey, proceeded with activity in Parliaments; -- accomplished themselves with correspondence all over the Nation: both eminent upon the Bench; both hospitable at home; both bountiful to Lecturers, both well

K. *Charls.* well skilled *in*, and ſtedfaſt *to* the great poynts of *Prerogative* and *Liberty*. --- For the laſt whereof; they were ſo bold (as ſure either by carrying the Cauſe to oblige the People to themſelves, or by ſuffering for it to enrage them againſt the Government) that Sir *R. Weſton* made it his buſineſs to take off the one, and my Lord of *Canterbury* the other; which they did with ſuch ſucceſſe, that as my Lord *Wentworth* became a great Favourite, ſo the Lord *Savile* was an eminent Counſellor; onely finding that his young Neighbor had got the ſtart of him, he kept to one of his popular Principles always, *viz.* a reſtleſs impetuoſity towards Papiſts, againſt whom he made himſelf famous; 1. For a Diſputation procured by him in *Drury-Lane* (whither he brought Biſhop *Uſher* under the notion of a Countrey-Parſon; when the Jeſuites cryed, *There was more Learning in that Parſon, than in all the men in* England.) 2. For a project offered by him in *Parliament*: --- For when they taking advantage of King *Charles* his wants, proffered to maintain five thouſand men to ſerve his Majeſty in *Ireland*, and a proportion of Ships to ſecure him in *England*, on condition of the free exerciſe of their Religion; Sir *John* interpoſed, *That if the King were pleaſed but to call on the Recuſants to pay* Thirds *(legally due to the Crown) it would prove a way more effectual, and leſſe offenſive, to raiſe a maſſe of money: It being but juſt, that they who were ſo rich and free to purchaſe new Priviledges, ſhould firſt pay their old Penalties.* When I read of a Lord *Savile* going privately to *Scotland*, 1639. ſubſcribing to a Petition, with other moderate Lords, as they called them, containing the very ſenſe of the faction

on (inſomuch that it is obſerved, the City-Petition and theirs were couched in the ſame words) yet going to *Oxford*, and after all, being ſo turbulent there, that his Majeſty was feign to ſend him beyond Sea, where his Majeſty writes with his own hand, *He doubts he will rather exchange his villany, than end it*; I am almoſt of that wiſe mans minde, that there were no leſſe then 17 particular Deſigns ſet on foot by the promotion of the late Troubles; whereof though moſt, yet not all were carried on in *Weſtminſter*: --- or to enforce ſomething more ſolid; that a King ſhould ſay as the *Italian* doth, *If my Subject deceives me once, God forgive him*; *If a ſecond time, God forgive me*; and the rather, becauſe it's fatal for Majeſtie to *erre twice*. K. *Charls.*

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Biſhop Williams.

A Strong conſtitution *made* his parts, a ſtrict education *improved* them; unwearied was his induſtry, unexpreſſible his capacity: He never ſaw the book of worth he read not; he never forgot what he read; he never loſt the uſe of what he remembred: Every thing he heard or ſaw was his own; and what was his own, he knew how to uſe to the utmoſt: His extraction being Gentile, his Soul large and noble, his preſence and carriage comely and ſtately; his learning copious, his judgement ſtayed, his apprehenſion clear and ſearching, his expreſſion lively and effectual, his

K. *Charls.* well skilled *in*, and ſtedfaſt *to* the great poynts of *Prerogative* and *Liberty*. --- For the laſt whereof; they were ſo bold (as ſure either by carrying the Cauſe to oblige the People to themſelves, or by ſuffering for it to enrage them againſt the Government) that Sir *R. Weſton* made it his buſineſs to take off the one, and my Lord of *Canterbury* the other; which they did with ſuch ſucceſſe, that as my Lord *Wentworth* became a great Favourite, ſo the Lord *Savile* was an eminent Counſellor; onely finding that his young Neighbor had got the ſtart of him, he kept to one of his popular Principles always, *viz.* a reſtleſs impetuoſity towards Papiſts, againſt whom he made himſelf famous; 1. For a Diſputation procured by him in *Drury-Lane* (whither he brought Biſhop *Uſher* under the notion of a Countrey-Parſon; when the Jeſuites cryed, *There was more Learning in that Parſon, than in all the men in* England.) 2. For a project offered by him in *Parliament*: --- For when they taking advantage of King *Charles* his wants, proffered to maintain five thouſand men to ſerve his Majeſty in *Ireland*, and a proportion of Ships to ſecure him in *England*, on condition of the free exerciſe of their Religion; Sir *John* interpoſed, *That if the King were pleaſed but to call on the Recuſants to pay* Thirds *(legally due to the Crown) it would prove a way more effectual, and leſſe offenſive, to raiſe a maſſe of money: It being but juſt, that they who were ſo rich and free to purchaſe new Priviledges, ſhould firſt pay their old Penalties.* When I read of a Lord *Savile* going privately to *Scotland*, 1639. ſubſcribing to a Petition, with other moderate Lords, as they called them, containing the very ſenſe of the faction

on (insomuch that it is observed, the City-Petition and theirs were couched in the same words) yet going to *Oxford*, and after all, being so turbulent there, that his Majesty was feign to send him beyond Sea, where his Majesty writes with his own hand, *He doubts he will rather exchange his villany, than end it*; I am almost of that wise mans minde, that there were no lesse then 17 particular Designs set on foot by the promotion of the late Troubles; whereof though most, yet not all were carried on in *Westminster*: — or to enforce something more solid; that a King should say as the *Italian* doth, *If my Subject deceives me once, God forgive him*; *If a second time, God forgive me*; and the rather, because it's fatal for Majestie to *erre twice*. K. *Charls.*

Observations on the Life of the Lord Bishop Williams.

A Strong constitution *made* his parts, a strict education *improved* them; unwearied was his industry, unexpressible his capacity: He never saw the book of worth he read not; he never forgot what he read; he never lost the use of what he remembred: Every thing he heard or saw was his own; and what was his own, he knew how to use to the utmost: His extraction being Gentile, his Soul large and noble, his presence and carriage comely and stately; his learning copious, his judgement stayed, his apprehension clear and searching, his expression lively and effectual, his

K. *Charls.* his elocution flowing and majestick; his Proctorship, 1612. discovered him a person above his place; and his Lectures to his Pupils, above his preferment. Bishop *Vaughan* first admitteth him to his Family, and then to his bosome; there his strong Sermons, his exact government (under my Lord) his plentiful observation, his numerous acquaintance, made him my Lord Chancellor *Egerton*'s friend, rather than his servant; his familiar, rather then his Chaplain. Never was there a more communicative Master to instruct, than my Lord *Elsemere*; never a more capable Scholar to learn, than Doctor *Williams*, who had instilled to him all necessary State-maximes while his old Master lived, and had bequeathed to him four excellent *a* Books when his Master was dead: These four books he presented to King *James* the very same time that he offered himself to the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Excellent Prince observed him as much for the first gift, as the noble Duke did for the second: the King and Duke made him their own, who they saw had made that excellent Book *his*. Willing was King *James* to advance *Clergy-men*, and glad to meet with men capable of *Advancement*. His two Sermons at Court made him Dean of *Westminster*; his exact state of the Earl of *Somerset*'s Case made him capable of, and the KING'S inclination to trust his Conscience in a Divines hand, setled him in the Lord Keepers place *actually*, onely for three yeares to *please the people* (who were offended with his years, now but 34. and his *calling* a Divine:) but *designedly* for ever to serve his Majesty. The Lawyers despised him at first, but the Judges admired him at last: and one of them said,

a 1. *Of the Prerogative Royal.*
2. *Priviledges of Parliament.*
3. *The proceedings in Chancery.*
4. *The power of the Star-Chamber.*

said, "That never any man apprehended a Case "so clearly, took in all the Law, Reason, and o- "ther Circumstances more punctually, recollect- "ed the various Debates more faithfully, sum- "med it up more compendiously, and concluded "more judiciously and discreetly. For many of them might have read more than he, but none digested what they had read more solidly, none disposed of their reading more methodically, none therefore commanded it more readily. He demurred several Orders, as that of my Lord Chancellor's pardon, the Earl Marshal's Patent, *&c.* to let his Majesty see his judgement; yet passed them, to let him see his obedience: He would question the Dukes Order sometimes discreetly, to let him know he understood himself; yet he would yield handsomely, to let him see he understood *him*: and indeed he had the admirable faculty of making every one of his actions carry prudence in the performance. Necessary it was, for one of his years and place to keep his distance, and *avoid contempt*; yet fatal was it to him to do so, and *incur envy*.---- Well understood he the intereſt of all his places, and resolutely he maintained them. *What?* saith he, *shall the Liberties of* Westminster *be infringed, when the chief Favourite is Steward, and the Lord Keeper Dean, and I the contemptible man that must be trampled on?* When he was in trouble, what passion, what insinuation, what condescention hath he at command? when petitioned to, how quickly he looked through men and business? how exactly would he judge, and how resolutely conclude, without an immediate intimation from his Majesty or the Duke! Many eyes were upon him, and K. *Charls.*

K. *Charls* and as many eyes were kept by him upon others; being very watchful on all occasions to accommodate all Emergencies, and meet with all humors-alwayes keeping men in dependance on the Duke, according to this intimation of his. --- *Cabal* 287. *Let him hold it, but by your Lordships favour, not his own power.* A good way, had he been constant to it, the neglect whereof undid him; for designing the promotion of Doctor *Price* to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Armagh*, he moved it to the Duke, who told him it was disposed of to Doctor *Usher*. Whereupon he went his own way to advance that man, and overthrew himself: For then his Lord let him feel what he had threatned my Lord *Bacon* when he advanced him; *That if he did not owe his preferment alwayes to his favour, he should owe his fall to his frown.* The peremptorinesse of his judgement rendered him *odious*; his compliance with *Bristoll*, *suspected*; and his Sermon at King *James* his Funeral [his tryal rather than his preferment] *obnoxious*. His spirit was great to *act*, and too great to *suffer*. It was prudence to execute his decrees against all opposition while in power; it was not so, to bear up his miscarriages against all Authority, while in *disgrace*. A sanguine complexion, with its resolutions, do well in pursuit of succes: Phlegme and its patience do better in a retreat from miscarriages. This he wanted, when [it may be, thinking *fear* was the passion of King *Charles* his Government as well as King *James*] he seconded his easie fall with loud and open discontents, and those discontents with a chargeable defence of his servants that were to justifie them, and all with that unsafe popularity, invidious pomp, and close

irre-

irregularity, that layd him open to too many active persons that watched him: Whether his standing out against Authority, to the perplexing of the Government in the Star-Chamber in those troublesome times; his entertainment and favour for the *Discontented* and *Non-conformists*; his motions for Reformation and alteration in twelve things; his hasty and unlucky Protestation in behalf of the Bishops, and following Actions in *England* and *Wales*, where it's all mens wonder to hear of his *meruit sub Parliamento*, had those private grounds and reasons, that if he Bishop could have spoke with the King but half an hour, he said, would have satisfied him, the King of Kings onely knoweth, to whom he hath given, I hope, a better account than any Historian of his time hath given for him. K. *Charles*

But I understand better his private inclinations, than his publick actions; the motions of his nature, than those of his power; the conduct of the one being not more reserved and suspitious, than the effects of the other *manifest*, and *noble*: for not to mention his Libraries erected at St. *John*'s and *Westminster*, his Chappel in *Lincoln-Colledge*; the repairs of his Collegiate Church: his pensions to Scholars more numerous than all the Bishops and Noble-mens besides; his Rent-charges on all the Benefices in his Gift as Lord Keeper, or Bishop of *Lincoln*, to maintain hopeful youth, according to the Statute in that case provided. Take this remarkable instance of his munificence; that when *Du Moulin* came over, he calleth his Chaplain, now the R. R. Father in God, *John* Lord Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and telleth him, he doubted the good man was low, wishing him to repair

to

K. *Charls.* to him with some money, and his respects, with assurance that he would wait upon him himself at his first leisure. --- The excellent Doctor rejoyneth, that he could *carry him no lesse than twenty pounds*: the noble Bishop replyeth, *he named not the sum*, to sound his Chaplains mind; -- adding, that twenty pounds was neither fit for him to give, nor for the reverend Foreigner to receive. *Carry him*, saith he, *an hundred pounds.*

He is libelled by common fame for unchaste, though those that understood the privacies and casualties of his Infancy, report him but one degree removed from a *Misogonist*, though to palliate his infirmities; he was most compleat in Courtly addresses: the conversableness of this Bishop with Women consisted chiefly (if not onely) in his treatments of great Ladies and Persons of honour, wherein he did personate the compleatness of courtesie to that Sex; otherwise a woman was seldom seen in his house, which therefore had always more of Magnificence than Neatness, sometimes defective in the Punctilio's and Niceties of Daintiness, lying lower than masculine Cognizance, and as level for a womans eye to espy, as easie for her hand to amend.

He suffereth for conniving at Puritans, out of hatred to Bishop *Laud*; and for favouring Papists, out of love to them: -- Yet what-ever he offered King *James* (when the Match went on in *Spain*) as Councellour, or what-ever he did himself as States-man; such kindness he had for our Liturgy, that he translated it at his own cost into *Spanish*, and used it in the *visitation* of *Melvin* when sick to his own peril, in the *Tower*; and such resolution for

for Epiſcopacy, that his late Majeſty of bleſſed *memory* ſaid once to him; *My Lord, I commend you, that you are no whit daunted with all diſaſters, but are zealous in defending your Order.* — Pleaſe it your Majeſty, replyed the Arch-Biſhop, *I am a true Welſh-man, and they are obſerved never to run away till their General firſt forſakes them — No fear of my flinching, while your Majeſtie doth countenance our Cauſe.* K. *Charls.*

His extraction was Gentile and Ancient, as appeared from his Anceſtors Eſtate; which was more than he could purchaſe without borrowing, when at once Lord Keeper, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*. His minde great and reſolute, inſomuch that he controuled all other advices to his laſt, to his loſſe in *Wales*: — and daunted Sir *John Cook*, as you may ſee in his character to his honour in *England*.

His *warineſſe* hath theſe arguments; 1. That he would not ſend the Seal to the King but under lock and key. 2. That being to depute one to attend in his place at the Coronation, he would not name his Adverſary, Biſhop *Laud*, to gratifie him; nor yet any other, to diſpleaſe the King; but took a middle way, and preſented his Majeſty a Liſt of the Prebendaries, to avoid any exception, referring the Election to his Majeſty himſelf. 3. That he propoſed a partial Reformation of our Church to the Parliament, to prevent an utter extirpation by it. 4. That he expoſed others to the cenſure of the Parliament 1625. to ſave himſelf. 5. That he anſwered to ſeveral Examinations without any the leaſt advantage taken by his Antagoniſt. This character of his I think very exact; That his head

K. *Charls* was a well-fitted treasury, and his tongue the fair key to unlock it: That he had as great a memory as could be reconciled with so good a judgement: That so quick his parts, that others study went not beyond his nature; and their designed and forelayd performances, went not beyond his sudden and ready accommodations: Onely he was very open, and too free in discourse, disdaining to lye at a close guard, as confident of the length and strength of his weapon.

Observations on the Life of Sir Isaac Wake.

THis honourable person whom I look upon at *Oxford*, in the same capacity and fortune that Sir *Robert Naunton* and Sir *Francis Nethersole* were in at *Cambridge*. He was born in *Northampton-shire*, (his Father *Arthur Wake* being Parson of *Billing*, Master of the Hospital of St. *Johns* in *Northampton*, and Canon of *Christs-Church*) bred Fellow of *Merton-Colledge* in *Oxford*, Proctor and Orator of that University, whence he was admitted Secretary to Sir *Dudley Carleton* Secretary of State, and afterward advanced into the King's service, and by his Master and the Duke of *Buckingham*, employed Embassadour to *Venice*, where he neglected his own interest to attend his Majesties employment; the reason that he dyed rich onely in the just conscience of his worth, and the repute of his merit. Coming from *Venice*, he

was

was appointed Lieger of *France*, and designed Secretary of State, had not Death prevented him at *Paris*; being accomplished with all qualifications requisite for publick Employment, Learning, Languages, Experience, Abilities, and what not? K. *Charls.*

King *CHARLES* hearing of his death, commanded his Corps to be decently brought from *Paris* into *England*, allowing the expences of his Funeral, and enjoyning his neerest Relations to attend the performance thereof. These accordingly met his body at *Bulloign* in *France*, and saw it solemnly conveyed into *England*, where it was interred in the Chappel of the Castle of *Dover*. His *REX PLATONICUS*, or his Latine account of King *James* his six dayes stay at *Oxford*, speaks his Learning; and his Instructions for Travel, his experience.--- He observing his Predecessors failings, retrenched his expences, satisfying *himself* with a repute of nobleness, while in his way to preferment; and *others* with the expectation of his bounty. When preferred, he seemed liberal, that he might not be *despised* abroad; but he was neer, that he might not be odious at home. His prodigality it may be might have satisfied the curiosity of a few Strangers, while he incurred the displeasure of all his friends. Besides, a close & wary man may be bountiful at his pleasure, but the munificent cannot be so easily sparing; for if his occasions or fortunes check his profuseness, all his gallantry is in his first action of good husbandry. Caution in expences, if it be a vice, is one of those, saith the *Italian*, that never disinherited a man. Nay, of the two, saith *Machiavel*, *It's more discretion to hold the style of miserable, which begets an infamy without hatred,*

K *Charls than to desire that of Liberal; which being maintained by neceſſitous courſes, procures an infamy with hatred.* As never did States-man a brave action that *ſeemed* illiberal, ſo never did he any ſuch that *was* not ſo:-- Yet four things our Knight ſpared no coſt in: 1. Intelligence; *He could afford* (he ſaid) *a golden key for the Pope's Cabinet.* 2. Books;-- his Study was his Eſtate. 3. In watching the *Spanyards*, ſaying, *The Indies will pay for this.* And 4. Entertaining knowing men often; applauding that Emperour's maxime, *That had rather go fifty miles to hear a wiſe man, than five to ſee a fair City.* And this he was eminent for; that he ſaw nothing remarkable in Foreign parts, that he applyed not to his own Countrey: Sir *Henry Wotton* being not more curious in picking up ſmall Rarities to pleaſure particular perſons, than Sir *Iſaac Wake* was induſtrious to obſerve any uſeful invention that might improve the publick good.

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Cottington.

SIr *Fran. Cottington* being bred, when a youth, under Sir ..... *Stafford*, lived ſo long in *Spain*, till he made the garb and gravity of that Nation become his, and *become* him too. He raiſed himſelf by his natural ſtrength, without any artificial advantage; having his parts above his learning, his Experience above his Parts, his Induſtry above his Experience, and (ſome will ſay) his Succeſſe above all: So that at laſt he became Chan-

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Baron of *Hanworth* in *Middlesex*, Conſtable of the Tower, 1640. and (upon the reſignation of Doctor *Juxon*) Lord Treaſurer of *England*, gaining alſo a very great Eſtate. K. *Charls*.

Very reſerved he was in his temper, and very ſlow in his proceedings; ſticking to ſome private Principles in both, and aiming at certain rules in all things: -- a temper that indeared him as much to his Maſter, Prince *Charles* his *perſon*, as his integrity did to his *ſervice*; — Nor to *his* ſervice onely, but to that of the whole Nation; in the Merchandize whereof he was well verſed; to the trade whereof he was very ſerviceable many ways: but eminently, in that he negotiated, that the *Spaniſh* Treaſure which was uſed to be ſent to *Flanders* by the way of *Genoa*, might be ſent in *Engliſh* Bottoms, which exceedingly enriched *England* for the time; and had it continued, had made her the greateſt Bank and Mart for Gold and Silver of any Common-wealth in *Europe*.

Indeed the advantage of his Education, the diſferent Nations and Factions that he had to deal with, the direct oppoſition of Enemies, the treachery of Friends, the contracts of States-men, the variety and force of Experience from the diſtinct knowledge of the natures of the people of ſeveral Countreys, of their chief Miniſters of State, with their Intrigues of government, made him ſo expert, that the Earl of *Briſtol* and Sir *Walter Aſton* could do nothing without him; and he onely could finiſh that Treaty, which they had for many years ſpun out.

Men take ſeveral ways to the ends they propoſe

K. *Charls.* themſelves. Some, that of *confidence*; others, that of *reſpect* and *caution*, &c. when indeed the main buſineſſe is, to *ſuit our ſelves* with our own times; which this Lord did, and no man better, untill looking into the depths of the late Faction, he declared at the Council-Table, 1639. that *they aimed at the ruine of Church and State.* And viewing the ſtate of the Kingdome, he adviſed; *That Leagues might be made abroad*; and, *that in this inevitable neceſſity, all wayes to raiſe money ſhould be uſed that were lawful.* Wherefore he was one of thoſe few excluded the Indempnity by the Faction, and had the honour to dye baniſhed for the beſt Cauſe and Maſter, in thoſe foreign Countries; where he ſuffered as nobly for the Crown of *England* in his later dayes, as he had acted honourably for it in his former. When he never came off better than in ſatisfying the *Spanyards* about toleration, reducing the whole of that affair to theſe two Maximes;

1. That Conſciences were not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the evidence of Truth, with the aid of Reaſon, and in the uſe of all good means of Inſtruction and perſwaſion.

2. That the cauſes of Conſcience, wherein they exceed their bounds, and grow to matter of faction, loſe their nature: and that Soveraign Princes ought diſtinctly to puniſh thoſe foul practices, though overlaid with the fairer pretences of Conſcience and Religion.

One of his Maximes for Treaty I think remarkable, *viz. That Kingdomes are more ſubject to fear than hope*: And that it's ſafer working upon them by a power that may awe the one, than by advantages

tages that may excite the other.—— Since it's another rule, that States have no affections but interest; and that all kindneſſe and civility in thoſe caſes are but *overſights* and *weakneſſe*. K. *Charls.*

Another of his rules for Life I judge uſeful, *viz.* That ſince no man is abſolute in all points, and ſince men are more naturally enclined out of *envy* to obſerve mens *infirmities*, than out of *ingenuity* to acknowledge their *merit*;--- He diſcovereth his abilities *moſt*, that *leaſt* diſcovereth *himſelf*. To which I may add another, *viz.* That it is not onely our known duty, but our viſible advantage, to aſcribe our moſt eminent performances to providence, ſince it not onely takes off the edge of envy, but improves the reaſon of admiration. None being leſſe maliced, or more applauded than he, who is thought rather happy than able; bleſſed, than active; and fortunate, than cunning.

Though yet all the caution of his life could not avoid the envy of his advancement from ſo mean a beginning to ſo great honours,-- notwithſtanding that it is no diſparagement to any to give place to freſh Nobility, who aſcend the ſame ſteps with thoſe before them. *New* being onely a terme, ſaith one, onely reſpecting us, not the world; for what is, was before us, and will be when we are no more: And indeed this Perſonage conſidering the vanity and inconſtancy of common applauſe or affronts, improved the one, and checked the other, by a conſtant neglect of both.

Observations on the Life of Sir Dudly Carleton.

SIr *Dudley Carleton* was born in *Oxford-ſhire*, bred in *Chriſts-Church* in *Oxford* under Dr. *King*, and afterwards in relation of Secretary to Sir *Ralph Winwood* in the Low-Countreys, where he was very active, when King *James* reſigned the cautionary Towns to the States. Here he added ſo great experience to his former Learning, that afterwards our King employed him for twenty years together Ambaſſador in *Venice*, *Savoy*, and the *United Provinces*; *Anne Gerard* his Lady (Co-heir to *George Gerard* Eſquire) accompanying him in all his Travels, as is expreſſed in her Epitaph in *Weſtminſter-Abby*. He was by K. *Charles* the firſt, to balance the Duke of *Buckingham*'s enemies in the Houſe of Peers, with the Lord *Mandevil* now Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Lord *Grandiſon*, created Baron of *Imbercourt* in *Surrey*, and afterwards Viſcount *Dorcheſter*, marrying for his ſecond Wife the Daughter of Sir *Henry Glenham*, the Relict of *Paul*, Viſcount *Banning*, who ſurvived him. He ſucceeded the Lord *Conway*, (when preferred Preſident of the Council, in the Secretary-ſhip of State, being ſworn at *White-Hall*, *December* 14. 1628. and dying without Iſſue, *Anno Dom.* 163... Much ado he had to remove a State-jealouſie that was upon him; That he inſiſted on the reſtitution of ſome Towns in *Cleves* and *Juliers*,

uliers, to gratifie the *Spanyards* at that time in Treaty with us: more to remove a Church-jealouſie, that in negotiating an accommodation in Religion, he deſigned the undermining of the Reconſtrants then in ſo much power there: In which matter he was at a loſſe, whether his Majeſty ſhould interpoſe by Letter or Meſſage: The former he ſaid was moſt effectual, but the later leſſe ſubject to mi-conſtruction, conſidering *Barnevel's* intereſt in the State. But he had a Chaplain, one Mr. *Hales*, that kept this Controverſie even on the one hand, while he balanced the State-intereſt on the other; equally carefull that the United Provinces ſhould not be over-run by the Armies of *Spain*, and that they ſhould not be ſwallowed up by the protection of *France*. K. *Charls*.

Watchful was *his eye* there over the *Weſt-India Company*; *Diligent his carriage* upon any accommodations from *Spain*; which he apprehended always as a deſign to diſtract that people then in regard of their unſetledneſſe, but too apt upon any diſpute to fall into faction: *Great his induſtry* in reconciling Sir *Horace Vere* and Sir *Edward Cecil* for the honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, and the advancement of the common ſervice: Sincere his ſervices to the Prince Elector, and his Lady.

Exact his rules of Traffique and Commerce, and dexterous his arts of keeping the States from new alliances, notwithſtanding our likely Marriage-treaty with *Spain*, eſpecially ſince the Prince of *Orange* bluntly (after his manner) asked, *Qui at' il voſtre Marriage?* — And indeed he behaved himſelf in all Employments ſo well becoming a man that underſtood ſo many Languages, that was ſo well

K. *Charls.* well verſed in Ancient and Modern Hiſtory, th
had compoſed ſo many choice pieces of Politic
that was ſo well ſeen in the moſt practical Mathem
ticks; and added to theſe a graceful and charmi
look, a gentle and a ſweet elocution; that n
withſtanding his, and his brother Biſhop *Carle*
rigidneſſe in ſome points, kept him to his dyi
day in great favour and moſt eminent ſervice; a
ſailing in nothing but his *French* Emb[illegible], becau
there he had to do with Women. Le[illegible]g behin
him this obſervation; *That new Common-weal*
are hardly drawn to a certain reſolution; as w
knowing not how to determine, and remaining
in ſuſpence, take ordinarily that courſe rather whi
they are forced to, than what they might chooſe f
themſelves. — And this eminent ſervice when
aſſiſted the Earl of *Holland* in *France*, *viz.* That
pacified the high difference there, upon which t
revolt of the *Hugonots* depended, and put a re
reſolution in King *Lewis* to advance againſt th
Valtoline and *Spain* by the advantage of the Leag
with *England:* proceeding upon this Maxime wi
that King; *They that have reſpect to few things, a*
eaſily miſled.

I had almoſt forgot, how this Lord finding th
want of Treaſure at home, was the ground of ou
unſucceſsful and deſpicableneſs abroad; and tha
Principe ſenza quatrius è come un muro ſenza cro
da tutti ſcompiſliato; That a Prince without mone
is like a wall without a *Croſſe*, for every one t
draw upon; did mention the Excize in the Parli
ment-Houſe, and in no ill meaning neither, and wa
violently cryed to the Bar: and though a perſon o
that eminence, as being then a Privy-Councellor,

and

nd principal Secretary of State, he hardly escaped K. *Charls.*
eing committed to the Tower: — So odious was
at *Dutch-Devil* (as they called it) in the excel-
nt King *Charles*, which was *rayſed* by the belo-
ed Parliament, with many more that were *conju-*
d up in three or four years, but not likely to be
id in three or fourſcore.

Living in thoſe times when weak men imagined
o themſelves ſome unknown bliſs from untried go-
ernments; and conſidering that alterations coun-
ervail not their own dangers, and as they bring
ittle good to any, ſo they bring leaſt of all to thoſe
hat firſt promoted them; This Lord refuſed to be
he mouth of the Zealous multitude (whoſe rage
ould neither be well oppoſed, nor joyned with)
hom a pardon or compliance might bring off, lea-
ing their Demagogues to compound for their fol-
y with their *ruine*; chooſing rather to be patient,
han active, and *appear* weak, than *be* troubleſome;
nd *once reſolved* upon an exact ſurvey of circum-
ances for power againſt the faults of it on the one
and, and the affronts of it on the other, he gained
he eſteem of all parties by his fidelity to *his* own. I
am much taken with his plain ſaying, which I finde
of late printed; *There will be miſtakes in Divinity*
while men preach, and errours in Government while
ſuch govern: And more with his method of procee-
ding in his affairs, whereof he laid firſt an Idea in
his own minde, and then improved it by debate;
the reſult whereof was uſually ſo compleat, as ſhew-
ed the vaſt difference between the ſhallow concep-
tions of one man, and the deep judgement of many.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Lives of Sir Richard, *and Sir* Jerome Weſton, *Earls of* Portland.

SIr *Richard Weſton* in his youth impaired his eſtate, to improve himſelf with publick accompliſhment, but came off both a ſaver and a gainer at the laſt, when made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards, (upon the remove of the Earl of *Marlborough*) *July* 15. in the fourth of King *Charles*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*.

His activity in Parliament made him conſiderable at Court, none fitter to ſerve a Prince than he who commands the humor of the people. Indeed where ever he was, he diſcovered himſelf able and faithful. 1. In his Foreign Employments, his judgement was ſearching, and reach admirable, he being the firſt that ſmelt out the intentions againſt the Palatinate; which were then in brewing, and maſhed with much art. In his Domeſtick charge, his Artifice was ſingular, both in a faithful improvement of the Incomes, and a diſcreet moderation of the expences in his Maſters Revenues.--- In his Aſpect, there was a mixture of authority and modeſty; in his apprehenſions, quickneſs and ſolidity; in his port and train, a ſuitable dignity and correſpondence, with little noyſe and outward form: An enemy to Complements, yet very courteous: no flatterer, yet of great power: irreconcileable to frothy formality, yet maintaining a due regard to

to his perſon and place. A great Scholar he was, and yet a great States-man; of various erudition, and as large obſervation. — He ſecured himſelf much by Alliances with the beſt Nobility, more by the love, and (what is more) the eſteem of a conſtant King; it being one of the wonders of that time, that my Lord of *Canterbury* and he, who were at ſo much diſtance from one another, ſhould be ſo inward with their Soveraign, but that that excellent Prince meaſured not his affections to his Dependants ſo much by a particular intereſt, as by a publick ſerviceableneſs. -- The neceſſity of the Exchequer put him upon ſome ways of ſupply that diſpleaſed the rabble; though his three particular cares, *viz.* The paying of the Navy, the ſatisfying of the City, and the Queen of *Bohemia's* ſupply (three things he was very much intent upon while Treaſurer) obliged the wiſer ſort of men. I know nothing he was defective in, being careful (to uſe his own words) to perform all duties, with *obedience to his Majeſtie, reſpect to the Duke, and juſtice to the particular parties concerned*; — But that he had ſo much of his Maſter's *love*, and ſo little of his *patience*, being grated (as all States-men are that have to do with various intereſts and humors) between a ſtrong inclination of ſatisfying every man, and the impoſſibility of pleaſing *all*: Conſidering the importunities of perſons and affairs, a little impatience muſt needs fall "upon your Lord-ſhip "(writes Sir *Henry Wotton* to him) unleſſe you "had been cut out of a Rock of Diamonds, eſpe- "cially having been before ſo converſant with libe- "ral Studies, and with the freedom of your own "minde. K. *Charls.*

In

K. *Charls* In his time was the great Queſtion agitated: *Whether a Prince ſhould aime at the fear, or the love of his People?* — Although no Prince did more to oblige his People, than the Excellent King *Charles* the I, Yet was there no Prince ever more adviſed to awe them: For this Lord, and many more, who looked upon over-much indulgence as the greateſt cruelty, conſidering that men love at their own pleaſure, and to ſerve their own turn, and that their fear depends upon the Princes pleaſure, were of opinion; That every wiſe Prince ought to ground upon that which is of himſelf, and not upon that which is of another: government being ſet up in the world, rather to truſt its own power, than ſtand upon others courteſie.

Beſides, two things the vulgar are taken with: 1. Appearance. 2. The event of things; which, if ſucceſsful, gains both their *love* and *reverence*. Neither was the Father more exact in his Maxims than the Son in his, of whoſe many infallible principles this was one; *That it was the ſafeſt way for the King's Majeſtie to proceed upon a Declaration, that the Faction at* Weſtminſter *was no Parliament, upon his own and his moſt loyal Lords and Commons removal to* Oxford. And this another; *That provided the Gentry and Clergy were well principled, and His Majeſtie that now is had a conſtant correſpondence with the moſt eminent of them, it was our Intereſt to promote his Majeſties grandeur abroad, and ſit ſtill at home, untill the Faction might be ſo ſecure as to divide,* — and his Majeſties Intereſt became ſo conſpicuous by the Principles that were kept up at home, and the State that was born abroad, as to command all. And really his *little* ſaying hath *much*

much in it; -- *He that will see what shall be, let him consider what hath been:* For there are the same desires, humours, and interest in every age, that were before it: So that as *Machiavel* observeth, it is very easie for him, that with diligence examineth "past Occurrences, to serve himself of those remedies which were in use among the Ancients; Or if they fail, to devise what is most like them. K. Charls.

Observations on the Life of William *Earl of* Pembrook.

HE was an ancient Gentleman of good repute, and therefore well *esteemed*; a proper person, well set, and of graceful deportment, and therefore well beloved of King *James* and Queen *Anne:* His inclination was as generous as his extraction, and manners ancient as his Family. One of his Ancestors is renowned, for that he would condescend to deliver his Embassies in no Language but *Welch*; and he is commended for that he would comply with no customes in his conversse but the old *English*, — though his Contemporaries make that his defect, rather than his ornament; proceeding from his want of Travel, rather than his observance of Antiquity: He having had (saith the Historian) the breeding of *England*, which gave him a conceited dislike of Forreign men, their manners "and mode; or of such *English* as professed much advantage thereby: so "that

K. *Charls.* "that the *Scots* and he were ever ſeparate; and
"therefore he was the onely old Courtier that
"kept cloſe to the Commonalty, and they to him
though never ſuſpected by either of his Soveraigns
not becauſe he was not over-furniſhed with Abili-
ties (as that pen inſinuates) to be *more* than Loyal
but becauſe he had too much integrity to be leſſe
Being munificent and Childleſſe, the Univerſity o
Oxford hoped to be his Executor, and *Pembrook-*
Colledge his Heir. *Pembrook-Colledge*, I ſay, calle
ſo not onely in reſpect *to*, but alſo in expectatio
from *him*, then Chancellor of the Univerſity: and
probably had not our noble Lord died ſuddenly
ſoon after (according as a Fortune-teller had in-
formed him, whom he laughed at that very night
he departed, being his Birth-night) this Col-
ledge might have received more than a bare name
from him.

"He was (ſaith one of his own time) the very
"picture, and *Vive Effigies* of Nobility; his per-
"ſon rather Majeſtick than Elegant; his preſence
"whether quiet, or in motion, full of ſtately gra-
"vity; his minde generous, and purely heroick
"often ſtout, but never diſloyal: ſo vehement
"an opponent of the *Spanyard*, as when that
"Match fell under conſideration, he would ſome-
"times rouze to the trepidation of King *James*
"yet kept in favour ſtill; for that King knew plai
"dealing, as a Jewel in all men, ſo was in a Privy
"Councellor an ornamental duty. An inſtance o
"his familiar converſe with King *James*, was, tha
"the King obſerving that he naturally hated
Frog, threw one into his neck; and he in requi
tal, cauſed a Pig (of an equal diſguſt with the fam

Prince

Prince) to be put under his Close-ſtool: where, though it produced no extraordinary ill effect for the preſent, yet after the prank had been deſcanted upon, and worſt of Interpretations made by ſome (the title of *Jewes* being at that time beſtowed on the *Scots*) the King was much affected with it; and the more, becauſe it was done at *Wilton* the Earls own houſe.— Though Kings when free and ſociable, "break out to ſprightful and facetious extravagancies with Courtiers, yet muſt "they not preſume, leſt their words are interpre"ted, not by their meaning, but others jealouſie: "free ſpirits cannot be too circumſpect. And the "ſame true-heartedneſſe commended him to King "*Charles*, with whom he kept a moſt admirable "correſpondence, and yet ſtood the firm Confident "of the Commonalty; and that not by a ſneaking "cunning, but by an erect and generous pru"dence, ſuch as rendred him as unſuſpected of "ambition on the one ſide, as of faction on the o"ther; being generally beloved and regarded. K. *Charls.*

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Conway.

Edward Lord *Conway* ſucceeded to his Father's Martial skill and valour, who was under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Governour of *Oſtend*, and twiſted therewith peaceable Policy in State-affairs, ſo that the Gown and the Sword met in him in moſt eminent proportion, and there-

K. *Charls* upon King *James* advanced him one of the principal Secretaries of State. For theſe his good ſervices, he was by him created Lord *Conway* of *Ragleigh* in this County, and afterwards by King *Charles* Viſcount *Killultagh* in the County of *Antrim*; And laſtly, in the third of King *Charles*, Viſcount *Conway* of *Conway* in *Carnarvan-ſhire*; *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales* mutually embracing themſelves in his Honours; and not long after, Preſident of the Councel. Upon the breach with *Spain*, King *James* and the Duke of *Buckingham* both judged it very convenient to have a Martial Secretary; neither was there any man fitter for their turn then this Gentleman, who was as able to direct them in the Affairs of War abroad, as he was ready to be directed by them in thoſe of Peace at home: Being one of thoſe three remarkable Servants that King *James* uſed to jeſt upon, *viz.* a Lord Treaſurer [meaning the Earl of *Suffolk*] that could not caſt Account, a Chaplain [meaning Doctor *Preſton*] that could not read * Prayers, and a Secretary [meaning this Lord] that could not write his name. Sir *Richard Weſton* beat the Buſh in the Affair of the Palatinate, but Sir *Edward* catched the Hare; his rough humour being more ſuitable to that buſineſs: Or inded it having been always more ſucceſsful to be bold, than wary; to be free for all occaſions, than to be obſtinate to ſome rules.— Fortune (ſaith *Machiavel*) is a Miſtriſs, that is ſooner won by thoſe that ruffle and force her, than by others that proceed coldly. Indeed he was charged with treachery and cowardize in the action againſt the *Scots*, 1640. but he came off with his honeſt animoſity, ſaying, *If he might but*

* *Being not uſed to the Common-Prayer.*

but fight their whole Army, he would ſettle Scotland *in ſix moneths, or loſe his head:*---being in that, of my Lord of *Canterbury*'s opinion, who aſſured his Majeſty they would not hold out four: a motion! that if as eaſily entertained by that gracious King as it was effectually purſued by the bloody Uſurpers, a ſad experience hath taught us and them, would have prevented much miſchief there, more here; eſpecially ſince it was that wiſe Prince his judicious obſervation, That they and their Confederates were a people *loſt by favour, and won by puniſhment.* K. *Charls.*

Obſervations on the Lives of the Digges.

MAſter *Leonard Digges* was one of excellent Learning and deep judgement. His minde moſt inclined him to the Mathematicks, and he was the beſt Architect in that age for all manner of Buildings, for conveniency, pleaſure, ſtate, ſtrength, being excellent at Fortifications. Leſt his Learning ſhould dye with him, for the publick profit, he printed his *Tectonicon, Prognoſtick General, Stratiotick*, about the ordering of an Army, and other Works. He flouriſhed *Anno Dom.* 1556. and dyed I believe about the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when as in moſt growing times Arts were drowned in action.

Nothing elſe have I to obſerve of his name, ſave that hereditary Learning may ſeem to run in the veins of his Family; witneſſe Sir *Dudly Digs* of

K. *Charls* *Chilham*-Caſtle, made Maſter of the Rolls, in the yaer 1636. whoſe abilities will not be forgotten, whileſt our age hath any remembrance. This Knight had a younger ſon, of a moſt excellent wit, and a great judgement, Fellow of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, who in the beginning of our Civil Wars wrote ſo ſubtile & ſolid a Treatiſe of the difference betwixt King and Parliament, that ſuch Royalliſts who have ſince handled that Controverſie, have written *plura non plus*; yea *aliter* rather than *alia* of that Subject. The Son writes down thoſe Rebellions that the Father countenanced: The Father, I ſay, who by a bold impeachment againſt his Majeſties chief Miniſter of State, to his face, taught a diſcontented People to draw a bolder againſt his Majeſty himſelf: — Wherefore it was, that (after his undutiful Prologue againſt his Majeſties Prerogative in favouring his Seryants; the Preface to more diſloyal methods againſt his right, in governing his People) he and Sir *John Elliot* were whiſpered out of the Lords Houſe, when they were hoteſt againſt the Duke, to ſpeak with a Gentleman, and thence ſent immediately by two Purſevants that attended, to the *Tower*; where, and in the Country, this Gentleman lay under juſt diſpleaſure, until it was thought fit to take off ſo dangerous a piece of boldneſſe and eloquence upon the growing diſtempers of the age by favour and preferment, to a Neutrality at leaſt, if not to the juſt meaſures of his duty. But our obſervation here is this; That faction is one of thoſe ſins, whereof the Authors repent moſt commonly themſelves, and their poſterities are always aſhamed,

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Tho. Ridly, Dr. LL.

THis Knight and Dr. was born at *Ely* in *Cambridge-ſhire*, bred firſt a Scholar at *Eaton* in *Buckingham-ſhire*, then Fellow of *Kings*-Colledge in *Cambridge*. He was a generall Scholar in all kinde of Learning, eſpecially in that which we call *Melior Literatura*. He afterwards was Chancellor of *Wincheſter*, and Vicar-general to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. His memory will never dye, whileſt his Book called *The view of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws* is living; a book of ſo much merit, that the Common Lawyers (notwithſtanding the difference betwixt the profeſſions) will ingenuouſly allow a due commendation to his learned performance in that ſubject: Although it ſtartled them to hear King *James* was ſo affected with it, inſomuch that Sir *Edward Coke* undertook from thence to prophecy the *decay* of the *Common-Law*: though in that prophecy of his, others foreſaw nothing but his *fall*. Never book came out more ſeaſonably for the Church than this; never Comment came out more ſuitably, than Mr. *Gregories* Notes upon it: He writ *well*, and *adviſed* better: being good to *give*, better to *manage* Counſel; which he never offered till called, and never urged longer then it pleaſed; anſwering no queſtion of conſequence unleſſe upon emergent occaſion, without deliberation; obſerving the deſign of people, that aske

K. *Charls.* most commonly to try his ſufficiency, as well as improve their own: However, being ſure that time is likelier to increaſe than abate the weight of a reſult, diſcovering as well what may be returned ſuitably to the general temper, as what may be anſwered fitly to the particular inſtance.

What alterations he deſigned for the Churches benefit, were not *ſodain*, but *leiſurely*. To force men out of one extreamity into another, is an attempt as dangerous, as it is invidious; as awakening moſt oppoſition, and obnoxious to moſt hazard.

* *In Tiberio.* Wiſe * *Tacitus* obſerveth, that men have reformed inveterate habits more by yielding to them, than engaging againſt them; though a man muſt ſo yield as not to *encourage*, while he doth ſo *countermine*, as not to *exaſperate*: Although he was *always able*, yet was he *never willing* to mend the Copy his Superiors had ſet him, unleſſe owned as from former inſtruction, leſt they grew jealous, he valued his own experience before theirs, who meaſure mens ſufficiency from their caution, and not from their parts; from what they can forbear, rather than from what they can do.

To conclude, he was one of thoſe able men that cannot be *eminent*, unleſſe they be *great*: men of great merit, behave themſelves ſo negligently in ſmall affairs, as that you ſhall never underſtand their abilities, unleſſe you advance their perſons. Mens capacities & ſufficiencies have certain bounds preſcribed them: within the limits of which they are able to acquit themſelves with credit and applauſe: But if you advance them above, or depreſs them below their ſpheres, they ſhew nothing but debilities and miſcarriages. Onely this he was always com-

commended for; That having the management of Affairs intrusted to him, he underwent all the miscarriages himself, ascribing all the honour and sufficency to his Patron; carrying his hand in all actions so, that his Master had the applause of what ever was either conceded or denyed in publick, without any other interruption from Mr. *Ridley*, than what became the bare instrument of his commands, however he ordered the mater in private. K. *Charls.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Martin.

HE would merrily say, That if his Father had left him fourscore pounds a year, where he left him but forty, he would never have been a Scholar, but have lived on his Lands: whereas his Inheritance being a large encouragement, but a small *maintenance*, he made up in study what he wanted in Estate; first at *Winchester*, and then at *New-Colledge*, where his inclination led him to Divinity, but Bishop *Andrews* his advice perswaded him to the *Civil Law*, wherein he attained that great proficiency he was eminent for, thus:—

"He had weekly transmitted to him from some "Proctors at *Lambeth*, the brief heads of the "most important Causes which were to be tryed "in the High-Commission. Then with some of "his familiar friends in that faculty, he pri"vately pleaded those Causes; acting in their

K. Charls. "*Chamber* what was done in the Court: But Mr. "*Martin* making it his work, exceeded the rest in "amplifying and aggravating any fault, to move "anger and indignation against the guilt thereof; "or else in extenuating or excusing it, to procure "pity, obtain pardon, or at least prevail for a "lighter punishment:-- Whence no Cause came amisse to him in the *High Commission*: For, saith my Author, he was not to make new Armour, but onely to put it on, and buckle it; not to invent, but apply arguments to his Clients.--- As in decision of Controversies in his Courts, he had a moderate and middle way: so in managing of affairs in Parliament, he had a healing Method: Whence in most Debates with the Lords, where Mr. *Noy*'s Law and Reason could not *convince*, Sir *Henry Martin*'s *a* Expedients could *accommodate*. For which services, and his other merits, he was made Judge of the *Prerogative*-Court for probate of Wills, and of the *Admiralty* for *Foreign Trade*. Whence King *JAMES* would say merrily, *He was a mighty Monarch* by *Sea* and *Land*, over the *Dead* and the *Living*.

a As about the Petition of Right: in reference to which, he & Sergeant Glanvile satisfied the Lords.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Bramstone.

SIr *John Bramstone*, Knight, was born at *Maldon* in *Essex*, bred up in the Middle-Temple in the study of the Common-law, wherein he attained to such eminency, that he was by King

ing *Charles* made Lord Chief-Juſtice of the King's K. *Charls.*
ench.

One of deep Learning, ſolid Judgement, inte-
ity of Life, gravity of behaviour, above the envy
his own age, and the ſcandal of poſterity. One
ſtance of his I muſt not forget, writes the Hiſtorian
ectually, relating to the foundation wherein I was
ed: Sergeant *Bruerton* by Will bequeathed to
ney-*Colledge* well-nigh three thouſand pounds,
t (for haſte, or ſome other accident) it was ſo im-
ectly done, that (as Dr. *Sam. Ward* informed
e) the gift was invalid in the rigour of the Law.
ow Judge *Bramſtone*, who married the Sergeants
idow, gave himſelf much trouble, (gave himſelf
deed, doing all things *gratis*) for the ſpeedy pay-
ent of the money to a farthing, and the legal
ding thereof on the Colledge, according to the
e intention of the dead. He deſerved to live in
ter times. The delivering his judgement on the
ng's ſide in the caſe of Ship-money, coſt him
ch trouble, and brought him much honour,
who underſtood the conſequence of that Ma-
ne, *Salus populi ſuprema lex*; and that Ship-mo-
y was thought legal by the beſt Lawyers, voted
own arbitrarily by the worſt Parliament: they
aring no Counſel for it, though the King heard
l men willingly againſt it. Yea, that Parliament
ought themſelves not ſecure from it, unleſſe the
ng renounced his right to it by a new Act of his
n. Men have a touch-ſtone to try Gold, and
old is the touch-ſtone to try Men. Sir *William*
y's gratuity ſhewed, that this Judges *Inclination*
s as much above corruption as his *Fortune*; and
t he would not, as well as *needed* not, *be* baſe.

Equally

K. *Charls.* Equally intent was he upon the Intereſt of the St
and the Maximes of Law, as which mutually ſu
ported each other. --- He would never have a W
neſſe interrupted, or helped, but have the patie
to hear a naked, though a *tedious* truth: the b
Gold lyeth in the moſt Ore, and the cleareſt tr
in the moſt ſimple diſcourſe. When he put on
Robes, he put off Reſpects; his private affect
being ſwallowed up in the publick ſervice. T
was the Judge whom *Popularity* could never ſha
to any thing *unſafe*, nor favour oblige to any thi
unjuſt. Therefore he died in peace, 1645. wh
all others were engaged in a War, and ſhall h
the reward of his integrity of the Judge of Judg
at the great Aſſize of the world.

Admin. Card. de Rich. p. 283.

Having lived as well as read *Juſtinian*'s maxim
to the Prætor of *Laconia*; *All things which a*
pertain to the well-government of a State, are ordai
by the conſtitutions of Kings, that give life and vig
to the Law: Whereupon, who ſo would malke wiſ
ſhall never fail, if he propoſe them both for the rul
his actions; --- For a King is the living Law of
Countrey.

Nothing troubled him ſo much as (ſhall I call it
the ſhame, or the fear of the conſequence of t
unhappy conteſt between his Excellent Majeſty a
his meaner Subjects in the foreſaid caſe of Ship-m
ney; no enemy being contemptible enough to
deſpiſed, ſince the moſt deſpicable command gre
ter ſtrength, wiſdome, and intereſt than their ow
to the deſigns of Malice or Miſchief. — A gre
man managed a quarrel with *Archee* the King
Fool; but by endeavouring to explode him t
Court, rendred him at laſt ſo conſiderable, t
calli

alling the enemies of that perſon (who were not few) to his reſcue, as the fellow was not onely able to continue the diſpute for divers years, but received ſuch encouragement from ſtanders by (the inſtrument of whoſe malice he was) as he oft broke out in ſuch reproaches, as neither the dignity of that excellent perſon's calling, nor the greatneſſe of his parts, could in reaſon or manners admit:— But that the wiſe man "diſcerned, that "all the fool did was but a ſymptome of the ſtrong "and inveterate diſtemper raiſed long ſince in the "hearts of his Countrymen againſt the great mans "Perſon and Function. K. *Charls.* *F. O. p.* 12.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Auguſtine Nicols.

SIr *Auguſt. Nicols*, ſon to *Tho. Nicols*, Sergeant at Law, was born at *Eſton* in *Northampton-ſhire*. Now though according to the rigour of our fundamental Premiſes, he be not within our cognisance under this Title, yet his merit will juſtifie us in preſenting his Chracter. He was bred in the ſtudy of the Common-Law, wherein he attained to ſuch knowledge, that Qu: *Eliz.* made him, and K. *James* continued him his own Serjeant, whence he was freely preferred one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas. I ſay freely, King *James* commonly calling him the Judge that would give no money. Not to ſpeak of his moral qualifications, and ſubordinate abilities; he was renowned for his ſpecial judiciary Endowments; of very calm affections

K. *Charls.* ctions and moderate passions; of a grave and affable deportment; of a great patience to hear both Parties all they could say; a happy memory; singular sagacity to search into the material circumstances; Exemplary integrity, even to the rejection of Gratuities after Judgement given, and a charge to his Followers, that they came to their Places clear-handed, and that they should not meddle with any Motions to him, that he might be secured from all appearance of corruption. His forbearing to travail on the Lords day, wrought a Reformation on some of his own Order. Very pitiful and tender he was in case of life, yet very exact in case of blood.

He loved plain and profitable Preaching, being wont to say, *I know not what you call Preaching, but I like them that come nearest to my Conscience.* The speech of *Cæsar* is commonly known; *Oportet Imperatorem stantem mori*; which Bishop *Jewel* altered and applyed to himself, *Decet Episcopum concionantem mori*: of this man it may be said, *Judex moriens est jura dans*; dying in his Calling, as he went the *Northern* Circuit, and hath a fair Monument in *Kendal*-Church in *Westmerland*. This I observe of this good man; that he was so good a man, that in the ruffling times he could be but a bad Magistrate, *Cum vel exeunda sit natura, vel minuenda dignitas*: when he must either go out of his easie nature, or forgo his just authority.

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Nich. Hyde.

SIr *Nicholas Hyde* was born at *Warder* in *Wiltſhire*, where his Father in right of his Wife had a long Leaſe of that Caſtle from the Family of the *Arundels*. His Father, I ſay (deſcended from an antient Family in *Cheſhire*) a fortunate Gentleman in all his children, (and more in his Grand-children) ſome of his under-boughs outgrowing the top-branch, and younger children (amongſt whom Sir *Nicholas*) in wealth and honour exceeding the reſt of his Family.

He was bred in the Middle-Temple, and was made Sergeant at Law the firſt of *February*, 1626. and on the eighth day following was ſworn Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Kings-Bench, ſucceeding in that Office, next ſave one unto his Country-man Sir *James Ley* (than alive, and preferred Lord Treaſurer, born within two miles one of another) and next of all under Sir *Francis Crew* lately diſplaced. Now, though he entred on his Place with ſome diſadvantage (Sir *Randal* being generally popular) and though in thoſe dayes, it was hard for the ſame Perſon to pleaſe Court and Countrey, yet he diſcharged his Office with laudable integrity, until 1631. Prudence obligeth Princes to refer the management of affairs to perſons who have the reputation of extraordinary honeſty, eſpecially to the tranſacting of ſuch things which

K. Charls which notwithstanding their innate justice, ma
provoke any evill spirits.--- The most part of ma
kinde guessing onely by their own senses and appre
hensions, judge of the affairs by the persons wh
conduct them. Opinion guideth the world, an
the reputation of him that negotiateth, sets a v
lue and price upon his words and actions; and th
opinion which is conceived of him is so absolute
Umpire, that there is no appeal from his jud
ment.--Opinion is the strongest thing in the worl
Truth the next.

Observations on the Life of Sir Wal
ter Aston.

HE was a Gentleman of so much diligence i
the *Spanish* Negotiations, that there we
no Orders, Cabals, Consultations in th
intricate time, &c. he was not acquainted with: C
so much resolution, that there was not a dange
ous Message in that great businesse he would no
deliver: Of that excellent converse, that the
was not that Minister of State in that jealous Cou
he was not familiar with. Very observant he wa
by *Don Juan Taxardoes* means, of the *Spanish* pr
ceedings, and as well skilled with the Duke
Buckingham's direction in the *English*; though y
he confessed himself almost lost in those Intrigue
had not the Duke stood between him and the Kin
displeasure that suspected him, and the Prince h
jealousie that feared him. [He had need have
stead

dy head, that looks into ſuch depths:] But as K. *Charls* had an excellent faculty of excuſing others miſ-riages, ſo he had a peculiar way of ſalving his n; being advantaged with a great foreſight, a reſervedneſs, and a ready ſpirit.

ew underſtood better the Importance of the gliſh Trade with *Spain:* None purſued more di-ly its priviledges and freedom; tracing moſt the ſecret Counſels and reſolutions ſo cloſely, he was able with his induſtry and money to an account of moſt proceedings.—— In the ma-gement whereof he reſigned himſelf to the ke's diſpoſal, profeſſing to own no judgement affection but what was guided by his direction.-- own words are theſe; *Until I know by your Gra-ſavour by what compaſſe to guide my courſe, I can ly follow his Majeſties revealed will:* --- And the ke's anſwer this; *You deſire me to give you my opi-; My ancient acquaintance, long cuſtome of lo-you, with conſtancy of friendſhip, invites me to you this office of good will.*

My Lord of *Briſtol* ſhuffled the Cards well, but *Walter Aſton* playd them beſt.--- The firſt ſet a ſign, but the ſecond purſued it,-- being happy n humble and reſpectful carriage; which open-the breaſt, and unlocked the hearts of all men him. *He that looked downward ſaw the Stars in water: but he who looked onely upward, could ſee the waters in the Stars.*

Indeed there was in his countenance ſuch a one of ſweetneſſe, and his words had ſo power-a charm, ſet off with ſo agreeable and taking vity, that the *reſpect* due to him was not loſt in *love* he had deſerved; nor the *love* he attained

to,

K. *Charls* to, abated by the *respect* he commanded; being one that had and gave infinite satisfaction in the Negotiations he engaged in: Wherein among other things, he would urge how unpolitick, and unsuccessful it is for the *Spanyard* to meditate a conquest of *Europe*, where all his Neighbours oppose him, rather than *Asia*, where they would all joyn with him out of Interest and Conscience, both to secure F. 0. 134. him from *France*, and carry him towards *Turky*, at whose doors his friend the Emperour was ready to attaque them upon any Mutiny or Rebellion then frequent among them, whose strength (saith *Machiavel*) lyeth more in Tradition than in any real Truth: -- Considering the contrary complexions of the people in point of Interest and Religion, that can admit of no considerable coalition upon the approach of a Foreign impression.

Observations on the Life of Sir Julius Cæsar.

SIr *Julius Cæsar*'s Father being Physitian to Queen *Elizabeth*, and descended of the ancient Family of the *Dalmarii* in *Italy*, then living at *Tottenham* neer *London*; This his Son was bred at *Oxford*; and after other intermediate preferments was advanced Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and sworn a Privy-Councellor on *Sunday* the sixth of *July*, 1607. and afterwards was preferred Master of the Rolls. A Person of prodigious bounty to all of worth or want, so that he might seem

to be Almoner-general of the Nation. The ſtory is well known, of a Gentleman who once borrowing his Coach (which was as well known to poor people as any Hoſpital in *England*) was ſo rendevouz'd about with Beggars in *London*, that it coſt him all the money in his purſe to ſatisfie their importunity, ſo that he might have hired twenty Coaches on the ſame terms. Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord *Verulam* was judicious in his Election, when perceiving his Diſſolution to approach, he made his laſt Bed in effect in the houſe of Sir *Julius*. K. *Charles*.

He continued more then twenty years Mr. of the Rolls; and though heaved at by ſome Expectants, ſate ſtill in his Place, well poyſed therein, with his gravity and integrity. *Vir tantarum Eleemoſynarum non movebitur*; a man of ſo great Alms and Prayers (made by him and for him) ſhall not be removed. Nor was it without a proſperous Omen, that his chief Houſe in *Hartfordſhire* was called *Benington*, that is, *Villa benigna*, the bountiful Village, as one Author will have it; or as another, *Villa beneficii*, the Town of good turns, from the River ſo named running by it. His Arms were theſe, *viz.* Gules, three Roſes Argent on a Chief of the firſt, ſo many Roſes of the ſecond, emblemming the fragrancy of the Memory he hath left behinde him.

His Monument in great St. *Hellens*, *London*, being out of the road of ordinary Fancies, was thus deſigned by himſelf in form of a Deed in ruffled Parchment, in alluſion to his Office as Maſter of the Rolls.

K. Charls

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc præsens Scriptum pervenerit; Sciatis me Julium Dalmare alias Cæsarem Militem, utriusque legis Doctorem; Elizabethæ *Reginæ Supremæ Curiæ Admiralitatis judicem, & unum è Magistris libellorum;* Jacobo *Regi à Privatis Conciliis, Cancellarium Scaccarii, Scriniorum Magistrum, hac præsenti Charta mea Confirmasse me Annuente Divino Numine naturæ debitum libenter solviturum quam primum Deo placuerit. In cujus rei memoriam, Manum meam, & Sigillum apposui. Datum* 27 Februarii, 1635.



Here his Seal or Coat of Arms is affixed, and beneath them is written

Irrotulatur Cœlo.

He

He dyed the twenty eighth day of *April*, *Anno Domini*, 1636. in the ſeventy ninth year of his Age. They ſay of Witches, that they are unable to hurt till they have received an Almes. It's certain, none ever undermined this Gentleman's inſufficiency, but ſuch as were advanced by his civility; a civility that *ſecured him*, as well as it *impowered them*, making his Grants to all perſons double kindneſſes by *Expedition*, and cloathing his very Denyals in ſuch robes of Courtſhip, as that it was not obviouſly diſcernable whether the Requeſt or Denyal were moſt decent; having this peculiar to himſelf, That he was very cautious of Promiſes, leſt falling to an Incapacity of performance, he might forfeit his Reputation, and multiply his certain Enemies, by his deſign of creating uncertain Friends. K. *Charls.*

Beſides, he obſerved a ſure principle of riſing, *viz.* That great perſons eſteem better of ſuch they have done great Courteſies to, than thoſe they have received greater Civilities from; looking upon this as their diſparagement, the other as their glory.

Observations on the Lives of Sir Henry, *Sir* Lucius, *Sir* Henry Cary, *Lords Viſcounts* Faulkland.

A Race of accompliſhed men, the ornaments and ſupports of their Countrey, which they ſerved with no leſſe faithfulneſſe and prudence in their Negotiations abroad, than honour and juſtice in their Places at home: Of ſuch a Stock of reputation, as might kindle a generous emulation in Strangers, and a noble ambition in thoſe of their own Family. *Henry Cary*, Viſcount *Falkland* in *Scotland*, ſon to Sir *Edward Cary*, was born at *Aldnam* in *Hertfordſhire*: being a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman, and a compleat Courtier. By King *James* he was appointed Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and well diſcharged his Truſt therein. But an unruly Colt will fume and chafe (though neither ſwitch nor ſpur) meerly becauſe back'd. The Rebellious *Iriſh* will complain, onely becauſe kept in ſubjection, though with never ſo much lenity; the occaſion why ſome hard ſpeeches were paſſed on his Government. Some beginning to counterfeit his hand, he uſed to incorporate the year of his age in a knot flouriſhed beneath his name, concealing the day of his birth to himſelf. Thus by comparing the date of the month, with his own Birth-day (unknown to ſuch Forgers) he not onely diſcovered many falſe Writings which were paſt, but alſo deterred diſhoneſt Cheaters from

from attempting the like for the future. He made good use of Bishop *Usher*'s Interest while he was there, as appears by the excellent Speech that the Bishop made for the King's supply. K. *Charls.*

Being recalled into *England*, he lived honourably in the County aforesaid, until by a sad casualty he broke his Leg on a Stand in *Theobald's* Parke, and soon after dyed thereof. He married the sole Daughter and Heir of Sir *Lawrence Tanfield*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by whom he had a fair Estate in *Oxfordshire*. His death happened *Anno Dom.* 1620. being Father to the most accomplished States-man,

2. *Lucius* Lord *Falkland*, the wildness of whose youth was an argument of the quickness of his riper years: He that hath a *spirit* to be unruly before the use of his reason, hath *mettle* to be *active* afterwards. Quick-silver if fixed, is incomparable; besides that the *adventures*, *contrivances*, *secrets*, *confidence*, *trust*, *compliance* with *opportunity*, and the other sallies of young Gallants, prepare them more serious undertakings, --- as they did this noble Lord; great in his Gown, greater in his Buffe; able with his Sword, abler with his Pen: a knowing States-man, a learned Scholar, and a stout man: One instance of that excess in learning and other great perfections, which portended ruine to this Nation in their opinion, who write, that all Extreams, whether of Vertue or Vice, are ominous, especially that unquiet thing call'd *Learning*, whose *wane* signifieth its own period, and that of the Empire it flourisheth in; a too universally dilated learning, being not faithful to the settlements either of Policy or Religion; it being no less ready

K. *Charls.* to discover *blemishes* in the one, than Incongruities in the other: Sophisters (saith my smart Author) like the Countrey of the *Switz*, being as able upon the least advantage proposed, to engage on the wrong side as on the right. As to go no further, this excellent Personage being among the Demagogues that had been for twelve years silenced, and were now to play the prize in Parliament, and shew their little twit-twat, but tedious faculties of speaking, makes the bittrest Invective against the Governours and government of the Church, that ever was penned in *English*; which though designed by him, it's thought, onely to allay the fury of the Faction, by some compliance with it, carried things beyond the moderation and decency of that Assembly, which he made too hot for himself, retyring in cooler thoughts, as many more (that like *Brutus* could not lay the storms they had raised) to *Oxford*, where his Pen was more honourably employed in detecting the fundamental Errour of *Rome* their *infallibility*, and countermining the main props of *Westminster* their *Hypocrisie*; this as Secretary, the other as a Student—in both laying open the little pretensions, whereby poor people were insnared in their Civil and Religious Liberty. — Much was the gall always in his Inke, and very sharp his Pen; but even, flowing, and full his Style, such as became him, whose Learning was not an unsetled masse of reading that whirled up and down in his head, but fixed Observations, that tempered with solid prudence and experience, were the steady Maximes of his Soul fitted for all times and occasions; he having sate (as some Noble-mens sons used to do for-

formerly in the House of Lords) behind the Chair of State from his very child-hood, and owning a large heart capable of making that universal inspection into things that much becomes a Gentleman, being a Master in any thing he discourſed of.—Inſomuch that his general knowledge husbanded by his wit, and ſet off by his Meine and Carriage, attracted many to come as far to ſee him, as he profeſſed he would go to ſee Mr. *Daillee* — which rendred him no leſſe neceſſary than admirable at Court, until his Curioſity engaging him at *Newbery*, he was ſtrangely ſlain there, dying as he lived till then, between his Friends and Enemies, to the King's great grief, who valued him, becauſe he underſtood his parts and ſervices in the Treaty at *Oxford*, where he was eminent for two things; the timing of Propoſitions, and concealing of Inclinations; though no man ſo paſſionate for his deſign, as never enduring that hope that holds reſolution ſo long in ſuſpence, but ever allaying it with that fear that moſt commonly adviſeth the beſt by ſuppoſing the worſt. --- His uſual ſaying was, *I pity unlearned Gentlemen in a rainy day.* K. *Charls.*

3. He was Father firſt to *Henry* Lord *Falkland*, whoſe quick and extraordinary parts and notable ſpirit performed *much*, and promiſed *more*, having a great command in the Countrey where he was Lord-Lieutenant, a general reſpect in the houſe where he was Member, a great eſteem at Court (with his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Yorke*) where he was both *wit*, and *wiſdome*.--- When there was the firſt opportunity offered to honeſt men to act, he laid hold of it, and got in ſpight of all oppoſition, to a thing called a *Parliament*: By

K. *Charls.* same token, that when some urged he had not sowed his wilde Oats, he is said to reply; *If I have not, I may sowe them in the House, where there are Geese enough to pick them up.* And when Sir *F. N.* should tell him he was a little too wilde for so grave a service, he is reported to reply; *Alas! I am wilde, and my Father was so before me, and I am no Bastard,*--as, *&c.* In which Contention he out-did the most active Demagogues at their own weapon, speaking. When Major *Huntington* and his followers were for the long Parliament, Sir *F. N. L. S, &c.* were for the secluded Members, My Lord carried all the County for an absolute free *Parliament*; which he lived to see, and act in so successfully, that he was voted generally higher in trusts and services, had he not been cut off in the prime of his years; as much missed when dead, as beloved when living —— A great instance of what a strict Education (for no man was harder bred) a general Converse, and a noble Temper can arrive to; and what an Orator can do in a Democracy, where the Affections of many is to be wrought upon, rather than the judgement of few to be convinced. A golden tongue falling under a subtle head under such a constitution, hath great influence upon the whole Nation.

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Sir James Ley, *Earl of* Marlborough.

SIr *James Ley*, ſon of *Henry Ley* Eſquire (one of great Anceſtry, who, ſaith my Author, on his own coſt, with his men, valiantly ſerved King *Henry* the Eighth, at the ſiege of *Boloin*) being his Fathers ſixth ſon, (and ſo in probability barred of his inheritance) endeavoured to make himſelf an Heir by his Education, applying his book in *Brazen-Noſe*-Colledge, and afterwards ſtudying the Laws of the Land in *Lincolns-Inne*, wherein ſuch his proficiency, King *James* made him Lord Chief-Juſtice in *Ireland*. "Here he practiſed the "charge King *James* gave him at his going over, "(yea, what his own tender Conſcience gave him-"ſelf) namely, not to build his Eſtate upon the ru-"ines of a miſerable Nation, but aiming by the "unpartial execution of Juſtice, not to enrich "himſelf, but civilize the People. But the wiſe "King would no longer looſe him out of his own "Land, and therefore recalled him home about "the time when his Fathers Inheritance, by the "death of his five elder brethren deſcended upon "him. It was not long before Offices and Ho-"nours flowed in faſt upon him, being made "by

King *James*	King *Charls*
1. Attorney of the Court of Wards.	1. Earl of *Marlborough* in *Wiltſhire*

K. Charls.

2. Chief-Justice of the Upper Bench, the 18 of his Reign, *Jan.* 29.
3. Lord Treasurer of *England* in the 22 of his Reign, *Dec.* 22.
4. Baron *Ley* of *Ley* in *Devonshire*, the last of the same month.

shire, immediately after the King's Coronation.
2. Lord President of the Council, in wch place he died, *Anno Dom.* 1629.

He was a Person of great Gravity, Ability, and Integrity: And as the *Caspian* Sea is observed neither to ebbe nor flow, so his minde did not rise or fall, but continued the same constancy in all conditions; a good temper enough for a Judge but not for a States-man, and for any States-man but a Lord Treasurer; and for any Lord Treasurer but in King *CHARLES* his active time who was put to it to finde out such stirring means as might recover him from the hazard and defection he was fallen into in Purse and Power.

Observations on the Life of Henry Vere *Earl of* Oxford.

THis noble person had more of the Camp in his temper than the Court; whence his rough Armour-constitution grated often against the Courtiers Silks; for when one of them laughed at his milk-white Feather, he returned smartly upon him

ith reflections on his Anceſtors, *That it had no* K. *Charls*
int in it. His Predeceſſors had not been more
placable enemies to *Spain* in the Low-Countries,
an he was at *White-Hall*, backing thoſe argu-
ents againſt the Match ſtoutly in the Preſence-
hamber, that Doctor *Hackwel* had urged zea-
ouſly in the Pulpit; and as reſolutely ſuffering
priſonment for the one, as the Doctor did ſuſ-
enſion for the other; declaring himſelf as freely
ainſt the Agent *Gondomar*, as againſt his buſineſs,
e Marriage: For chancing to meet *Gondomar* at
Entertainment, the *Don* accoſted him with
gh Complements, vowing; *That amongſt all the*
bility of England, *there was none he had tendered*
ſervice to with more ſincerity than to his Lordſhip,
ugh hitherto ſuch his unhappineſſe, that his affe-
ions were not accepted according to his integrity that
dered them. It ſeems (replyed the Earl of *Ox-*
rd) *that your Lordſhip hath good leiſure, when*
ping in your thoughts to one ſo inconſiderable as my
lf, whoſe whole life hath afforded but two things
morable therein. It is your Lordſhips modeſty
(returned the *Spaniard*) *to undervalue your ſelf,*
hileſt we the ſpectators of your Honours deſerts, make
true and impartial eſtimate thereof; hundreds of
morables have met in your Lordſhips life: But,
od my Lord, what are thoſe two ſignal things more
nſpicuous than all the reſt? They are theſe two
(ſaid the Earl) *I was born in the year* 88, *and chri-*
ned on the fifth of November.

Neither was he a more inveterate enemy to the Church of *Rome*, than a cordial friend to that of *England*; for preſenting one Mr. *Copinger* to *Lanehan*, he added, to try him, *He would pay no*

tythes

K. *Charls' tythes of his Parke* : "Mr. *Copinger* desired again "to resign it to his Lordship, rather than by such "sinful gratitude to betray the rights of the "Church. — *Well, if you be of that minde* (said the Earl) *then take the tythes; I scorn that my Estate should swell with Church-goods.*

Observations on the Life of Sir John Cook.

SIr *John Cook*, younger brother to Sir *Francis Cook*, born at *Trusley* (in the Hundred of *Apple-tree*) in *Derby-shire*, of ancient and worshipful Parentage, and allied to the best Family in that County; was bred Fellow of *Trinity*-College in *Cambridg*, where his wit being designed his Estate, he was chosen Rhetorick-Lecturer in the University, where he grew eminent for his ingenious and critical reading in that School, where Rhetorick seemed to be not so much an art, as his nature; being not onely the subject, but the very frame of his discourse: then travelled he beyond the Seas for some years (when his judgement was fitted for Foreign observations by Domestick experience) in the company of a person of quality, returning thence rich in Languages, Remarks, and Experience, waving all the dangers incident to him for his Religion, by a wary profession, that he came to learn, and not to search. Being first related to Sir *Fulke Grevil*, Lord *Brook*, who did all men business but his own; He was thence preferred to

e Secretary of the Navy, then Maſter of the Re- K. *Charls.*
queſts, and at laſt Secretary of State for twenty
ears together. Being a very zealous Proteſtant, he
id all good offices for the advancement of true
eligion: His Contemporaries character him a
rave and a prudent man in gate, apparel, and
peech; one that had his Intellectuals very perfect
n the diſpatch of buſineſſe till he was eighty years
ld; when foreſeeing thoſe Intrigues that might
e too hard for his years, he with his Majeſties
good leave retyred as *Moſes* did, to dye when his
eyes were not dim, *&c.* having kept himſelf ſtrict-
y to the Law of the Land: Inſomuch, that being
ent to command Biſhop *Williams* from *Weſtmin-*
ter; and being asked by the ſtout Biſhop, by what
uthority he commanded a man out of his houſe
nd his free-hold, he was ſo tender of the point,
hat he never reſted till he had his pardon for it.
Much ado he had to keep the King's favour for his
ompliance with the Faction, witneſs his third ſub-
miſſion; and as much ado to retain the Factions
good opinion for his ſervice to the King, witneſſe
his ſeveral Apologies in Parliament to this purpoſe;
"That it was a hard thing, that they who ſhould
"have thanks for the good offices they did the
"People with the KING, had now nothing but
"cenſures for the ſame offices they did the King
"with his People. —— Never was any man more
put to it to reconcile the two readings of that Text
παρὸ δοκίον —— which he could never have
done, but that his old rule ſafe-guarded him,
viz. "That no man ſhould let what is unjuſtifia-
"ble or dangerous appear under *his hand*, to give

"Envy

K. *Charls* "Envy a *steady aime* at his place or perſon; nor mingle Intereſts with great men made deſperate by debts or Court-injuries, whoſe falls hath been ruinons to their wiſeſt followers; *nor* pry any further into *ſecrecy*, than rather to *ſecure*, than *ſhew himſelf*; nor impart that to a friend, that may in power him to be an enemy. Beſides that his yeares excuſed in him that caution ſome obſtinate men want that are broken with viciſſitudes, becauſe they conſider not that the forwardeſt in turmoyls are leaſt regarded when things return to a calm.

He ſerved the time out of Chriſtian diſcretion in finding out the ſeaſons of things commendably. He complyed out of ſome infirmity in particular accommodations pardonably; but neither of ignorance or deſign, in purſuance of his own, or any other mans plot unfaithfully. Indeed he muſt have wrenched and ſprained his grave ſoul with the ſhort turnings in thoſe dayes, if it had been true that he ſhould ſhuffle a *Scots* Paper (inſtead of the genuine Articles of Pacification at *York*) which the Earls of *Holland*, *Pembrook*, &c. diſavowed to the Northern Commiſſioners faces (my Lord *Pembrook* ſaying, *That indeed as he took Horſe, and his Friends being buſie about him, ſuch a Paper was put into his hand, but he opened it not untill he came to his Majeſtie*) and his Majeſtie burned in the face of both Kingdoms; whereupon they ſay he was diſmiſſed, which I am not willing to believe: onely I finde him hereafter bringing Propoſitions from the Parliament (as they called it) to the King, as actively as formerly he had carried Meſſages from the King to the Parliament: —— Indeed he had an happy mixture of Diſcretion and Charity, whereby he

he could allow to things and persons more than men of streighter apprehensions, or narrower affections were able to do. Indeed, though as I told you otherwise wary, he broke an Affair to a Partizan that kept him under all his days: & he that entertains a dangerous design, puts his head into an halter, and the halter into his hand to whom he first imparts it.— Sir *Francis Windebanke* and he fell into extreams; which balanced, might have supported the Government, if they had directed their particular inclinations and indulgences by the measures of the general interest and temper. K. *Charls.*

Observations on the Life of the Earl of Danby.

ALl that I finde of this plain Noble-man, is written on his Tomb-stone at *Dantsey* in *Wiltshire*. Here lyeth the Body of *Henry Danvers*, second son to Sir *John Danvers* Knight, and Dame *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Co-Heir to *Lovil* Lord *Lavimer*. He was born at *Dantsey* in the County of *Wilts*, *Anno Dom.* 1573. being bred up partly in the Low-Countrey Wars, under *Maurice* Earl of *Nassaw*, afterwards Prince of *Orange*; and in many other Military actions of those times, both by Sea, and by Land. He was made a Captain in the Military Wars of *France*, and there Knighted for his good service under *Henry* the fourth the then *French* King. He was employed as Lieutenant of the Horse, and Serjeant-

K. *Charls* ant-Major of his whole Army in *Ireland*, under *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles* Baron of *Mountjoy*, in the Reign of Queen *Eliz.* By King *James* the first, he was made Baron of *Dantsey*, and Peer of this Realm; as also Lord President of *Munster* and Governour of *Guernsey*. By King *Charles* the first, he was created Earl of *Danby*, made one of his Privy-Councel, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter. In his later time, by reason of imperfect health, confiderately declining more active Employments, full of honours, wounds and days, he died *Anno Dom.* 1643.

LAUS DEO.

For many years before, St. *George* had not been more magnificently mounted (I mean the solemnity of his Feast more sumptuously observed) then when this Earl, with the Earl of *Morton*, were installed Knights of the Garter. One might have there beheld the abridgment of *England* and *Scotland* in their Attendance. The *Scotish* Earl (like *Xeuxes* his picture) adorned with all Art and costlinesse, whilest our *English* Earl (like the plain sheet of *Apelles*) by the gravity of his Habit, got the advantage of the gallantry of his Corrival with judicious beholders. He died without Issue in the beginning of our Civil Wars, and by his Will made 1639. setled his large Estate on his hopeful Nephew *Henry D'Anvers*, snatch'd away (before fully of age) to the great grief of all good men.

Observe

Observations on the Life of Sir Geo. Crook.

SIr *George Crook*, ſon of Sir *John Crook*, and *Elizabeth Unton* his Wife, was born at *Chilton* in *Buckingham-ſhire*, in the ſecond year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: bred firſt in *Oxford*, then a double Reader in the Inner Temple, Sergeant at Law, and the King's Sergeant; Juſtice firſt of the Common Bench, 22 *Jac.* and then of the Upper Bench, 4 *Caroli*. His ability in his Profeſſion is ſufficiently atteſted by his own printed Reports; Eight eminent Judges of the Law out of their knowledge of his great Wiſdom, Learning, and Integrity, approving and allowing them to be publiſhed for the common benefit. His onely deſect was, that he was againſt the ancient Naval-aid called Ship-money, both publickly in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and privately in his judgement demanded by the King, even at that time when our Neighbours not onely incroached upon our Trade, but diſputed our right in the Narrow-ſeas, though concluded to ſubſcribe (according to the courſe of the Court) by plurality of Voices. The Countrymans wit (levelled to his brain) will not for many years be forgotten; That Ship-money may be gotten by *Hook*, and not by *Crook*; though ſince they have paid Taxes (*Lynes to the little finger, and Scorpions to the rod of Ship-money*) but whether by *Hook* or *Crook*, let others enquire: *Hampden's* ſhare

K. *Charls* for which he went to Law, being but eighteen shillings, though it cost the Nation since eighteen millions.

Considering his declining and decaying age, and desiring to examine his life, and prepare an account to the supream Judge, he petitioned King *Charles* for a Writ of Ease; which though in some sort denyed, (what wise Matter would willingly part with a good Servant?) was in effect granted unto him. For the good King (exacting from his Subjects no services beyond their years and abilities; and taking it better at his hands, that he confessed his infirmities, than if he had concealed them) discharged him from the pains, though he allowed him the fees and honour of Chief-Justice while he lived. — Wherefore in gratitude as well as conscience, however he was misled in the foresaid matter of Ship-money, he abhorred the Faction heartily; for he would say of *Hampden*, *He is a dangerous person, take heed of him*: — and loved the Church as *heartily*; for we are told by a person of great worth and credit, That having read over the book of Canons 1640. when it first came out, and was so much spoken against, he lifted up his hands, and gave hearty thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to see such good effects of a Convocation. In a word, he was no lesse in his Life, than he is in his Epitaph now dead, which runs thus;

Georgius Crook *Eques Auratus, unus justiciariorum de Banco Regis, Judicio Linceato, & animi presenti insignis, veritatis hæres, quem nec minæ nec honos allexit: Regis authoritatem & populi libertatem æquâ lance Libravit; Religione cordatus*

vir

mâ innocuus, manu expanſâ, Corde humili pauperes K. *Charls.*
rogavit : mundum vicit & deſeruit, Anno Ætat.
Lxxxii, Annoque R. C. I. xvii. *Anno Domini*
MDCXLI.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Rob. Armſtroder.

HE was a great Soldier, a skilful Antiquary, and a good Fellow : In the firſt capacity I finde him bringing off five hundred *Engliſh* for three miles together without the loſſe of a man, from ſix thouſand *Spanyards*, along a plain Champion, where the Enemy might have ſurrounded them at pleaſure.—— Well he could handle bright Armour in the Field, better he underſtood that more ruſty in the Tower; therefore in his ſecond capacity we have him *picking* up old Coyn, valuing more a Dollar which he might *ſtudy*, than a pound he might *ſpend* : Yet though his minde was taken with the Curioſities of former Times, his inclination was very compliant with the mode of his own; for he was excellent company, in which capacity none more prevalent than he in *Germany*, where they talk much; none more acceptable in *Denmarke*, where they drink hard; none more liking in *Sweden*, where they droll ſmartly. His humble propoſition and ſubmiſſion in behalf of the Elector, was accepted by the Emperour, 1630. He went to *Denmarke*; and the firſt night he arrived he pleaſed the King ſo well in drinking healths,

K *Charls* that his Majestie ordered that his businesse should be dispatch'd that very night, and he shipped when asleep, as he was to his own amazement when awaked, and the amazement of all *England* when returned; he being here before some thought he had been there. — *Humour is the Mistresse of the world.*

Neither was he more intent upon the pleasing of *Foreign* Princes, than careful in the honour of his *own*, especially in his faith, word, and impregnable honesty; for he knew a faithlesse Prince is beloved of none; but suspected by his friends, not trusted of his enemies,—and forsaken of all men in his greatest necessities.

Yet he was not so taken with antique Medals abroad, but he promoted a new invention at home; for to him & Sir *H. Wotton* we owe it, that *F. Klein* the *German*, a very eminent Artist in working Tapestry, came over to serve K. *Charls* the first, a *Virtuoso*, judicious in all Liberal mechanical Arts, and for 100 pounds *per ann.* pension, so improved that Manufacture, at this time very compleat at *Mortlack*, in a house built by Sir *Francis Crane* upon King *James* his motion, who gave two thousand pounds towards it in that place. — General *Tilly* would say before *Gustavus Adolphus* came into *Germany*, that he was happy for three things; *That he heard Masse daily*; that *he had never touched a woman*; and that *he had never lost a battel.* — What-ever Sir *Robert* could say to the first, he was very prosperous for the last; that he never failed of success either in fighting or treating; in the Field, or in the Chamber.

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Philip *Earl of* Arundel.

HAd his *Faith* been as Orthodox as his Fathers *Faithfulneſſe* was eminent, K. *James* his gratitude, and his Uncle *Northampton's* policy had raiſed him as high as his Father hath been, and his ſon *is*. But ſince his opinion made him a Separatiſt from the Church, and his temper a recluſe from the Court, we have him in a place of *Honour* onely as *Earl Marſhal*, while we finde his Brother in a place of *Profit*, as Lord Treaſurer — though both in a place of *Truſt* as Privy-Counſellors, -- where this Earl approved himſelf a confutation of his *a* Uncles maxime; *That a through-paced Papiſt could not be a true-hearted ſubject*; being as good an *Engliſh-man* in his heart, as he was a Catholick in his conſcience; onely the greatneſſe of his ſpirit would not ſuffer any affronts in *b* Parliament; whence he endured ſome diſcountenance from the Court, inſomuch that the Houſe of Lords finding him a Priſoner, when they ſate 1626, would not act until after ſeveral of their Petitions he was releaſed; when, his temper yielding with years, he was very complying, onely he preſumed to marry his Son to an Heireſs the King had diſpoſed of elſewhere; which yet he laid upon the women that made the Match. Indeed the politick Obſervator ſaith; *That women of all creatures are the moſt dextrous in contriving their deſigns, their*

a See the Earl of Northampton's Speech.

b See Lord Spencer.

K. Charls. *natural ſprightfulneſſe of imagination, attended with their leaſure, furniſhing them with a thouſand Expedients, and propoſing all kinds of Overtures with ſuch probability of happy ſucceſſe, that they eaſily deſire, and as eagerly purſue their deſign.*

When he was ſometimes barred the ſervice of his own time, he ſtudied thoſe before him, being a fond Patron of Antiquaries and *Antiquity*, of whose old pieces he was the greateſt Hoarder in *Europe*, ſetting aſide *Ferdinando de Medicis*, grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, from whom by the mediation of Sir *Henry Wotton*, he borrowed many an Antique Sculpture which furniſhed his Archives ſo well, (as we may gueſs by Mr. *Selden*'s *Marmora Arundeliana*) that as my Lord *Burleigh*'s Library was the moſt compleat one for a Politician, my Lord *Bacon*'s for a Philoſopher, Mr. *Selden*'s for an Hiſtorian, Biſhop *Uſher*'s for a Divine, my Lord of *Northampton*'s for a Poet, Mr. *Oughtred*'s for a Mathematician, Dr. *Hammond*'s for a *Grammarian*, or an univerſal Critick; ſo the Earl of *Arundel*'s was the beſt for a Hearld and an *Antiquary*, a *c* Library not for ſhew but uſe.

e Nobly communicated to all ingenious perſons by the honourable H Howard *of* Norfolk, *greater in his own worth than in any titles.*

Neither was he more in his ſtudy, where he beſtowed his melancholy hours, than in Councel where he adviſed three things in reference to the Foreign troubles: 1. Correſpondence abroad. 2. Frequent Parliaments. 3. Oftner progreſſes into the Countries. Neither was he leſſe in the Field than in Council, when General againſt the *Scots* (the more ſhame!) that Proteſtants ſhould at a time rebel againſt their King, when Papiſts ventured their lives for him: After which Expedition he was ordered beyond Sea with the Queen-Mother

of *France*, 1639. when they say he looked back on *England* with this wish, *May it never have need of me.* K. *Charls.*

It's true, some observe, that the *Scots* who cried upon him as a Papist, yet writ under-hand to him their *Noble Lord*, as they did to *Essex* and *Holland* so effectually, that they had no heart to that War afterward;— and it is as true, that thereupon a schedule was now the second time given of the parties that combined against the Government, *viz.* 1. The busie medlers that had got the plausible trick of Haranguing since King *James*'s time, not used in Parliament from *H.* 6. time to his. 2. The covetous Landlords, Inclosers, Justices of the Peace that ruled in the Country, and would do so in Parliament. 3. Needy men in debt, that durst not shew their heads in time of Peace. 4. Puritans, that were so troublesome against *Hatton*, &c. in Queen *Eliz.* dayes; and under pretence of Religion, overthrew all Government. 5. Such Malecontents as either lost the preferment they had, or had not what they were ambitious of, with their Kindred and Dependants. 6. Lawyers, that second any attempt upon the Prerogative, with their Cases, Records, and Antiquities. 7. *London* Merchants, that had been discovered by *Cranfield* and *Ingram*, as to their cheats put upon the King in his *Customes*, and Plantations. 8. Common-wealthsmen, that had learned from *Holland* in Queen *Eliz.* days to pray for the Queen and the State. And 9 (Because there cannot be a Treason without a *P*——) such Recusants as were *Hispanioliz'd*, whereof this Earl was none: but though as a

K. *Charls.* Church-Papist he had most of the Catholick Peers votes devolved on him; he never bestowed them undutifully, albeit sometimes *stoutly*, and *resolutely*. A great friend he was to all new Inventions, save those that tended to do that by few hands, which had been usually done by many; because, said he, *While private men buse their heads to take off the Poors employment, the publick Magistrate must trouble his to finde them maintenance.* Either he or the Earl of *Northampton* used to say (when asked what made a compleat man?) *To know how to cast Accompts:* an accomplishment though ordinary, yet might save many an Estate in *England*.

Observations on the Life of Esme *Duke of* Richmond.

GReat in his Ancestors honour, greater in his own vertue, and greatest of all, in that like the Star he wore, the higher he was, the lesse he desired to *seem*, affecting rather the *worth*, than the *pomp* of *nobleness*; — therefore his courtesie was his nature not his craft; and his affableness not a base & servile popularity, or an ambitious insinuation; but the native gentleness of his disposition, and his true value of himself: He was not a stranger to any thing worth knowing, but best acquainted with himself, and in himself, rather with his weaknesses for Caution, than his abilities for Action. Hence he is not so forward in the traverses of

of War, as in *Treaties* of Peace, where his honour ennobled his cause, and his moderation advanced it: He and my Lord of *Southampton* managing the several Overtures of Peace at *London*, *Oxford*, and *Uxbridge* with such honourable freedome and prudence, that they were not more deservedly regarded by their Friends, than importunately courted by their Enemies; who seeing they were *such*, could not be patient till they were *theirs*, though in vain, their honours being impregnable as well against the Factions kindnesse as against their power. At Conferences his conjectures were as solid as others judgements; his strict observation of what was passed, furnishing him for an happy guesse of what was to *come*: Yet his opinion was neither variably unconstant, nor obstinately immoveable, but framed to present occasions, wherein his method was to begin a second advice from the failure of his first, — though he hated doubtful suspense, when he might be resolute. This one great defect was his good nature, that he could never distrust till it was dangerous to suspect; and he gave his *Enemy* so much advantage, that he durst but own him for his *friend*. — One thing he repented of, that he advised his Majestie to trust Duke *Hamilton* his Adversary with the affairs of *Scotland*, in compliance with the general opinion, rather than the Marquess *Huntly* his friend in compliance with his own real interest; an advice wherein his publick-spiritednesse superseded his particular concerns, and his good nature his prudence: — So true is it, that the honest mans single uprightnesse works in him that confidence, which oft-times wrongs him, and gives advantage to the subtle, while he rather pities their faithles-

K. *Charls.*

K. *Charls.* faithleſneſs, than repents of his credulity: ſo great advantage have they that look *onely* what they *may* do, over them that conſider what they *ſhould* do; and they that obſerve onely what is *expedient*, over them that judge onely what is *lawful*.——Therefore when thoſe that thought themſelves wiſe, left their ſinking Soveraign, he ſtuck to his Perſon while he lived, to his body when dead, and to his cauſe as long as he lived himſelf: —attending the firſt reſolutely, burying the ſecond honourably, and managing the third diſcreetly; undertaking without *raſhneſſe*, and performing without *fear*; never *ſeeking* dangers, never *avoiding* them. Although when his Friends were conquered by the Rebels, he was conquered by himſelf, retyring to that privacy, where he was *gueſſed* at, not *known*; where he *ſaw* the world *unſeen*; where he made yielding a conqueſt; where cheerful & unconcerned in expectation, he provided for the worſt, and hoped the beſt, in the conſtant exerciſe of that Religion, wch he & his maintained more effectually with their *Examples*, than with their *Swords*; doing as much good in encouraging the Orthodox by his preſence, as in relieving them by his bounty.——In a word, he may ſay of him, as *Macarius* doth of *Juſtine*; There was no Vice but he thought below him; and no Vertue which he eſteemed not either his duty or ornament. Neither was his prudence narrower than his virtue, nor his virtue ſtreighter than his fortune. His main ſervice was his inſpection into the Intrigues and Reſerves of the *Parliamentiers* at *Uxbridge*, and his cajoling of the *Independants* and *Scots* at *London*, where the iſſue of his Obſervations was; That the King ſhould as far as his conſci-

conſcience could allow, comply with the unreaſo- K. *Charls*
ble deſires of an illimited ambition, to make it ſen-
ſible of the evils that would flow from its own
Counſels: being confident, as events have aſſured
us, that the people would ſee the inconvenience of
their own wiſhes; and that they would return that
power which they ſought for, but could not ma-
nage, to its proper place, before it became their ru-
ine: — for *unbounded Liberty* overthroweth its ſelf.
But alas! it was too late to grant them any thing,
who by having ſo much, were onely encouraged
more eagerly to deſire what they knew the King in
honour could not give: — For when a Prince is
once rendred odious or contemptible, his *Indul-*
gences do him no leſſe hurt than injuries.

As his ſervices were great, ſo were his Recreati-
ons uſeful *a*; Hunting, that manly Exerciſe being
both his pleaſure & his accompliſhment: his accom-
pliſhment, I ſay, ſince it is in the liſt of *Machiavel's*
rules to his Prince, as not onely the wholſomeſt
and cheapeſt diverſion, both in relation to himſelf,
and his People, but the beſt Tutor to Horſe-man-
ſhip, Stratagems, and Situations, by which he may af-
terwards place an Army; what-ever Sir *Philip Sid-*
ney's apprehenſion was, who uſed to ſay; *Next*
hunting, he liked hawking worſt.

a See his late Majeſties recommendation to him at his departure from Hamton-court.

Obſerva-

Observations on the Life of the Lord Chief-Justice Banks.

SIr *John Banks* his Parents perceiving him judicious and industrious, bestowed good breeding on him in *Grayes-Inne*, in hope he should attain to preferment; wherein they were not deceived. For after he was called to the Bar for some years, he solicited Suits for others, thereby attaining great practical experience. He afterwards might laugh at them, who then did smile at him, leaving many behind him in Learning, whom he found before him in time, until at last he was Knighted by King *Charles*, made first his Attorney, then Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, dying in the middest and heat of our Civil Dissentions. He ordered by his Will, that his Body should be buried under some plain Monument at the discretion of his Executors; and after an Epitaph mentioning the severall Places he had held, this Motto to be added;

Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed Nomini tuo da Gloriam.

By his said Will he gave to the value of thirty pound *per ann.* with other Emoluments, to be bestowed in pious Uses, and chiefly to set up a Manufacture of course Cottons in the Town of *Keswick*.

He

He was one whom the Collar of *S. S. S.* worn by Judges and other Magistrates became very well, if it had its name from *Sancius*, *Simon*, *Simplicius*; no man being more seriously *pious*, none more singly *honest*. — When Sir *Henry Savile* came to Sir *Edward Cook*, then at bowls, in Arch-Bishop *Abbot's* behalf, and told him he had a Case to propose to him: Sir *Edward* answered; *If it be a Case in Common-Law, I am unworthy to be a Judge, if I cannot presently satisfie you: but if it be a point of Statute-Law, I am unworthy to be a Judge, if I should undertake to satisfie you without consulting my Books.* — Sir *John Bankes*, though ready without his Books on the Bench, -- yet always resolved Cases out of them in his Chamber; answerable to his saying to Dr. *Sibs*, A good textuary is a good *Lawyer*, as well as a good *Divine*. K. *Charles*

His invention was prompt and ready; his apprehension sure and solid; his memory capacious and retentive; his knowledge in the Law, and the inward reasons of it, profound; his experience in affairs of State universal, and well laid: patient he was in hearing; sparing, but pertinent in speaking: very glad always to have things represented truly and clearly; and when it was otherwise, able to discern through all pretences the real merit of a Cause.

He was a man of singular modesty, of the ancient freedome, plain-heartednesse, and integrity of minde: Very grave and severe in his deportment, yet very affable, in such sort, that, as *Tacitus* saith of *Agrippa*; *Illi quod est rarissimum nec facilitas auctoritatem, nec severitas amorem diminuit*: And in a word, so even and circumspect he was in the

K. *Charls* several turnings and occasions of his life, that though he went himself, and brought over as many as he had any interest in, to the King, I finde him under no extraordiuary displeasure from the Rebels; and I observe but one unhappinesse in his whole life, and that is, that all men speak well of him.

Observations on the Life of Sir Tho. Edmonds.

THe Trophees of *Miltiades* would not let *Themistocles* sleep, nor the Courts-advancements of his Relations this Gentleman to sit still; having both *Livie's* qualifications, for an eminent man, a great spirit, and a gallant conduct for actions; a sharp wit, and a fluent tongue for advice. — Whence we meet with him Comptroller of the Kings Houshold at home, and his Agent for

"In France, 1629. * Peace abroad, equally fit for businesse of courage and resolution, and for affairs of Councel and complement. — I think it was this Gentleman, who foreseeing a Contest likely to ensue between the *English* and the *Spanish* Embassadors, to the first whereof he belonged, went to *Rome* privately, and fetched a Certificate out of the book of Ceremonies (which according to the Canon giveth the rule in such cases) shewing that the King of *England* was to precede him of *Castile*; a good argument, because *ad homines*, wise men having always thought fit to urge not what is most *rational* in its self, but what

what (all circumſtances conſidered) is moſt con- K. *Charls.*
vincing. Sir *Thomas Edmonds* uſed to puzzle the Catholicks about ſix Records. 1. The original of *Conſtantine*'s grant of *Rome* to the Pope. 2. St. *Marke*'s grant of the Adriatique Guiph to *Venice*. 3. The *Salique* Law in *France*. 4. The Inſtrument whereby King *John* paſſed away *England* to the Pope. 5. The Letter of King *Lucius*. And 6. The Ordinal of the Conſecration at the Nags-head. —— Neither did he perplex them with theſe Quæries, more than he angered the Faction with his Principles, *Tertio Car.* I. 1. That the King was to be truſted. 2. That the Revenue was to be ſetled. 3. That the Proteſtant cauſe was to be maintained. 4. That Jealouſies were to be removed, and things paſt were to be forgotten.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Paul Pindar.

HE was firſt a Factor, then a Merchant, next a * Conſul; and at laſt an Embaſſador in *Turkey*: Whence returning with a good purſe and a wary Headpiece, he caſt about what he might do to gratifie K. *James* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moſt; and finding them much pleaſed with acts of Charity and Piety, he repaired the Entry, Front, and Porches of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral to all the upper Church, Quire and Chancel, and enriched them with Marble ſtructures and figures of the Apoſtles, with carvings and guildings far

* *At* Perroſa & Aleppo.

K. *Charls* far exceeding their former beauty, which cost a-
bove two thousand pounds; the act of a good man
said K. *James*, who made him one of the great
Farmers of the Customes: in gratitude whereof
Sir *Paul* besides his former expences, took upon
him to new build the South Isle, which cost him
above 17000 *l.*

A Projector (such necessary Evils then countenanced) and he a Clergy-man too, informed K. *James* how he might speedily advance his Revenue by bringing in Spiritual preferments (now forsooth under-rated in the Kings books) to a full value, to the great encrease of first-Fruits and Tenths: the King demands the Lord Treasurer *Cranfield's* judgement thereof: he said; *Sir, You are esteemed a great lover of Learning; you know Clergy-mens Education is chargeable, their preferment slow, and small: Let it not be said you gain by grinding them: other ways lesse obnoxious to just censure will be found out to furnish your occasions.* The King commended the Treasurer (as doing it onely for tryal) adding moreover, *I should have accounted thee a very Knave if encouraging me herein.*--- But he sends for Sir *Paul Pindar*, and tells him, he must either raise the Customes, or take this course; who answereth him nobly: *That he would lay thirty thousand pounds at his feet the morrow, rather than he should be put upon such poor projects, as unsuitable to his honour as to his inclination.* Go thy way (saith the King) *thou art a good man.*

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Vane *Senior.*

THree things *Henry* the fourth of *France* said would puzzle any man. 1. Whether Qu: *Elizabeth* was a Maid? 2. Whether the Prince of *Orange* was valiant? 3. What Religion he himself was of? To which I may add a fourth, *viz.* what Sir *Henry Vane* was? whom I know not what to call, but what Mr. *Baxter* calleth his son, a *hider*: the Fathers life being as mystical as the Sons faith, men as little understanding the actions of the one, as they did the writings of the other: But the two powers that govern the world, the *best*, and the *worst*, are both invisible. All *Northern* men are reserved to others, but this was too slie for his own Country-men; neither Sir *John Savile* that brought him to Court, nor Sir *Thomas Wentworth* that advanced him there, understanding either his temper, or his design. — He betrayed any Council he was present at, and marred all the actions he was employed in. As 1. When he was sent to relate the Emperor's overture to the Queen of *Bohemia*, of thirty thousand pounds *per ann.* and a Marriage between her eldest Son and his Daughter, he did it with those ackward circumstances, that transported the good Lady to such unseasonable expressions, as at that time blasted her cause and expectations. And thence it's thought he brought Sir *Robert Dudley*'s Rhapsody of Projects to dispa-

K. *Charls* rage the King's government, under pretence of supplying his neceſſities: [it was the way of the late Underminers, to relieve their Maſters preſent need upon future inconveniences; hiding themſelves under Propoſals, plauſible for the preſent, and fatall in the conſequence] which juggles of his were ſo long too little to be conſidered, that at laſt they were too great to be remedied. 2. He is ſaid to have ſhuffled other Conditions into the Pacification at *Yorke*, where he was a Commiſſioner, than were avowed by the Lords Commiſſioners, much inſiſted on by the *Scots*, and burned by the common Hang-man, as falſe, and contrary to the true Articles. 3. When ſent to the Houſe, 1640. to demand 12, or 8, or ſix Subſidies, he requireth without abatement twelve, with deſign (as it's judged) to aske ſo much, as might enrage the Parliament to give nothing; — and ſo to be diſſolved unhappily, or continued *unſucceſsfully*. 4. He and his ſon together betray the Votes paſſed in the ſelect Councel, taken by him privately under his hat, for the reducing of *Scotland*, to the ruine of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. -- The ſtory is, Sir *Henry Vane* was truſted with the Junćto, where he took Notes of their ſeveral opinions; theſe Notes he puts up in his Cloſet: A while after, he delivers to his ſon Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, a key to fetch ſome Papers out of his Cabinet, in which he findes another key to an inward ſhutter; which he opened, and lighted upon this Paper, and communicates it to Mr. *Pym* for the end aforeſaid; and upon this very Paper (doth not tremble Reader at this Treaſon?) alone, the Houſe of Commons voted that brave Earl out of his

his *Life*, the ſame day that twenty two years after the ſame Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, loſt his head. *Abſolvi numen.* K. *Charls.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Richard Hutton.

SIr *Richard Hutton* was born at *Perith*, of a worſhipful Family (his elder brother was a Knight) and bred in *Jeſus-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. He intended his Studies for Divinity, till diſſwaded by the importunity of his friends (amongſt whom *George* Earl of *Cumberland* was moſt eminent) he became Barriſter of *Grayes-Inne*. But in expreſſion of his former Affection to Divinity, he ſeldome (if ever) took fee of a Clergy-man. Afterwards being Recorder of *Yorke*, he was Knighted, and made Judge of the Common-Pleas. In the caſe of Ship-money, though he was againſt the King, or rather for the *a* Commons, yet his Maieſty manifeſted not the leaſt diſtaſte, continuing to call him the *honeſt Judge*. This perſon ſo pious to God, and charitable to the Poor, was diſſolved about the beginning of our National miſery. Thus God, before he ploweth up a Land with the furrows of a Civil War, firſt cutteth down his old crop, and gathereth them like ripe ſheaves into his Barn. He died at *Sergeant's* Inne, and was buried at his earneſt deſire with the Common-Prayer, without any Funeral-Sermon (ſave what his own Vertues preached to poſterity) at

a So ſaith the Hiſtorian: but I think as much againſt them as againſt the K. Not onely becauſe the welfare of K. & people are inſeparable: but alſo becauſe there is not a more common ſaying among the people, than defend me, and ſpend me.

K. Charls

St. *Dunſtan's* in the Weſt, on the 27 day of *Febru-ary, Anno Dom.* 1638. Here I learn how circum-ſpect our counſels muſt be in reference to things and perſons above us; which implying an over-poyzing of our own judgement, and a debating of others, in all caſes is obnoxious to jealouſie, but in theſe to danger, under which there are no Qualifications to patience and moderation, The vertues of this happy Judge (if he had caſt obſti-nacy over-board, and let his wiſdome tack about in things capable of expedience) whereby he knew well both how to allay the aſperities of a bad for-tune, and check the exceſſes of a good one, pack-ing up his fears and hopes in ſo narrow a compaſſe, as made the laſt leſſe tedious, and the firſt more portable; to which he added an unaffected plain-neſſe, the argument of his worth and weight, a weakneſſe and emptineſſe being as ſafely as uſually concluded from too much affectation, --- an over-much care of the out-ſide being an argument of re-miſneſſe in what is within, it remaining (ſaith one) equally rare, to finde a ſtarched and formal man wiſe, as a Woman valiant; the moſt ſerious Endeavours of both being to take onely the *Eyes.*

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Life of the Marqueſs of Hertford.

HE was none of thoſe Male-contents who make the ſins of their riper years make good the follies of their youth, and maintain *overſights* with *Treaſons:* as he was patient under his Impriſonment for the one, ſo he was active in his ſervices againſt the other; not more dutifully ſubmitting to the ſeverity of K. *James* for his Marriage, then loyally aſſiſting the neceſſities of King *Charles* in his Wars. It's natural to return an Injury, it's heroical to overcome it; and be above it, when we are below our ſelves. It is true, he was drawn in to ſubſcribe the untoward Propoſals at *Yorke*; but it is as true, he did of his own accord declare againſt the unnatural War in *London*, where the King advanced him to the tuition of the Prince, and he went himſelf to the defence of the King: at what time ſuch his popularity, that he rayſed an Army himſelf; ſuch his humility, that he yielded the command of it to another, as if he knew nothing but others merit, and his own wants; being one of thoſe choice men that admire every thing in others, and ſee nothing in themſelves. His face, his carriage, his habit "ſavoured of *J. H.*
"Lowlineſſe without affectation, and yet he was "much under what he ſeemed. His words were "few and ſoft, never either peremptory or cen-"ſorious, becauſe he thought both each man more

K. *Charls.* "wiſe, and none more obnoxious than himſelf; "being yet neither *ignorant* nor *careleſſe*, but naturally *meek*, lying ever cloſe within himſelf, armed with thoſe two Maſter-pieces, *Reſolution* and *Duty*, wherewith he mated the blackeſt Events that did rather *exerciſe* than *diſmay* that ſpirit that was above them, and that minde that looked beyond them: He was the eaſieſt enemy, and the trueſt friend; whom extremities obliged, while (as the Reverend Biſhop ſpeaks) he as a well-wrought Vault lay at home the ſtronger, by how much the more weight he did bear. He offered his life for his Prince's ſervice in the Field, and his perſon for his ranſom at the Court; and when many wiſhed they might dye for that excellent King, *he*, the Earls of *Lindſey* and *Southampton* offered, That ſince his Majeſty was preſumed by the Law to do no harm himſelf, and ſince he did all by them his Miniſters, as they had the honour to act *under*, they might have the happineſſe to ſuffer *for* him.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Finch.

THis Family hath had an hereditary eminence in the ſtudy of the Law.— Sir *Henry Finch* [the Author of Νομοτεχνος] learned Sergeant at Law in King *James* his time. Sir *Heneage Finch* Recorder of *London* in K. *Charles* time, and this noble perſon at the ſame time the Queen

Queen's Attorney, and Speaker of that curious, knowing, and rich Parliament, wherein ſome have obſerved, though wide, I ſuppoſe, that the Houſe of Commons modeſtly æſtimated [conſiſting of 500] could buy the Houſe of Peers [conſiſting of 118] thrice over. --- *Norimbergh* in *Germany*, and *Florence* in *Italy*, would not of old admit of any learned men into their Councel; becauſe great learned men, ſaith *the Hiſtorian* of thoſe places, *are perplexed to reſolve upon Affairs, making many doubts full of Reſpects and Imaginations.*— Semblably this Parliament was too rich and curious to do any good, though this noble perſonage, even when the Houſe-doors were ſhut, and he violently detained in his Chair, refuſed to countenance their proceedings, always abhorring *Eliot*'s doctrine; *That men ſhould not be queſtioned for offences in Parliament:* As if that reverend Aſſembly were called for no other end, than that turbulent ſpirits might be at liberty to ſpeak Treaſon once every three years. K. *Charls.*

When he was queſtioned for his opinion about Ship-money, his judgement was; *That if the whole were in danger, the whole ſhould contribute.*— When he was urged to read the Remonſtrance againſt Sir R. *W.* 4 *Car.* in Parliament, his opinion was; *That at any rate* (though at the higheſt that can be) *Authority muſt be vindicated, and redeemed from contempt, ſince the Life of Government is reputation.*

Observations on the Life of the Lord Say.

[T.C. WHether the first impressions of his * Tutor, (Schoolmasters, though the most neglected, are not the most inconsiderable parts of a Common-wealth:) the narrowness of his fortune (unequal to his honour; younger brothers of noble houses had need in every State to be observed, the repulse, 1613. (other men must look to *whom* they are kinde, but Princes to *whom* they are unkind) inclined this personage to popularity: This is certain, no man was better tempered for that humour than himself; being in his nature severe and rigid; in his carriage close and reserved; in his resolutions firm and immoveable; in his apprehension, provident and foreseeing; in his Sentiments nice and curious; -- in his Discourse (full of Fears and Jealousies) dissatisfied and bold; in his followers irregular and pretending; in the Law well seen; in the Scripture very ready; in the occurrences of his age very exact: at Lectures most constant; to the liberty of the Subject (then the *Diana* of the age) most faithful, insomuch that he made a motion 1628, *That they who stood for the Liberties*, forsooth! (then called the Lower-House Lords of the Upper-House) *not fifty might make their Protestation upon record, and that the other party should with subscription of their names enter their reasons upon Record, that posterity might not be to see*

(good

(good lack) *who they were that ſo ignobly betrayed* K. *Charls.*
the Liberty of our Nation: And this being done, they ſhould reſolve themſelves to a Committee, and proceed to vote:--- Yet ſo well acquainted with the King's temper, that he would take any occaſion of his being pleaſed by the Parliament, to inſinuate himſelf into favour with all his Male-contents, as Biſhop *Williams*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Warwick*, &c.

As he wrought upon the peoples humour in that point of Liberty, ſo he did upon the Nobilities temper in another of Ambition: For in a Petition to King *James* againſt Foreign titles of Honour, we finde him firſt in deſign, though laſt in ſubſcription, teaching *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *St. John* (for they joyned with him) to tilt againſt their Soveraign's Prerogative with their *Pens*, as they did after with their *Swords*.

And when this failed (the wiſe King awing the young Lords to renounce that aſunder, which they had ſubſcribed together; *none ſo bold as the factious in company, none ſo fearfull apart*) the Champion of *Engliſh* honour and priviledge, becomes the Patron of Propriety too; for we read *Ter. Hill. Anno* 14. *Car.* 1. *in Banco Regis*, the Lord *Say*'s Caſe.— **Action for Trover and Converſion of three Oxen taken** (a great matter) **for three pounds five ſhillings, by the Sheriff of Lincoln, upon the Plaintiff, towards the finding of a Ship.**— A goodly reaſon, for going to Law firſt, and then to war with his Soveraign, as he did afterwards, when he had ſent his ſon *Nathaniel*, with *Hampden* and *Lawrence*, 1639. to ſettle the League with their dear Brethren in *Scotland*, while he formed

K. *Charls.* formed the grand Design in *England*, with so much
succesſe, that when there were some Overtures
made for saving the Earl of *Strafford*, and secu-
ring the Kingdome by the Party, upon condition
of preferment, as that Master *Hampden* should be
Tutor to the Prince, the Earl of *Essex* his Go-
vernour, Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer,
the Earl of *Warwick* Vice-Admiral, he was to be
Master of the Court of Wards; which he compas-
sed, when the rest mist of their expectation.—
No more of him, but that the King going to *Scot-
land*, he refusing a Protestation against the *Scots*
had these questions proposed to him:

1. Whether he would go with the King at his
own charge.

2. Whether Rebellion was a just cause of
War.

3. Whether the taking of Castles, Crowns, Ma-
gazines, *&c.* was not Rebellion.

To the first he answered; That though as a Peer
and Subject, he could not be forced out of his
Countrey but upon extraordinary occasion; yet
out of affection to his Majesty, he would attend
him, referring the matter of charge to himself.

To the two last he said, he understood not the
Law of *Scotland*, but that those proceedings were
Treason in *England*.

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Lindſey.

HE and that whole Family (I know not whether more pious, or more valiant; whether more renowned abroad, as Confeſſors for their Religion, or, as Champions for their Country) have been in this laſt Age an ornament and a defence to this Crown, equally reverenced by the Subjects of it, and honoured by the Soveraigns.

This Noble-man and the Earl of *Eſſex* did as *Jugurtha* and *Marius*, learn in one School what they practiſed in two: The one as a faithful Subject, for that government that had *obliged* his Family; the other as a diſcontented Rebel, againſt that that had *diſobliged* his: Both Commanders for the *Palatinate* againſt the Emperor, and for *Rochel* againſt the *French*.

When the Duke of *Buckingham* returned from the Iſle of *Rhee*, his Majeſtie told him; *The neglect of his relief muſt lodge on his Friend and Confident, Holland.*---To which he acknowledged; That indeed he had very affectionately intruſted him in ordinary Affairs, but never in ſuch an eſteem, as to ſecond him in Arms, that place being more proper for my Lord of *Lindſey*,---whoſe judgement of that Expedition was; *That it was friendſhip in earneſt, and War in jeſt.* He it was that purſued twelve *French* Veſſels in his own ſingle one to their Haven, heated at once with anger and ſhame. He it was, who

K. *Charls* who when all men were amazed at the Duke's fa
was assigned his successor. Certainly, saith one the
present, *He was a person of no likely* "*presence*
"*but of considerable experience, by his former Exp*
"*ditions; and one that to the last of his life ma*
"*good his Faith with Gallantry and Courage, no*
"*withstanding his ill success* (the times fate rath
than his fault) 1. In scouring the narrow Sea
where he was Admiral, and the Earl of *Essex* Vic
Admiral. 2. In presiding in several great Cou
on many solemn occasions, the Earl of *Strafford*
unparallel'd Tryal, *&c.* And 3. In leading th
King's Army at *Edge-Hill* with a Pike in his hand
Where what is observed of *Cataline* and his fo
lowers, was true of this noble Earl and his Cou
try-men, the Loyal Gentry of *Lincoln-shire*, tha
they covered the same place with *their Corps* wh
dead, where they stood in the fight whilest living.

Observations on the Life of Judge Richardson.

JUdge *Richardson* was born at *Mulbarton* in *Norf*
his Father being Minister thereof; and he
friend to Ministers, though a foe of the Church
He was bred in the study of our Municipa
Law, and became the King's Sergeant there
Afterwards, on the 28 of *November*, 1626. he w
sworn Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, th
Place having been void ten months before; where
in he was humorsome, but honest, onely unhapp
in that he raised the Sabbatarian Controversie, b
his

s orders against Wakes in *Somerset-shire*. His K. *Charls*.
rfse Monument on the South-side of *Westminster-*
bby, thus entertaineth the Reader;

Deo om.
Thomæ Richardsoni *Icani Equitis Aurati*
Humanum Depositum.
Ille
Juris Municip. omnes gradus exantlavit
inventus tertii ordinis ann. Jacobi Regis 21, *&* 22.
Prolocutor extitit;
Fori civilis (communium Placitorum vocant)
Supremum Magistratum quinquennium gessit;
ad summum tandem primarii per Angliam Judicis
Tribunal
A Rege Carolo *evectus: expiravit*
Anno Ætatis 66. *Salutis*, MDCXXXIIII.
Tho. Richardson *fil. unicus Eques Aur. Baro Scotiæ*
designatus
Patri incomparabili
posuit.

As one reason of his advancement, you must now, this Judge married for his second Wife the Lady *Eliz. Beaumont*, the Sister (as I take it) of *Mary* Countess of *Buckingham*, and the Relict of ..... *Ashburnham* Knight. She was by K. *Charles* created Baroness of *Creumont* in *Scotland*; and (though Issueless by the Judge) the Honour descended to his Grand-child. He died an enemy to Bishop *Williams*, over-ruling all his Pleas in his Chamber in a quarter of an hour; and yet, which was strange, at that time no friend to Arch-Bishop *Laud*; for he said, *The Lawn-sleeves had choaked him.*

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Sir Tho Coventry.

A Competent Eſtate he had for his educa on, and excellent Abilities for advance ment: his fortune was not wanting to h parts, nor his parts to his fortune; the one be as ready to ſupport, as the other was to raiſe him His ſtaid ſoul was well prepared for general learni in the Schools and Univerſity, for his particul learning at the Innes of Court: his skill in the ſtud of Law called him no ſooner to the Bar, than his pr dence to Court: Take we his character from his H nour. Why was he created Lord *Coventry* of *Ash bury*, and Keeper of the great Seal? Why, ſa the Patent, for his *eminent fidelity*; for his *m worthy ſervice*; for his exact circumſpection; f his deep prudence; for his conſtant reſolution; f his skill and dexterity; for his *integrity* and *indu ſtry* for his *immoveableneſſe* and *fidelity*: No man mo apprehenſive of the intereſt of *England*, none mo faithful to it: His kindneſs to the Church and Cle gy argued his piety; his ſafe Counſels to his Maj ſty argued his moderation: his dignity rather e joyed him, than he it: A man he was that filled u his great capacities, having digeſted a body the moſt honeſt Law, and a ſcheme of the moſt i nocent policy that ever fillled the head of an ab States-man, or the heart of an upright Judge. Wh belonged to him, he knew; and what he knew, h

practi

practiſed. He was as conſtant to his rule, as he knew his rule was to him: Reſerved he was, as the King's Councellor, *honeſt* as his *conſcience*. We meaſure Pyramides by their ſhadows, and this great Lord by his followers; every one whereof was *a* eminent in his way, and all advanced. Each Action of his, though never ſo little, yet great as himſelf, ſo gravely did he manage it, ſo ſolemnly did he perform it: His orders were ſeldome reverſed, becauſe moſtly including the conſent of Parties. — Few Attorney-Generals came off with leſſe cenſure, and few Lord Keepers with leſſe guilt; his Predeceſſors miſcarriages being foils to ſet off his exactneſſe. — Eminent as in moſt other Cauſes, ſo particularly in that of *Pryn*, *Baſtwicke*, and *Burton*; againſt whom, when after ſix weeks time given them to put in an effectual Anſwer, they urged, that their Adverſaries the Biſhops ſhould not be their Judges: He replyed ſmartly; That by that plea had they Libelled all the Magiſtrates in the Land; none ſhould paſſe Cenſure upon them, becauſe all were *made parties*.

K. *Charls.*

a The moſt pious, learned, wiſe, and Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbiſhop of Cant. was his Domeſtick.

He had fifteen years enjoyed his Place; not more proper to ſay, that Dignity had enjoyed him ſo long, this latter age affording not one every way more apt Qualifications for the place. His front and preſence beſpake a venerable regard, not inferiour to any of his Anteceſſors. His train and ſuit of Followers was diſpoſed agreeable, to ſhun both Envy and Contempt: Vain and ambitious he was not; his port was ſtate, though others oſtentation. Of what concerned his place, he knew enough, and which is the main, acted conformable to his knowledge; For in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, he

was

K. *Charls* was so erect, so incorrupt, as captious malice stands mute in the blemish of his Fame. A miracle the greater, when we consider he was also a Privy Councellor: A trust, wherein he served his Master the King most faithfully; and the more faithfully, because of all those Councels which did disserve his Majesty, he was an earnest diswader, and did much disaffect those sticklers who laboured to make the Prerogative rather tall than great; knowing that such men loved the King better than *Charles Stuart*. So that although he was a Courtier, and had had for his Master a Passion most intense, yet had he always a passion reserved for the publick welfare; an argument of a free, noble, and right-principled minde: For what both Court and Country have always held as inconsistent, is in truth erroneous: And no man can be truly loyal who is not also a good Patriot; nor any a good Patriot, which is not truly loyal.

Observations on the Life of the Earl of Strafford.

SIr *Thomas Wentworth* Earl of *Strafford* owed his birth to the best-govern'd City *London*; his breeding to the best-modelled School, *York*, and a most exact Colledge, St. *John* in *Cambridge*; his accomplishments to the best Tutors, Travail and Experience; and his prudence to the best School, a Parliament, whither he came in the most active and knowing times, with a strong brain, and a large heart: his activity was eminent

eminent in his Country, and his intereſt ſtrong in Parliament, where he obſerved *much*, and *pertinently*; ſpake *little*, but *home*; contrived effectually, but *cloſely*; carried his Deſigns *ſucceſsfully*; but *reſervedly*: He apprehended the publick temper as clearly, and managed it to his purpoſes as orderly as any man: He ſpoke *leaſt*, but *laſt of all*, with the advantage of a clear view of others reaſons, and the addition of his own: He and his leading Confidents moulded that in a private Conference, which was to be managed in a publick Aſſembly: He made himſelf ſo conſiderable a Patriot, that he was bought over to be a Courtier: So great his Abilities, that he awed a Monarchy when diſ-obliged and ſupported it when engaged, the balance turning thither where this Lord ſtood. — The *North* was reduced by his prudence, and *Ireland* by his intereſt: He did more there in two years, than was done in two hundred before. K. *Charls.*

1. Extinguiſhing the very reliques of the War.
2. Setting up a ſtanding Army.
3. Modelling the Revenue.
4. Removing the very roots and occaſions of new troubles.
5. Planting and building.
6. Setling Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Courts.
7. Recovering the hearts of the people by able Paſtors and Biſhops, by prudent and ſober Magiſtrates; by juſtice and protection; by obligations and rewards.
8. Recovering the Churches patrimony and diſcipline.
9. Employing moſt able and faithful Miniſters and Inſtruments.

K. *Charls* 10. Taking an exact view of all former Precedents, Rules, and Proceedings.

11. An exact correspondence with his Majesty, and the Favourites of *England*.

None was more conversant in the Factions, Intrigues, and Designs, than he when a Commonwealths-man; none abler to meet with them than he when a States-man: he understood their methods, kenned their wiles, observed their designs, looked into their combinations, comprehended their interest: And as King *Charles* understood best of any Monarch under heaven what he could do in point of Conscience, so his *Strafford* apprehended best of any Counsellor under the Sun what he could do in point of power: He and my Lord of *Canterbury* having the most particular account of the state of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* of any persons living. Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldome extinguished; yet Doctrine and Discourse had much allayed the severity of this Earl's nature, and Custome more: None more austere to see to; none more obliging to speak with: He observed pauses in his discourse to attend the motion, and draw out the humour of other men; at once commanding his own thoughts, and watching others: His passion was rather the vigour, than the disorder of his well-weighed soul; which could dispense its anger with as much prudence, as it managed any act of State. He gave his Majesty safe counsel in the prosperity of his Affairs, and resolute advice in Extreamity, as a true servant of his interest rather than of his power.

So eminent was he and my Lord of *Canterbury*, that Rebellion despaired of successe as long as the first

first lived, and Schisme of licentiousnesse as long as the second stood. Take my Lord of *Strafford* as accused, and you will finde his *Integrity* and *Ability*, that he managed his whole Government either by the Law, or the Interest of his Countrey. Take him as dying, and you will see his *parts* and *piety*; his resoluti n for himself, his self-resignation for the Kingdoms good; his devotion for the Church, whose patrimony he forbade his son upon his blessing — Take him as dead, you will finde him glorious and renowned in these three characters. K. *Charls*

The first of the best King.

I looked upon my Lord of Strafford, *as a Gentleman whose great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed to employ him in the greatest Affairs of State: for* those *were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and* this *was like enough to betray him to great Errors, and many Enemies; whereof he could not but contract great store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations; which condensed by a popular Odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity: though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of Times, and the temper of that People, more than led by his own disposition to any heighth and rigor of Action,* &c. Eikon Exon. Meditat. 2.

The second, of the best Historian.

He was a person of a generous spirit, fitted for the noblest Exercises, and the most difficult parts of Empire: His Counsels were bold, yet just; and he had a

K Charls vigour proper for the execution of them: Of an eloquence next that of his Maſters, maſculine and excellent. He was no leſſe affectionate to the Church, than to the State; and not contented while living, to defend the government and patrimony of it, he commended it alſo to his Son when he was about to dye, and charged his abhorrency of ſacriledge: His enemies called the majeſtie of his miene in his Lieutenancy, pride; and the undaunted execution of his Office on the Contumacious, the inſolency of his fortune. He was cenſured for that fatall errour of following the King to London, and to the Parliament, after the Pacification at York: And it was thought, that if he had gone over to his Charge in Ireland, he might have ſecured both himſelf and that Kingdome for his Majeſties ſervice: But ſome attribute this Counſel to a neceſſity of fate, whoſe firſt ſtroke is at the Brain of thoſe whom it deſigns to ruine, and brought him to feel the effects of popular rage, which himſelf in former Parliaments had uſed againſt Government, and to finde the experience of his own devices upon the Duke of Buckingham. Providence teacheth us to abhor over-fine Councels, by the miſchiefs they often bring upon their Authors.

The third, of common fame.

"A Gentleman he was of rare, choice, and ſin-
"gular Endowments, I mean, of ſuch as modelled,
"faſhioned, and accompliſhed him for State-con-
"cernments; of a ſearching and penetrating judge-
"ment, nimble apprehenſion, ready and fluent
"in all reſults of Counſel. Moſt happy in the vein
"of ſpeech, which was always round, perſpicuous,
"and expreſſe, much to the advantage of his ſenſe,

and

"and ſo full ſtocked with reaſon, that he might K. *Charls*
"be rather ſaid to demonſtrate, than to argue.
"As theſe abilities raiſed him to State-adminiſtra-
"tion, ſo his Addreſſing, his applying thoſe abi-
"lities ſo faithfully in promotion of the Royal In-
"tereſt, ſoon rendered him a Favourite of the firſt
"admiſſion: So that never King had a more intelli-
"gent, and withal a firmer ſervant than he was
"to his Maſter. But theſe qualities which ren-
"dred him ſo amiable to his Majeſty, repreſented
"him formidable to the *Scots*, ſo that ſome who
"were not well perſwaded of the juſtneſſe of his
"ſentence, thought he ſuffered not ſo much for
"what he had done already, as for what he was
"like to have done, had he lived, to the diſſervice
"of that Nation: And that he was not ſacrificed ſo
"much to the *Scots revenge*, as to their *fear*. And
"certainly his fall was as the firſt, ſo the moſt fatal
"wound the King's Intereſt ever received: His
"three Kingdomes hardly affording another *Straf-*
"*ford*, that is, one man his peer in parts and fide-
"lity to his Majeſty. He had a ſingular paſſion
"for the Government and Patrimony of the
"Church, both which he was ſtudious to preſerve
"ſafe and ſound; either opining them to be of ſa-
"cred extraction, or at leaſt prudent conſtituti-
"on, relating to holy performances. And had he
"wanted theſe poſitive graces, yet in ſo great a
"Perſon it may be commendable, that he was emi-
"nent for privative and negative Excellencies,
"being not taxable with any Vice; thoſe petty
"pleaſures being beneath the ſatisfaction of a ſoul
"ſo large as his. In ſhort, ſaith the ingenious Gen-
"tleman, he was a man who might have paſſed

K. *Charls.* "under a better notion, had he lived in better "times.

This laſt period is a queſtion, ſince this great States-man, and his good Maſter's goodneſſe was ſo over-ſhadowed with their greatneſſe, and their vertues ſo loſt in their power, as the Sun (the apteſt parallel of their luſtre and beneficence) is hid in his own light, that they owe their great, but glorious fame to their misfortunes, and their renown to their ruine, that levelled their worth, otherwiſe as much out of their reach as their place, to vulgar apprehenſions. Eclipſed luſtre, like a veiled beauty, is moſt looked on, when moſt covered.— The ſetting Sun is more *glorious* than its ſelf in its Meridian, becauſe more low: and the loweſt Planet ſeems biggeſt to a common eye.

So faithful he was, and the Arch-Biſhop, that in the Junćto conſiſting of them two and Duke *Hamilton*, they voted a Parliament, though they knew themſelves the firſt ſufferers by it: and ſo confident of his integrity, that when he had treaſon enough diſcovered at the late tranſactions in *Yorke* (touching the *Scots* conſpiracy) to charge his enemies with, he waved the advantage; and ſecure in his own innocence, fell an inſtance of that Maxime; *That there is no danger ſmall, but what is thought ſo.* This was his great principle; *Uſurped Royalty was never layd down by perſwaſion from Royal clemency; for* in armis jus omne regni.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the Lives of Hen. *Earl of* Holland, *&* Robert *Earl of* Warwick.

HEnry Earl of *Holland*, and *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, both *a* brothers, had the ſame Education at home, and the ſame admittance to Court — onely the elder having an Eſtate, brought not thither that compliance and obſervance that the younger did that wanted it. — The one therefore is ſerious in his carriage, harſh and rough in his ſpirit, ſtubborn in his conſtitution, ſteady in his courſe, ſtern in his comportments, ſly and cloſe in his conduct; chooſing rather to improve himſelf in *America* by Trade, than in *England* by Courtſhip; *ſomething* inclined to the faction by the principles of his Education, more by thoſe of his Intereſt. The other owned not a greater ſmoothneſſe in his face, than in his *ſoul*; being *very* taking in his countenance, *more* in his Converſe. The firſt being not more *lovely*, than the laſt was *obliging*. — While a Courtier, ſo much was he in favour with King *James*, that one morning as he and Mr. *Ramſey* waited on his Majeſty, and two Porters came by with ſome money, he did but ſmile on *Ramſey*, and tell his Majeſty, who asked why he ſmiled, that it was to think what good that money would do him: and he had it; his Royal Mr. whoſe heart was as large as his Kingdome, adding, *I'll warrant you, you are glad of this; Let me tell you,*

K. *Charls. I have more pleasure in bestowing this money, than you in possessing it:* so much a more blessed thing it is to give, than to receive.

While Embassador in *France* (where he represented a King in his State and port, as well as in his place) so great was he with the Queen-Mother, that he was admitted to all treatments; that he had the honour of all Entertainments; that he commanded the Kings ears, understood the *Spanish* policies, dived into the *French* humour and inclination. All the while he was in *Paris*, his observations were minute and particular, his Addresses wary and reserved (never opening the Marriage-treaty until he was sure of a good reception) his working upon *Madames* affection close & artificial; his counter-plots to the *Spanish* insinuations nimble and effectual; his correspondence with the Duke of *Bucks.* weekly & constant; his contrasts with Count *Soisons*, and Madam *Blanvile*, in behalf of her Husband here in *England*, resolute and honourable (urging very nobly and successfully, that the clamours of a turbulent Agent was not to out-weigh the favour of a mighty Monarch.) The discovery he made of the Duke of *Buckingham's* enemies, their Cabals and Oaths from the said *Blanviles* Letters, was seasonable and compleat; but his Master-piece was his command over all affections and tempers,--- but his own so soft and smooth, that it endured not the roughnesse of the following times, wherein he was very unsetled when Commissioner in *Scotland*, while he lived, and very fearful when he died: The fate of all delicate and too fine Constitutions.

It hath been the method of Grandees to endear themselves to *power* for a present interest, and to *learning*

arning for their future fame; to add the renown of the *one*, to the greatneſſe of the other. Neither was this Lord more careful to ſucceed his great friend the Duke of *Buckingham* in his favour at *Court*, as Captain of the Guard, and Groom of the Stool, than in his *Place* at the *Univerſity* as Chancellor, of which he expreſſeth himſelf thus to his *Cambridge*, That his Maſter had raiſed his fortune beyond wiſhing in this world, that he could deſire no more than a fair name when he was gone out of it; which the Univerſity contributed, to whom he devoted his Intereſt. K. *Charls*

Though they anſwered not his expectation in their Contributions for St. *Pauls*, and other particulars, wherein he was defeated and over-born by the buſie faction, who thought it a vain thing to repair any Church, when they intended to pull down all.

After all, this great man is a great inſtance of that obſervation, *viz.* That when able and prudent men are brought on the Stage to manage their own parts, they are then (moſtly) not of the cleareſt ſight, and commonly commit ſuch errours as are both diſcernable and avoidable, even by men of mean abilities. —— Although I finde him ſubject to no great errour before the War, ſave that when Dr. *Preſton* was by his party judged of ſo great parts as to make a fit Patron for them, and thereupon directed to appear aloof [the way of Court-obſervers] in his Addreſſes to the Duke of *Buckingham* by his Confident the Earl of *Holland*, whoſe family favoured that ſide, though the Duke ſaid he knew him, and ſo would uſe him accordingly: yet this Earl was ſo far over-reach'd by him, that

in

K. *Charls.* in the Apology the Doctor writ under-hand to h
Partizans touching his Court-compliance, he she
eth he over-reached the Court-wits; as inde
he was a great Politician, and used (Lap-wi
like) to flutter most on that place which was fa
theſt from his Egges:) a copy of which Lett
with some satyrical stanzaes was found unsealed
the streets, and carried to the Duke; a noble frie
discovering to the Doctor, how *witty he was*
Rhime, to the breaking of his heart, he confess
then *he was undone*, especially when the Duk
Barber could finger the Letter out of his Lor
pocket, as he was directed.—And now I cann
but remember how this Earl at his death said, H
had been a friend to godly Ministers, as had h
friends before him, by whom he had been instruc
when young. Whence I collect, that the membe
of those great Families, into which the godly Mini
sters, *i. e.* peevish, factious and discontented perso
which usurp that precious name, insinuate them
selves, and their principles, seldome come to the
Grave in peace; they usually instilling into the
such imaginations as make their lives unquiet, a
their deaths dishonourable.—Whence the goo
old Lord *Willoughby* would say; *Carry the peevi*
man this (speaking of one *Chambers* a Separatist
but tell him he must not come under my Roof, for
will not meddle with them that are given to chang
whose calamity ariseth suddenly, and who knoweth th
ruine of them both?

To conclude, it is observed as the reason wh
he fell off from the Parliament, that the wa
Sirs would not trust two Brothers, him and th
Earl of *Warwick* with supream commands; there
for

re when they voted the one Admiral, they de- K. *Charls*
ed the other General of the Horſe. Both are
aracter'd by their Contemporaries for natural
ndowments excellent; for temper ſweet and lo-
ing; for behaviour, affable and courteous; for
pirit, meek and lowly; of the ſame inclinations
efore and after their advancement: *In honore ſine*
more; lifted up with honour, but not puffed up
ith pride.

Obſervations on the Life of Arch-Biſhop Laud.

THe pregnancy of his childhood promiſed the wiſdome of his riper years, and obliged his friends beyond their abilities to his ſupport, and ſtrangers beyond expectation to his encouragement: Some perſons offering him great ſums of money for his maintenance in his younger years, upon the bare ſecurity of his parts, which payd them well in his more reduced age. None more obſervant of favour, none more mindful of kindneſſes, and none more grateful for civilities: He was ſo wiſe as ſeldome to forget an injury in the conſequence of it, and ſo noble as ever to remember love in the return of it. His honeſt Parents conveyed him an excellent temper, and that temper a brave ſpirit; which had the advantage of his birth, ſome ſay at *Reading*, ſome at *Henley*, at an equal diſtance from the Univerſity, where he was to be a Scholar; and the Court, where he was to be

K. *Charls.* be a *Man:* In the first of these, his indefatigable industry, his methodical study, his quick apprehension, his faithful memory, his solid judgement, his active fancy, his grave and quick countenance, his sharp and piercing eye, raised him to discreet and wary steps to all the preferments, and commended him to all the employments of the University, when Proctor whereof he was admitted for his prudence to the Earl of *Devonshire*'s service, which hazarded; and when Divinity-Reader observed by the Lords of *Rochester* and *Lincoln* for his judgement, which advanced him. As his design was above the level of modern Sciolists, so were his Studies not prepossessed with the partial Systemes of *Geneva*, but freely conversant with the impartial volumes of the Church-Catholick: he had an infallible apprehension of the Doctrine and Discipline, and a deep insight into the interest of Christianity: This capacious soul conversed with the most knowing of all Judgements, to finde the bottome of all Errors; and with the most Judicious of his own, to discern the grounds of all truth. He had his eye on the University to reduce it, when Head of St. *John's*; on the lower Functions of the Church in his Pastoral charges, to reform them; and upon the higher, when Dean of *Gloucester*, Prebend of *Westminster*, and Bishop of St. *Davids*, to settle them. He was a man of that search and judgement, that he found out the principles of government that were true to the Church: of that faithfulnesse and resolution, that amidst all discouragements he was true to them: The Church-government he found by *many* private-spirited men, accommodated to their ease and interest,

eſt, he adjuſted to truth and ſettlement; conſult- K. *Charls.*
ing not humors which are uncertain as intereſt, but truth which is certain as Eternity. Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*'s *Yield, and they will be pleaſed at laſt*, was a great miſcarriage, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*'s *Reſolve, for there is no end of yielding*, was great policy. His great reach in Government ſuitable to that King's apprehenſions, commended him to King *James*; his vaſt ability and integrity, to K. *Charles* and the Duke of *Buckingham*; To the firſt whereof he was a Privy-Councellor, to the other a Boſom-friend, before both whom he laid the beſt Repreſentations and Ideas of the *Engliſh* government, as to things and perſons in ſeverall abſtracts, of any man under heaven. I have heard a States-man ſay, *that none knew the joynts, turnings, flexures, and intereſts of all Parties in Church or State, that were either to be encouraged or ſuppreſſed, with the ſeaſons and opportunities to do it, ſo well as Dr.* Laud.

Diſcerning was his fore-ſight, compleat his intelligence, exact his correſpondence, quick his diſpatches; ſeaſonable and effectual his Sermons and Diſcourſes, inquiſitive and obſerving his Converſe. His Inſtruments were able and knowing men, that were faithful to the Church, as he was in *Manwaring* and *Mountagu's* caſe to them; *Knowing well* (as he wrote to my Lord of *Buckingham*) *that diſcouragements would deter men of parts, whom encouragements might make ſerviceable.* He knew no man better how to temper a Parliament, having a Catalogue of all the Nobility and Gentry, with their Intereſt and Inclination in his eye: He underſtood none more exactly what was to be diſcourſed and propoſed to them, having a clear apprehenſion of

K. *Charls* of the ſeveral Junctures and Tendencies of affai

He entertained no thought but what was publick i
his breaſt; no man, but what was nobly ſpirit
in his familiarity: Ever watchful he was of all op
portunities to advance the Churches honou
1. In her Sons, as Biſhop *Juxon*, &c. 2. He
Diſcipline, as in his ſeveral Viſitations, Article
Star-Chamber, and High-Commiſſion-matter
3. In her Endowments, as the buying of Impro
priations in *Ireland*. 4. In her Priviledge, as th
Canons of *England*. 5. In her Ornaments, as th
repairing & furniſhing of St. *Pauls* and moſt oth
Churches in his Province. 6. In her Univerſities,
the Statutes of *Oxford*, the priviledges of *Cambridg*
and his vaſt gifts of Oriental Books and Building
and his vaſter deſign for both,— and as watchful
gainſt all the deſigns to undermine it. The Feo
fees for Impropriations he laid aſide; the *Sabbati*
zing and *Predeſtinarian* controverſies he ſilenced
the Licentious Preſſe he reduced; Dignities an
Preferments he worthily filled up; bribes at Cour
he retrenched: No intereſt, no alliance could eve
advance an unworthy perſon while he lived: *Bre*
up your children well, and *I will provide for them*
was his ſaying to all his Relations. Many a ma
would be diſobliged by his ſternneſſe at firſt view
for whom if deſerving, he would afterwards con
trive kindneſſes by after and unexpected favours.
No place of experience did he ever miſſe, none o
employment did he ever decline: He would never
ſee Authority baffled, but either wave all proceed
ings againſt offenders, or go through with them;
His proſecutions, as in *Leighton's* Caſe, were cloſe;
his obſervation of all circumſtances, as in *Lincoln's*,

wary;

ary; his declarations of the Caſes clear and con- K. *Charls.*
incing, as in *Pryn's*, *Baſtwick's*, and *Burton's*;
ſentence milde and compaſſionate, as in *Wal-*
's; his reſolution and juſtice ever making way to
mercy, and his mercy crowning his juſtice:
ften did he confer with the ableſt and moſt Or-
odox Clergy, with the moſt experienced and
owing *Civilians*, with the moſt obſerving and
ſerved Courtiers, with the profoundeſt Lawyers,
ith the skilfulleſt and diſcreeteſt Mechanicks; out
all whoſe opinions the reſult was, his moſt exact
dgement in any caſe that came before him at
ourt, or at *Lambeth*.

The roughneſſe of his nature ſent moſt men diſ-
ntented from him: but ſo, that he would often of
nſelf find ways and meanes to ſweeten ſuch as had
y worth again, when they leaſt looked for it. —
ny were offended at his prudent zeal againſt the
ewiſh Sabbatiſm in his government, who were
ry well ſatisfied with the ſtrictneſſe of his obſer-
tion of the Lords day in his perſon. — But let
e great man expreſſe another; Biſhop *Ganden*,
ch-Biſhop *Laud*; whoſe thoughts lye ſo much
e more levelled to his brave Sentiments, as his
ignity did to his high place.

"As to his ſecret deſign of working up this Church by little and little to a Romiſh conformity and captivity, I do not believe (ſaith he) he had any ſuch purpoſe or approved thought; becauſe, beſide his declared judgement and conſcience, I finde no ſecular Policy or Intereſt which he could thereby gain, either private or publick, but rather loſe much of the greatneſſe and freedom which he and other Biſhops, with the whole Church had:

K. *Charl* had: without which temptation, no man in ch
rity may be ſuſpected to act contrary to ſo cle
convictions, ſo deliberate and declared determ
nations of his Conſcience and Judgement in Re
gion, as the Arch-Biſhop expreſſes in his ver
excellent Book. I am indeed prone to think, th
poſſibly he wiſhed there could have been any fi
cloſe or accommodation between all Chriſtia
Churches, (the ſame which many grave and lea
ned men have much deſired:) And it may be h
Lordſhip thought himſelf no unfit Inſtrument t
make way to ſo great and good a work, conſide
ing the eminencies of Parts, Power, and Favou
which he had. Haply he judged (as many learne
and moderate men have) that in ſome things be
tween Papiſts and Proteſtants, differences are ma
wider, and kept more open, raw and ſore th
need be, by the private pens and paſſions of ſom
men, and the Intereſts of ſome little partie
whoſe partial policies really neglect the public
and true Intereſt of the Catholike Church an
Chriſtian Religion; which conſiſts much in peace
well as in purity, in charity, as in verity. H
found that where Papiſts were ſilenced and convi
ced in the more grand and pregnant Diſputes (th
they are Novel, partial, and unconform to C
tholick Churches in ancient times) then he foun
they recovered ſpirits, and conteſted afreſh again
the unreaſonable tranſports, violences and immo
derations of ſome profeſſing to be Proteſtants
who, to avoid Idolatry and Superſtition, run t
Sacriledge and rudeneſſe in Religion, denying ma
ny things that are juſt, honeſt, ſafe, true an
reaſonable, meerly out of an (Ἀμετρία) exceſſiv

Antipath

Antipathy to Papists. Possibly the Arch-Bishop and some other Bishops of his minde did rightly judge, That the giving an Enemy fair play by just, safe, and honourable concessions, was not to yield the conquest to him, but the most ready way to convince him of his weaknesse; when no honest yieldings could help him any more, then they did endanger the true cause or courage of his Antagonist. K. *Charls.*

For my part, I think the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was neither *Calvinist*, nor *Lutheran*, nor *Papist*, as to any side or party; but all, so far as he saw, they agreed with the Reformed Church of *England*, either in Fundamentals, or innocent and decent Superstructures: Yet I believe he was so far a Protestant, and of the Reformed Religion, as he saw the Church of *England* did protest against the Errors, Corruptions, Usurpations, and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, or against the novel opinions and practices of any party whatsoever. And certainly he did with as much honour as justice so far own the Authentick Authority, Liberty and Majesty of the Church of *England* (in it's reforming and setling of it's Religion) that he did not think fit any private new Masters whatsoever, should obtrude any Foreign or Domestick Dictates to her, or force her to take her copy of Religion from so petty a place as *Geneva* was, or *Frankefort*, or *Amsterdam*, or *Wittenbergh*, or *Edenborough*; no nor from *Augsburg*, or *Arnheim*, nor any foreign City or Town, any more than from *Trent* or *Rome*; none of which had any Dictatorian Authority over this great and famous Nation or Church of *England*, further than they offered sober Counsels, or suggested good Reasons, or cleared true Reli-

K. *Charls* gion by Scripture, and confirmed it by good Antiquity, as the best interpreter and decider of obscure places, and dubious cases.

Which high value, it is probable, as to his Mother the Church of *England*, and her Constitutions, was so potent in the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, that, as he thought it not fit to subject her to the insolency of the Church of *Rome*, so nor to the impertinencies of any other Church or Doctor, of far lesse repute in the Christian world. No doubt his Lordship thought it not handsome in Mr. *Calvin* to be (Ἀκκεφαμμᾶν, rather then Ἐπισκοπᾶν) so censorious of the Church of *England*, as to brand it's Devotion or Liturgy with his *tolerabiles ineptiæ*, who knew not the temper of the Nation, requiring then not what was absolutely best, but most conveniently good: and such not onely the Liturgy was, but those things which he calls tolerable toys. I having occasion to speak with him, he upon a time was pleased to grant me access, & some freedom of speech with him; and withal asked me the opinion of the people of him: I told him they reported his Lordship endeavoured to betray the Church of *England* to the *Roman* correspondency and communion. He at length very calmly and gravely thus reylyed; protesting with a serious attestation of his integrity before God's Omniscience, that however he might mistake in the mean and method, yet he never had other design than the glory of God, the service of his Majesty, the good order, peace and decency of the Church of *England*: that he was so far from complying with Papists, in order to confirm them in their Errors, that he rather chose such Methods to advance the honour of the reformed

reformed Religion in *England*, as he believed might soon silence the cavils of fiercer Papists, induce the more moderate Recusants to come in to us, as having lesse visible occasion given them by needlesse Distances and Disputes to separate from us; which he thought arose much from that popular Variety, Inconstancy, Easinesse, Irreverence and Uncomelinesse, which might easily grow among us in the outward profession of Religion, for want of observing such uniformity and decency in Religion, as were required by the Laws and Canons of this Church and State. He added, that he had (further) a desire, as much as he could to relieve the poor and depressed condition of many Ministers, which he had to his grief observed in *Wales* and *England*, where their Discouragements were very great, by reason of the tenuity and incompetency of their Livings; that in his Visications he had sometime seen it with grief, among twenty Ministers, not one man had so much as a decent Garment to put on, nor did he believe their other treatment of Life was better; that he found the sordid and shameful Aspect of Religion and the Clergy, gave great Advantages to those that were Popishly inclined, who would hardly ever think it best for them to joyn with that Church which did not maintain either it's own Honour, or it's Clergy to some competency and comelinesse. K. Charls.

Much more discourses his Lordship was pleased to use at several times to this purpose, which commands my charity to clear him, as far as I can judge, of any tincture of Popery truly so called; or of any superstition, which placeth a Religion in the nature and use of that thing which God hath not ei-

K Charls

ther particularly commanded, or in general permitted. I suppose, he thought, that where God hath allowed to his Church, and to every private Christian (so far as may consist with the Churches Order and Peace) a liberty of ceremonious and circumstantial decency as to God's worship; there neither himself was to be blamed, nor did he blame other men, if they kept within those discreet and inoffensive bounds, which either the Churches publick peace required, or its indulgence to promote Christians permitted.

That Uniformity he pressed was not more advantageous to Religion, which must of necessity have been propagated, when Controversies had been turned to devotion, than it was necessary for the State; which cannot be secure, as long as there is a marke of distinction, under which all Male-contents may shrowd themselves; a note of separation, whereby the Factions may reckon their parties, and æstimate their strength, and a way open to popularity to the ambition of any whose interest or desperateness shall adventure to make himself head of so great a party.

"He was a person of so great abilities (which "are the designations of nature to dignity and "command) that they raised him from low be"ginnings to the highest Office the Protestant "profession acknowledgeth in the Church, and he "was equal to it: His learning appeared eminent "in his Book against *Fisher*, and his piety illustri"ous in his Diary: He was of so publick a spirit, "that both the Church and State have lasting Mo"numents of the virtuous use he made of his Prin"ces favour; at his admittance into which, he de-

"dicated

"dedicated all the future Emoluments of it to the K. Charls
"glory of God, and the good of men, by a proje-
"ction of many noble Works: most of which he
"accomplished, and had finished the rest, had not
"the fate of the Nation checked the current of his
"Design, and cut off the course of his Life. He
"was not contented by himself onely to serve his
"Generation, (for so he might appear more gree-
"dy of fame, than desirous of the universal bene-
"fit) but he endeavoured to render all others as
"heroick, if they aimed at a capacity for his
"friendship: For (I have heard it from his Ene-
"mies) no great man was admitted to a confi-
"dence and respect with him, unlesse he made
"Addresse by some act that was for the common
"good, or for the ornament and glory of the
"Protestant Faith. Learned men had not a better
"Friend, nor Learning it self a greater Advancer.
"He searched all the Libraries of *Asia*, and from
"severall parts of the world purchased all the Or-
"naments and helps of Literature he could, that
"the *English* Church might have (if possible) by
"his care, as many advantages for knowledge,
"as almost all *Europe* did contribute to the gran-
"deur of that of *Rome*. The outward splendour
"of the Clergy was not more his care, than their
"honour, by a grave and pious conversation.
"He would put them into a power of doing more
"good, but was sore against their Vices and Va-
"nities. He scorned a private Treasure, and his
"friends were rather relieved, than raised to any
"greatnesse by him. In his election of friends,
"he was determined to the good and wise, and
"such as had both parts and desires to profit. The

K. *Charls.* "Church had his closest embraces; if otherwise "it happened, their frauds, not his choice deser- "ved the blame. Both Papists and Sectaries "were equally his Enemies; one party feared, "and the other hated his Virtues. Some cen- "sured his zeal for Discipline above the patience "of the Times: but his greatest unhappinesse was, "that he lived in a factious Age, and corrupt "State, and under such a Prince, whose Vertues "not admitting an immediate approach for Ac- "cusations, was to be wounded with those it "did caresse. But when Faction and Malice are "worne out by time, Posterity shall engrave "him in the *Albe* of the most excellent Presby- "ry, the most indulgent Fathers of the Church, "and the most injured Martyrs. His blood "was accompanyed with some tears that fell "from those Eyes that expected a pleasure at "his death: and it had been followed with a "general mourning, had not the publick Misse- "ries, and the present Fears of Ruine exacted "all the stock of Grief for other objects.

His very enemy Sir *Edward Deering* would confesse; *That let him dye when he would, St.* Pauls *would be his* Monument, *and his Book against* Fisher *his* Epitaph.

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Keeper Littleton.

SIr *Edward Littleton*, the eldeſt ſon of Sir *Edward Littleton*, of *Mounſlow* in *Shrop-ſhire*, one of the Juſtices of the Marches, and Chief-Juſtice of *North-Wales*, was bred in *Chriſts-Church* in *Oxford*, where he proceeded Batchellor of Arts, and afterwards was one of the Juſtices of *North-Wales*, Recorder of *London*, and Sollicitor to King *Charles*. From theſe places he was preferred to be Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and made Privy-Councellor; thence advanced to be Lord-Keeper, and Baron of *Mounſlow*, the place of his Nativity. He died in *Oxford*, and was buried in *Chriſts-Church* where he was bred:—Being a Member of the Parliament 1628. he had the management of the high preſumption charged on the Duke of *Buckingham* about King *James* his death; wherein he behaved himſelf ſo diſcreetly between the jealouſie of the People, and the honour of the Court, that Sir *John Finch* would ſay, *He was the onely man for taking things by a Right handle.*— And Sir *Edward Cook*, that *He was a well-poized* and *weighed man*. His very name carried an Hereditary credit with it, which plaineth out the way to all great Actions: his virtue being authorized by his nobility, and his undertakings ennobled by his birth, gained that eſteem, which meaner men attain not without a large compaſſe

K. *Charls.* of time and experience: worthleſſe Nobility and ignoble worth lye under equal diſadvantage. Neither was his extract ſo great as his parts; his judgement being clear and piercing; his Learning various and uſeful; his skill in the Maximes of our Government, the fundamental Laws of this Monarchy with its Statutes, and Cuſtomes, *ſingular*; his *experience long* and *obſerving*; his *integrity unblemiſhed* and *unbyaſſed*; his Eloquence powerful and majeſtick, and *all* befitting a States-man and a Lord-Keeper: — ſet off with a reſolved Loyalty that would perform the harſheſt ſervice his Maſter could enjoyn him while he ſtayed at *London*, and follow the hardeſt fortune he could be in when at *Yorke*, whither he went with the great Seal he knew made to ſtamp Royal Commiſſions, rather than authorize Rebellious Ordinances. At *Oxford* he did good ſervice during the Seſſion of Parliament by Accommodations there, and as good during their receſſe by his intereſt in the Country.

Obſervations on the Life of the Marqueſs Hamilton.

A Preacher being at a loſſe what to ſay of a party deceaſed, concluded his Sermon with theſe words; *There is one good quality in this man*, viz. *that he was born, and that God made him: And another*, viz. *That he is dead, and we muſt ſpeak nothing but good of the dead.*

I

I may say of this Noble-man, that I have two reasons to speak well of him. 1. That good King *Charles* honoured him; and 2. That his wicked Subjects beheaded him, -- otherwise I must leave these Queries as I finde them. K. *Charls*

Quære 1. Why should Duke *Hamilton* post without leave into *Scotland*, when the Parliament was discontented, and the Duke of *Buckingham* murthered in *England?*

Quære 2. Why should *Ramsey* the Dukes Messenger to the King of *Sweden*, play the Embassadour in *Germany*, and take place of all other persons there?

Qu. 3. What design was that which *Elphyston*, *Barthricke*, *Meldrum*, *Vchiltry*, &c. discovered one to another?

Qu. 4. What did *Ramsey* with the Pedigree of *Hamilton* derived from *James* I. King of *Scots* in Foreign parts?

Qu. 5. What private Instructions had *Meldrum* to *Scotish* Officers in the *Swedish* Army?

Qu. 6. Why was *Meldrum*, *Alexander Hamilton*, and other his Dependants, so preferred in the *Scots* Army?

Qu. 7. Why were there such Fears and Jealousies whispered in *Germany* of the *English* Government?

Qu. 8. Why was not *Ramsey* able to give a positive Answer at the Tryal by combate? And why did the Marques's take him off before the Controversie was decided?

Qu. 9. Why is *Huntley* put by, and *Hamilton* made high Commissioner? Why is discontented

Balcanquel

K. *Charls.* *Balcanquel* employed to pen Declarations? And why are the King's Papers, Letters, *&c.* taken out of his pocket, and betrayed to the *Scots*? And why did the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* (writing to the King) wish him not to trust his own pockets with the Letter?

Qu. 10. Why doth his Mother ride with pistols at her Saddle-bow, leading all her Kindred and Vassals for the Covenant?

Qu. 11. Why is that time spent in posting to and fro to patch up a base Pacification with the Rebels, that might have been employed in suppressing them?

Qu. 12. Why did the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Brechen*, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, Sir *John Hay*, the Earl of *Sterling*, ride post to *England* to intreat the King not to trust the Marquess?

Qu. 13. Why was there so much granted to the Covenanters in *Scotland*—yea and time given them to do their businesse?

Qu. 14. Why did he forbear the Common-prayer at *Dalkeith*, and neglect to *protest* the King's gracious Declaration; the justice and clemency whereof had without doubt allayed the commotions?

Qu. 15. Why did he not set out the King's last Declaration before the Covenanters Protestation was out against it?

Qu. 16. Why was there nothing done with the Ships sent upon the coasts of *Scotland*?

Qu. 17. Why did he so caresse his covenanting Mother, that the *Scots* could say; *The son of such a gend a Mother could do them no harm*?

Qu. 18. Why had he a hand in most of the Monopolies and Projects of *England*? *Qu.* 19

Qu. 19. Why did he refuse to contribute as others had done to the *Scots* Wars? K. *Charls*

Qu. 20. Why did he intercede for *Lowdon's* release, notwithstanding the trayterous Letter to the *French* King was his hand?

Qu. 21. How comes *Montrosse* to be slighted by the gracious King at first? And when he offered his service again, how came his Letters into the Covenanters hands at *Newcastle?*

Qu. 22. Why did he and *Argyle* raise such Fears and Jealousies in *Scotland* and *England* by with-drawing suddenly from the Court, under pretence forsooth of danger to their persons?

Qu. 23. Why could not the King hear of the *Scots* design to invade *England*, 1643. before *Montrosse* posted first to *Oxford*, and then to *Glouc*ester to tell him of it, though the Marquess was all the while in *Scotland?*

Qu. 24. And yet why was that noble person mistrusted till the Kings interest was lost in that Country?

Qu. 25. Why was he and his brother imprisoned at *Oxford?* And why did the King say, *Nay, if* Hamilton *leads them, there is no good to be done for me?*

Qu. 26. Why did the King say, That he must dispose of the Master of the Horse place to the Earl of *N.* That my Lord *Cottington* was the fittest man for the Treasury, and that Sir *Edward Hyde* was the onely man he could trust with the Secretaries affairs? Being loth that D. *H.* should return to an opportunity of recozening them: Questions these, that shew, After-ages can scan great mens lives with the same liberty that they live them.

Observa-

Observations on the Life of Sir Ralph Hopton.

GEntile was this excellent person's extraction in the West of *England*, and man-like his Education in the Low-Countries, that School of War, where Sir *William Waller* and he learned in one Camp, what they practised in two: The one being no lesse eminent for his service under his late Majesty of blessed memory, than the other was for his against him. The one was the best Soldier the King had; the other the most experienced that the pretended Parliament boasted of. None fitter to balance Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s successe; none likelier to understand his stratagems; none abler to undermine his designes, than his Fellow-soldier, Sir *William*, who understood his method as well as he was acquainted with his person. Both were equally active, both equally vigilant. But what better character of this Heroe, than that which his Master gave him in his Patent for Baron, which is his history as well as his honour?

Exemplified by his Chaplain Tho. Fritter.

Carolus *Dei Gratiâ Angliæ*, &c. *Cum & Nominis nostri & Posteritatis interest, & ad clara Exempla propaganda utilissimè compertum, palam fieri omnibus præmia, apud nos virtuti sita, nec perire fidelium subditorum officia, sed memori & benevolo pectore fixissimè insidere: His præsertim temporibus cum*

cum plurimum (quibus antehac nimium indulſimus) temerata, aut ſuſpecta fides, pretium aliorum conſtantiæ addidit. Cumq; nobis certò conſtat Radulphum Hopton *Militem de Balneo ſplendidis & Antiquis Natalibus; tum in cætera ſua vita integritatis & moris eximium, tum in hac noviſſimâ tempeſtate, fatalique Regni & rebelli motu, rari animi fideique exemplum edidiſſe, Regiæ dignitatis in eaq; publicæ contra utriuſq; dverſarios aſſertorem & vindicem acerrimum.* K. Charls.

Quippe quia non ſolum naſcenti huic Furori (nec dum omnibus manifeſto) optimis conſiliis fortis in curia Senator reſtiterit; ſed inſinuante ſe latius veneno, & creſcente ferocia domum ad ſuos reverſus fortior Miles in Agro ſuo Somerſetenſi *& vicinis partibus omni ope & manu iniquiſſimam eauſam oppugnaverit, in Arce præſertim* Sherborniana, *ſub Auſpiciis Marchionis* Hertfordiæ *egregiam operam navaverit. Mox ulterius progreſſus pollenti in* Devonia *factionis Tyrannide, & munitiſſimâ civitate in fœdus illecta, & jam undique bonis ſubditis perniciem minante, ipſe penè in illa Regione Hoſpes, contracto è* Cornubia *Milite, & primoribus ſtatim impetum earum repreſſit jacenteſque & afflictas noſtras partes mirifica virtute recreavit. Et licet ſummis neceſſitatibus conflictanti exigua pars Negotii hoſtes erant, tantum abfuit ut vel illis, vel iſtis ſuccumberet, ut contra copiis auctiores, & bellico apparatu inſtructiſſimos, ſæpius ſignis Collatis in acie dimicans ſemper ſuperior exceſſerit: Teſtis* Launceſtonia, Saltaſh, Bradock, *aliaque obſcura olim nomina & loca, nunc victoriis illius & perduellium cladibus Nobilitata. Vix etiam ab his reſpiraverat, cum novus belli furor Laſſus jam ferè & continuis præliis laxatas vires Numerociſſimæ*

K. Charls merosissimo exercitu adortus, uberiorem triumphandi dedit materiam. Cum ille in campis Strattoniæ, in difficillimos licet Augustias redactus, inops militaris instrumenti, & consumpto jam pulvere tormentario, armatos inermis, Vallo munito inter sola causa & virtute animatus, ita retudit, concidit, castra exuit, ut totum belli molem cum ipsis Authoribus profligavit; Quicquid fugæ illius residuum erat, inter urbis unius Mœnia eaque arcta obsidione astrictum concluso. Qua quidem pugna memorabili, præter quod miserum popellum, jugo intolerabili levaverat, sedes suas expulsis, Ecclesias Pastoribus, pacem omnibus, & Firmamentum pacis obsequium pristinum restituerit. Et jam sequenti armorum nostrorum felicitate qua partes Regni occidentales maturius ad officium & verum Dominum redierunt, & viam apperuisse & momentum ingens exitiisse libentissimè profitemur; In hac opera laudabili cum præfatus Radulphus perstiterit adhuc in vicio animo & industria indefessa nullo arduo quantumvis labore & periculo excusatus, cumque mille argumentis testatum fecerit, Honorem salutemq; nostram sibi omni fortuna & capite potiorem, nos virum fortissimum optimeque affectum animum benigno studio prosequi & amplius demereri volentes, hunc & præconio merito ornandum, & propiori ad nos gradu extollendum censuimus. Sciatis igitur nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia mero motu, præfatum Radulphum Hopton ad statum, gradum, stylum, Dignitatem, Titulum & Honorem Baronis Hopton de Stratton in Comitatu nostro Cornubiæ, &c. In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas Nostras fieri fecimus Patentes.

Teste meipso apud Oxon. quarto die Septembris, Anno Regni Nostri Decimo nono.

His

His two great Actions, the one at *Liſcard*, the other at *Stratton*, cannot be better deſcribed than by an Eye-witneſſe, whoſe words are theſe: as he ſaith, out of a Manuſcript corrected with Sir *Ralph*'s own hand, communicated to him by his Secretary Mr. *Tredus*. K. *Charls*.

At *Liſcard* a little before the Fight began, the King's party took it into ſeaſonable conſideration, that ſeeing by the Commiſſion the Lord *Mohun* brought from *Oxford*, four perſons (*viz.* the ſaid Lord *Mohun*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Aſhburnham*) were equally impowered in the managing of all Military matters: And ſeeing ſuch equality might prove inconvenient (which hitherto had been prevented with the extraordinary moderation of all parties) in ordering a Battel, it was fitteſt to fix the power in one chief; and general conſent ſetled it in Sir *Ralph Hopton*: He firſt gave order that publick Prayers ſhould be read in the head of every Squadron, and it was done accordingly; and the Enemy obſerving it, did ſtile it ſaying of Maſſe, as ſome of their Priſoners afterwards did confeſſe. Then he cauſed the Foot to be drawn up in the beſt order they could, and placed a Forlorn of Muſquetiers in the ſtile Incloſures, winging them with the few Horſe and Dragoons he had. This done, two ſmall Mynion Drakes ſpeedily and ſecretly fetched from the Lord *Mohun*'s houſe, were planted on a little burrough within random-ſhot of the Enemy; yet ſo, that they were covered out of their ſight with ſmall parties of Horſe about them. Theſe concealed Mynions were twice diſcharged with ſuch ſucceſſe, that the Enemy quickly quitted their ground;

And

K. *Charls.* And all their Army being put into a rout, the King's Forces had the execution of them; which they performed very ſparingly, taking 1250 priſoners, all their Cannon and Ammunition, and moſt of their Colours, and Arms; and after publick Thanks, taking their repoſe at *Liſcard.*

Stratton *Fight ſucceeds on* Tueſday *the* 16*th of* May, 1643.

The King's Army wants Ammunition, and hath a ſteep hill to gain, with all diſadvantage and danger; the Horſe and Dragoons being not above five hundred, and the Foot two thouſand four hundred.

The Parl. Forces were well furniſhed and barricadoed upon the top of the hill, their Foot 3400. and their Horſe not many indeed, having diſpatched 1200 to ſurprize the Sheriffs and Commiſſioners at *Bodmin.*

On the King's ſide, order was given to force the paſſage to the top of the Hill by four ſeveral Avenues: the aſcent was ſteep and difficult; reſolutely did his Majeſties Forces get up, and obſtinately did the Enemy keep them down. The Fight continued doubtful, with many countenances of various events (from five in the Morning, till three in the Afternoon) amongſt which moſt remarkable, the ſmart charge made by M. G. *Chudleigh* with a ſtand of Pikes on Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who fell nobly himſelf, and had loſt his ſquadron, had not Sir *John* (now Lord *Berkley*, who led up the Muſquetiers on each ſide of Sir *Bevil*) ſeaſonably relieved it, ſo reſolutely reinforcing the Charge that Major-General *Chudleigh* was taken Priſoner.

Betwixt

Betwixt three and four of the Clock the Comman- K. *Charls*
ders of the King's Forces, who embraced those four
ſeveral wayes of aſcent, met to their mutual joy al-
moſt at the top of the hill, which the routed enemy
confuſedly forſook. In this ſervice, though they
were Aſſailants, they loſt very few men, and no
conſiderable Officer, killing of the Enemy about
three hundred, and taking ſeventeen hundred pri-
ſoners, all their Cannon (being thirteeen pieces
of braſſe Ordnance) and Ammunition (ſeventy
barrels of powder) with a Magazine of Bisket and
other proviſion proportionable. For this victory
publick Prayer and Thankſgiving was made on the
hill; then the Army was diſpoſed of to improve
their ſucceſſe to the beſt advantage.—Nothing had
ſunk this great ſpirit, but the fate of Kingdomes,
with whoſe ruine onely he was contented to fall,
and disband his brave Soldiers upon honourable
terms. Five things made my Lord *Hopton* ſo emi-
nently ſerviceable. 1. His great inſight into the
deſignes, and prudent foreſight of the events of
preſent Councels; which when moſt doubted and
wavered, gave him that reſolution that undertook
great difficulties, and bore up againſt greater.
2. His experience of War in general, and his ac-
quaintance with that ſeat of it committed to him
in particular. 3. His renown all over the King-
dome for piety and moderation, and within his
own aſſociation for hoſpitality, civility, and charity.
4. His name among the Enemies, as conſiderable
for his generouſneſſe and juſtice, as for his valour
and conduct. 5. His Eſtate, that ſet him above
mercenarineſſe; and his care for money, that ſet
his Soldiers above need, the occaſion of mutiny-

K. *Charls* ing among themselves, or of incivilities towards others.

Observations on the Life of the Earl of Carnarvan.

ROBERT *Dormer* Ar. was on the tenth of *June* 1615. made Baronet by K. *James*, & on the 30 day of the same month was by him created Baron *Dormer* of *Wing* in *Buckinghamshire*. His Grand-childe *Robert Dormer* was by K. *Charles* in the 4th of his Reign created Viscount *Ascot*, & Earl of *Carnarvan*. He lost his life fighting for him who gave him his honour, at the first Battel of *Newbury*. Being sore wounded, he was desired by a Lord to know of him what suit he would have to his Majesty in his behalf, the said Lord promising to discharge his trust in presenting his request, and assuring him, that his Majesty would be willing to gratifie him to the utmost of his power. To whom the Earl replyed, *I will not dye with a Suit in my mouth to any King, save to the King of Heaven.* By *Anne* daughter to *Philip* Earl of *Pembrook* and *Montgomery*, he had *Charles*, now Earl of *Carnarvan*. From his noble Extract, he received not more honour than he gave it: For the blood that was conveyed to him through so many illustrious veins, he derived to his Children more maturated for renown, and by a constant practice of goodnesse more habituated to vertue. His youth was prepared for action by study, "without which even the most eminent parts of Noble-men seem rough and unpo-

"sant

"ſant, in deſpight of the ſplendor of their fortune: "But his riper years endured not thoſe retire- "ments, and therefore brake out into manlike exerciſes at home, and travel abroad. None more noble, yet none more modeſt; none more valiant, yet none more patient.-- A Phyſician at his Father-in-Law's Table gave him the Lye; which put the company to admire on the one hand the man's impudence, and on the other my Lord's mildeneſſe, until he ſaid, *I'll take the Lye* from *him*, *but I'll never take Phyſick* of *him*.—*He may ſpeak what doth not become him, I'll not do what is unworthy of me*.--- A vertue this! not uſual in Noble-men, to whom the limits of Equity ſeem a reſtraint, and therefore are more reſtleſſe in Injuries. In the middeſt of horrour and tumults his ſoul was ſerene and calm. As humble he was as patient. Honour and nobility, "to which nothing can be added, hath no better "way to increaſe, than when ſecured of its own greatneſſe, it humbleth it ſelf, and ſo at once obligeth love, and avoideth envy. His carriage was as condeſcending as heroick, and his ſpeech as weighty as free. He was too *great* to envy any mans parts and vertues, and too good not to encourage them. Many a time would he ſtoop with his own ſpirit, to raiſe other mens.—He neglected the minute and little circumſtances of compliance with vulgar humors, aiming at what was more ſolid and more weighty: Moderate men are applauded, but the *Heroick are never underſtood*.

K. Charls

Conſtant he was in all that was good: this was his heroick expreſſion when ſolicited by his Wives Father to deſiſt from his engagement with the King,

K. Charls

Leave me to my Honour and Allegiance. No security to him worth a breach of Trust; no interest worth being unworthy. His conduct was as eminent in War, as his carriage in Peace; many did he oblige by the generosity of his minde, more did he awe with the hardinesse of his body; which was no more softned to sloath by the dalliances of a Court, than the other was debauched to a carelessnesse by the greatnesse of his *Fortune*. His prudence was equal to his valour, and he could entertain dangers as well as despise them; for he not onely undeceived his enemies surmises, but exceeded his own friends opinion in the conduct of his soldiers, of whom he had two cares: the one to discipline, the other to preserve them. Therefore they were as compleatly armed without, as they were well appointed within; that surviving their first dangers, they might attain that experience & resolution wch is in vain expected from young and raw soldiers. To this conduct of a General, he added the industry of a *Soldier*, doing much by his performances, more by his example, that went as an active soul to enliven each part, and the whole of his brave *Squadron*. "But there is no "doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times "over-balance the justice of publick engagements. "Nor doth God account every Gallant a fit instru- "ment to assert in the way of war a righteous cause; "the event can never state the justice of any cause, "nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eter- "nal fate of their souls.

They were no doubt Martyrs who neglected their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world, having no advantageous designe by any innovation, but were religiously sensible of those ties to God

the Church, their King, their Countrey; which lay upon their ſouls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance. K. *Charls*

"God could, and I doubt not but he did "through his mercy crown many of them with eter- "life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo good a cauſe: the deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified as a means to ſave their ſouls. Εἰκὼν βασιλ.

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Herbert *of* Cherbury.

EDward *Herbert*, ſon of *Richard Herbert* Eſq; and *Suſan Newport* his Wife, was born at *Montgomery*-Caſtle, and brought to Court by the Earl of *Pembrook*, where he was Knighted by K. *James*, who ſent him over Embaſſador into *France*. Afterwards K. *Charles* the firſt created him Baron of *Caſtle-Iſland* in *Ireland*, and ſome years after Baron of *Cherbury* in *Montgomery-ſhire*. He was a moſt excellent Artiſt and rare Linguiſt, ſtudied both in Books and Men, and himſelf the Author of two Works moſt remarkable, *viz.* A Treatiſe of Truth, written in *French*, ſo highly prized beyond the Seas, and (they ſay) it is extant at this day with great Honour in the Popes Vatican; and an Hiſtory of King *Henry* the Eighth; wherein his Collections are full and authentick; his obſervation judicious; his connexion ſtrong and cohærent, and the whole exact. He married the daughter and ſole Heir of Sir *William Herbert* of St. *Julians* in *Monmouth-ſhire*, with whom he had a

K. Charls. large Inheritance in *England* and *Ireland*; and died in *Auguſt*, *Anno Dom.* 1648. having deſigned a fair Monument of his own invention to be ſet up for him in the Church of *Montgomery*, according to the model following;

Upon the ground a Hath-pace of fourteen foot ſquare, on the middeſt of which is placed a Dorick Column, with its right of Pedeſtal Baſis, and Capitols fifteen foot in height; on the Capitol of the Column is mounted an Urn with a Heart Flamboul, ſupported by two Angels. The foot of this Column is attended with four Angels, placed on Pedeſtals at each corner of the ſaid Hath-pace, two having Torches reverſt, extinguſhing, the Motto of Mortality; the other two holding up Palms, the Emblemes of Victory.

Vid. *erudit.* J. H. *de legatis*, p. 25. When this noble perſon was in *France*, he had private Inſtructions from *England* to mediate a Peace for them of the Religion; and in caſe of refuſal, to uſe certain menaces.— Accordingly being referred to *Luynes* the Conſtable and Favourite of *France*, he delivereth him the Meſſage, reſerving his threatnings till he ſaw how the matter was reliſhed.— *Luynes* had hid behind the Curtain a Gentleman of the Religion, who being an Earwitneſſe of what paſſed, might relate to his friends "what little expectations they ought to entertain "from the King of *England*'s interceſſion.

"*Luynes* was very haughty, and would needs "know what our KING had to do with their affairs:

affairs: Sir *Edward* replyed; *It's not you to whom* K. *Charls.*
"*the King my Maſter oweth an account of his acti-*
"*ons*: and *for me, it's enough that I obey him. In the*
"*mean time I muſt maintain, That my Maſter hath*
"*more reaſon to do what he doth, than you to aſk*
"*why he doth it?* Nevertheleſs, *If you deſire me in*
"*a gentle faſhion, I ſhall acquaint you further.*

"Whereupon *Luynes* bowing a little, ſaid, "*Very well.* The Embaſſador anſwered; That "it was not on this occaſion onely, that the "King of *Great Britain* had deſired the Peace and "proſperity of *France*, but upon all other occaſi-"ons, when ever any War was raiſed in that "Countrey; and this he ſaid was his firſt reaſon. "The ſecond was, That when a Peace was ſetled "there, his Majeſty of *France* might be better "diſpoſed to aſſiſt the Palatinate in the affairs of "*Germany*. *Luynes* ſaid, *We will have none of your* "*advices.* The Ambaſſador replyed, That he took "that for an Anſwer, and was ſorry onely that the "affection and the good will of the King his Maſter "was not ſufficiently underſtood; and that ſince "it was rejected in that manner, he could do no "leſſe then ſay, *That the King his Maſter knew well* "*enough what he had to do. Luynes* anſwered: *We* "*are not afraid of you.* The Embaſſador ſmiling a "little, replyed, *If you had ſaid you had not loved us,* "*I ſhould have believed you, and made another an-*"*ſwer*: In the mean time, all that I will tell you "more is, *That we know very well what we have to* "*do. Luynes* hereupon riſing from his Chair, with "a faſhion and countenance a little diſcompoſed, "ſaid, *By God, if you were not Monſieur the Embaſ-*"*ſador, I know very well how I would uſe you.* Sir

K. Charls. *Edw: Herbert* rising also from his Chair, said; *That as he was his Majesty of* Great-Britain's *Embassador, so he was also a Gentleman, and that his Sword whereon he laid his hand, should do him reason if he had taken any offence.* After which *Luynes* replying nothing, the Embassador went on his way toward the door; and *Luynes* seeming to accompany him, he told him there was no occasion to use such Ceremony after such Language; and so departed, expecting to hear further from him: But no Message being brought him from *Luynes*, he had in pursuance of his Instructions a more civil Audience of the King at *Coignac*, where the Marshal of St. *Geran* told him he had offended the Constable, and he was not in a place of security here: whereunto he answered; *That he held himself to be in a place of security wheresoever he had his Sword by him.*

Luynes resenting the affront, got *Cadenet* his brother, Duke of *Chaun*, with a ruffling train of Officers (whereof there was not one, as he told K. *James*, but had killed his *man*) as an Embassador extraordinary to mis-report their Traverses so much to the disparagement of Sir *Edw:* that the Earl of *Carliste*, sent to accommodate *Le Mal Entendu* that might arise between the 2 Crowns, got him called home; until the Gentleman behinde the Curtains, out of his duty to truth and honour, related all circumstances so, as that it appeared, that though *Luynes* gave the first affront, yet Sir *Edward* kept himself within the bounds of his Instructions and Honour, very discreetly and worthily.— Insomuch that he fell on his knees to King *James* before the Duke of *Buckingham*, to have a Trumpeter, if not an Herald

rald sent to Monsieur *Luynes*, to tell him, that he had made a false Relation of the passages before-mentioned, and that Sir *Edward Herbert* would demand reason of him with Sword in hand on that point.—The King answered, he would take it into consideration: But *Luynes* a little after died, and Sir *Edward* was sent Embassador to *France* again, and otherwise employed so, that if it had not been for Fears and Jealousies, the bane of publick services, he had been as great in his Actions, as in his Writings; and as great a States-man, as he is confessed a Scholar. K. *Charls*

Observations on the Life of the Lord Capel.

HIS privacy *before the War* was passed with as much popularity in the Country, as his more publick appearance *in it* was with valour and fidelity in the *Field*: In our too happy time of Peace none more pious, hospitable, charitable, and munificent: In those more unhappy of our Differences, none more resoved, Loyal, and active. The people loved him so well, that they chose him one of their Representatives; and the King esteemed him so much, that he sent for him as one of his Peers in that Parliament, wherein the King and People agreed in no one thing, save a just kindnesse for my Lord *Capel*, who was one of those excellent Gentlemen, whose *gravity and discretion* (the King saith) *he hoped would allay and fix* the Faction

K. Charls.

Factious, *a due temperament (guiding some men's well-meaning Zeal by such rules of moderation, as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdomes)* keeping to the dictates of his conscience, rather than the importunities of the people; to what was just, than what was safe, save onely in the Earl of *Strafford*'s case, wherein he yielded to the publick Necessity with his Royal Master, but repented with him too, sealing his contrition for that miscarriage with his blood, when he was more troubled for his forced consent to that brave person's *death*, than for *losing his own life*; which he ventured throughout the first War, and lost by his Engagement in the second. For after the surrender of *Oxford*, he retyred to his own house, but could not rest there, until the King was brought home to his; which all *England* endeavouring as one man, my Lord adventured himself at *Colchester* to extremity, yielding himself upon condition of Quarter, which he urged by the Law of Arms, that Law that (as he said on the Scaffold) governeth the world, and against the *Lawes of God and Man* (they are his own words) *for keeping the fifth Commandment*, dying on the Scaffold at *Westminster*, with a courage that became a clear conscience, and a resolution befitting a good *Christian*; expressing that judicious piety in the *Chamber of Meditation* at his death, that he did in his *a Book of Meditation* in his life: a piety that (as it appeared by his dismission of his Chaplain, and the formalities of that time's devotion, before he came to the *Scaffold*) was rather his inward frame and habit, than outward ostentation or pomp; from the noble Sentiments whereof (as the Poet (not unhappily alluding

a *Since published.*

ding to his Arms; *A Lyon rampant in a Field Gules between three croſſes*) expreſſeth it) K. *Charls*

Our Lyon-like Capel *undaunted ſtood,*
Beſet with Croſſes in a Field of blood.

as one that affrighted death, rather than was affrighted by it -- It being very obſervable, that a learned Doctor of Phyſick preſent at the opening and embalming of this noble Lord, and Duke *Hamilton*, delivered at a publick Lecture, that the Lord *Capel's* was the leaſt heart, and the Duke's the greateſt that ever he ſaw; agreeable to the obſervation in Philoſophy, that the ſpirits contracted within the leaſt compaſſe, are the cauſe of the *greater* courage. Three things are conſiderable in this incomparable perſon. 1. His uninterrupted Loyalty keeping pace with his Life; for his laſt breath was ſpent in proclaiming K. *Charles* the II. in the very face of his Enemies, as known to him to be a vertuous, noble, gentle, juſt, and great Prince; a *Perfect Engliſhman in his inclination.* 2. His great merits and modeſty, whereof K. *Charles* I. writes thus to his excellent Queen; *There is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deſerve as well as any, I mean* Capel; *Therefore I deſire thy aſſiſtance to finde out ſomething for him before he aske.* 3. The bleſſing of God upon his noble, but ſuffering Family, who was a Huſband to his excellent Widow, and a Father to his hopeful Children, whom not ſo much their birth, beauty, and portion (though they were eminent for theſe) as their Vertues, married to the beſt Bloods and Eſtates in the Land, even when they and the Cauſe they ſuffered for were at the loweſt.

It's

K. Charls. It's the happiness of good men, though themselves miserable, that *their seed shall be mighty, and their Generation blessed.*

Observations on the Life of Bishop Andrews.

I Have much a-do to prevail with my own hand to write this excellent Prelate a States-man of *England*, though he was Privy-Councellor in both Kingdomes: For I remember what he would say when he came to the Council-Table; *Is there any thing to be done to day for the Church?* If they answered *Yea*, then he said, *I will stay.*—If *No*, he said, *I will be gone.*—Though yet this be an instance of as much prudence as any within the compass of our Observation: So safe is every man within the circle of his own place, and so great an argument of abilities hath it been always confessed, to know as well what we *ought*, as what we *can*, especially in Clergy-men, whose over-doing doth abate their reverence, and increase their *envy*, by laying open those defects and miscarriages, which are otherwise hallowed, or at least concealed in the mystick sacredness of their own function. Not but that men of that gravity and exactness, of that knowledge and experience, of that stayedness and moderation, of that sobriety and temperance, of that observation and diligence as Bishops are presumed to be, were in all Governments judged as fit to manage publique affairs, as men of any other profes-

profeſſions whatever, without any prejudice to the Church; which muſt be *governed* as well as *taught*,—and managed as well as a ſociety dwelling *in* the world, as under the notion of a peculiar people taken *out* of it.—His ſucceſsful skill in dealing with the Papiſts under my Lord of *Huntington* Preſident of the *North*; and with the Puritans under Doctor *Cofin*, an Eccleſiaſtical Officer in the *South*, recommended him to Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s notice, as a perſon too uſeful to be buried in a Country-Living; who thereupon intended to ſet up his Learning in a Lecture at *Cambridge*, to confute the Doctrine of *Rome*; untill Queen *Eliz.* reſolved to ſet up his prudence in other Employments at Court, to countermine its *policy*: where I know not whether the acuteneſs of his Sermons took moſt with the moſt Learned; the devotion of them with the moſt pious; or the *prudence* of them with the moſt Wiſe--(it hath been one thing always to Preach learnedly, and another thing to preach wiſely) for to the Immenſity of his Learning, he added excellent Principles of politick prudence, as a governour of the Church, and a Councellor of State, wherein he was conſpicuous; not for the crafty projects and practices of policy, or for thoſe ſiniſter ways of Artifice and ſubtlety, or the admired depths of Hypocriſie called reaſon of State; nor the meaſures and rules of his Politicks and Prudentials were taken from the great experience he had gotten, and many excellent "obſervations "he had made out of all Hiſtories, as well *Humane* "as *Divine*: though he always laid the greateſt "weight upon the grounds and inſtances of holy Scripture, which gives the trueſt judgement of wiſdome K. *Charls*

K. *Charls* wisdom or folly; considering the mixture of State-affairs, with those of the Church in *Christian* Common-wealths, and the fitnesse of sober and discreet Clergy-men for *those* of the State in *all*. It's a wonder how Clergy-men come to be excluded publick Councils at any time: but observing Bishop *Andrews* his insight into the Fundamental constitution of our State, as appears from his Speech in the Countess of *Shrewsbury's* Case: His distinct foresight of the consequences of Affairs, evident in his speech against *Ibraske*: His circumspect care of the Publick, visible in his Petition to King *James* then sick at *New-Market*; that the Prince then under Scotch *Tutors* be educated by well-principled men, the occasion that King *James* took to bring him up himself so exactly in the Doctrine and Discipline of our Church, that it's a question whether he was more by his *Pen* or *Sword*, his Scepter or his Style, *The Defender of the Faith*: — His *wonderfull skill* in the government of this Church, discerned by the excellent King *Charles*, in that he sent so many Bishops to consult with him, 1625. what was to be done for the Church in that Parliament: His caution and moderation, in that he never, unlesse upon great considerations, innovated in his Church, but left things in the same decency and order he found them (knowing that all *alterations* have their *dangers*) I am astonished to think, that Bishops should be forbidden secular employment in our time. — Who hath more ampleness and compleatness (saith Bishop *Gauden*) for a good man, a good Bishop, a good Christan, a good Scholar, a good Preacher, and a good Counsellor, than Bishop *Andrews*, a man of an astonishing excellency both at *home* and *abroad*?

Obser-

Obſervations on the Life of Henry *Earl of* Mancheſter.

"HEnry Earl of *Mancheſter*, third ſon to Sir *Edward Mountague*, Grand-childe to Sir *Edward Mountague* Lord Chief-Juſtice of the King's Bench in King *Edward* the ſixth's time, was born at *Boughton* in *Northampton-ſhire*. One skilful in myſterious Arts, beholding him when a School-boy, foretold that by the pregnancy of his parts, he would raiſe himſelf above the reſt of his Family; which came to paſſe accordingly: He being bred firſt in *Chriſts-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, then in the Middle-Temple, where he attained to great Learning in the Laws; paſſed through many preferments, as they are reckoned up, *viz.*

"1. Sergeant at Law.
"2. Knighted by K. *James*, *July* 22. 1603.
"3. Recorder of *London*.
"4. Lord Chief-Juſtice of the King's Bench, *Novemb.* 18. 1616.
"5. Lord Treaſurer of *England*, *Decemb.* 16. 1620.
"6. Baron of *Kimbolton*.
"7. Viſcount *Mandevile*.
"8. Preſident of the Council, *Sept.* 29. 1621.
"9. Earl of *Mancheſter*.
"10. Lord Privy-Seal.

"He wiſely perceiving that Courtiers were but

as

K. Charls. "as Counters in the hands of Princes, raised and "depressed in valuation at pleasure, was content- "ed rather to be set for a smaller sum, than to be "quite put up into the box. Thus in point of "place and preferment, being pleased to be what "the King would have him (according to his "Motto, *Movendo non mutando me*) he became "almost what he would be himself, finally advan- "ced to an Office of great Honour. When Lord "Privy-Seal, he brought the Court of Requests "into such repute, that what formerly was called "the Alms-Basket of the Chancery, had in his "time well-nigh as much meat in, and guests about "it (I mean Suits and Clients) as the Chancery it- "self. His Meditations of Life and Death, called "*Manchester Al mondo*, written in the time of his "health, may be presumed to have left good im- "pressions on his own soul, preparatory for his "dissolution, which happened 164..

The Office of Lord Treasurer was ever beheld as a place of great charge and profit. My Lord being demanded what it might be worth *per ann.* made this answer; *That it might be some thousands of pounds to him (who after death would go instantly to heaven) twice as much to him who would go to Purgatory, and a* Nemo scit *to him who would adventure to a worse place.* But indeed, he that will be a bad husband for himself in so advantageous a place, will never be a good one for his *Sovereign.*

Observa-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Wotton, and his Relations.

SIr *Henry Wotton* firſt having read of his Anceſtor Sir *Robert Wotton*, the noble Lieutenant of *Guiſnes*, and Comptroller of *Callais*, in King *Edward* the fourth's days, His Grand-father Sir *Edward Wotton*, that refuſed to be Chancellour of *England* in King *Henry* the Eighth's time. 2. Having known his Father Sir *Thomas Wotton*, one of the moſt Ingenuous modeſty, the moſt Ancient freedome, plainneſſe, ſingle-heartedneſſe, and integrity in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign: His Brothers Sir *Edward Wotton*, the famous Comptroller of Queen *Eliz.* and K. *James* his Court, ſince Lord *Wotton*, & Baron *Morley* in *Kent*; Sir *James Wotton* (with *R.* Earl of *Eſſex*, Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſaw*, *Don Chriſtophoro*, ſon of *Antonio* King of *Portugal*, &c.) Knighted as an excellent Soldier at *Cadiz*: Sir *John Wotton* the accompliſhed Traveller and Scholar, for whom Queen *Eliz.* deſigned a ſpecial favour:— His Uncle *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, nine times Embaſſador for the Crown of *England* (he that was one of King *Henry*'s Executors, King *Edward*'s Secretary of State, Queen *Mary*'s right hand, and (that refuſed the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* in in Queen *Eliz.* days) 3. Being bred 1. In *Wincheſter*, that eminent School for Diſcipline and Order. 2. In New-Colledge and Queens, thoſe famous

K. Charls

Colledges for the method of Living by rule, could promiſe no leſſe than he did in his ſolidly ſententious, and diſcreetly humoured Play at *Queens*, called *Tancredo*, in his elegant Lecture of the nobleneſs, manner, and uſe of *Seeing*, at the Schools (for which the learned *Albericus Gentilis* called him, *Henrice Mi Ocelle*, and communicated to him his *Mathematicks*, his *Law*, and his *Italian learning*) in his more particular converſe with Doctor *Donne* and Sir *Richard Baker* in the Univerſity, and his more general converſation with Man-kinde in travells for one year to *France* and *Geneva*, (where he was acquainted with *Theodore Beza*, and *Iſaac Caſaubon*, at whoſe Fathers he lodged) for eight years in *Germany*, for five in *Italy*, whence returning balanced with Learning and Experience, with the Arts of *Rome*, *Venice*, and *Florence* (*Picture*, *Sculpture*, *Chimiſtry*, *Architecture*) the Secrets, Languages, Diſpoſitions, Cuſtomes, and Laws of moſt Nations, ſet off with his *choice ſhape*, *obliging behaviour*, ſweet diſcourſe, and ſharp wit, he *could perform no leſſe* than he did, 1. In the unhappy relation he had to the Earl of *Eſſex*, firſt of *Friend*, and afterward of *Secretary*. 2. In his more happy Intereſt by his Secretary *Vietta* (upon his flight out of *England* after the Earl's apprehenſion) with the Duke of *Tuſcany*, then the greateſt patron of Learning and Arts in the world; who having diſcovered a deſign to poyſon King *James*, as the known ſucceſſor of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſent Sir *Henry Wotton* with notice of the plot, and preſervatives againſt the poyſon, by the way of *Norway* into *Scotland*, under the borrowed name of *Octavio Baldi*; whereafter ſome ſuſpicion of the *Italian* meſſage, diſco-

discovering himself to the King by *David Lindsey*'s means, he was treated with much honour, complacency, and secrecy for three months. After which time he returned to *Florence*, staying there till King *James* enquiring concerning him of my Lord *Wotton* the Comptroller; the great Duke advised his return to congratulate his Majesty, as he did; the King embracing him in his arms, & calling him the *best*, *because the honestest Dissembler that he met with:* and Knighting him by his own name. Adding withal; "That since he knew he wanted neither Learning nor Experience; neither Abilities nor Faithfulnesse, he would employ him to others, as he was employed to him; which accordingly he did to *Venice*, the place he chose as most suitable to his retyred Genius, and narrow Estate, where, 1. Studying the dispositions of the several Dukes and Senators. 2. Sorting of fit Presents, curious, and not costly Entertainments, sweetned with various and pleasant discourse, particularly his elegant application of Stories: He had such interest, that he was never *denyed any request*; whereby he did many services to the Protestant interest (with his Chaplain Bishop *Biddle*, and *Padre Paulo*'s assistance) during the Controversie between the Pope and the *Venetians*, especially in transmitting the History of the Councel of *Trent*, sheet by sheet to the King and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* as it was written: And in his three Embassies thither, gained many Priviledges for the *English* along all those Coasts. In the second of which Embassies, calling upon the Emperour, he had brought Affairs to a Treaty, had not the Emperour's succesſe interposed; whereupon he took

K. *Charles*

K Charls his leave, wishing that Prince to use *his Victory soberly*; an advice his carriage indeared to his Majesty, together with his person, so far, that he gave him a Diamond worth above a thousand pounds, which he bestowed on his Hostess, saying, *He would not be the better by a man that was an open Enemy to his Mistress*, so the Queen of *Bohemia* was pleased he should call *her*: — Onely while abroad, and writing in the *Album* that friends have this sentence, *Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causâ*, whereof *Scioppius* made a malicious use in his Books against King *James*, He lost himself a while for using more freedome abroad than became his Employment, until his ingenuous, clear, and choicely eloquent Apologies recovered him to more respect and cautiousnesse, until he writ *Invidiæ remedium* over his Lodgings at *Eaton-Colledge*, the Provostship whereof he obtained in exchange for the reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls, and other places promised him; Where looking upon himself in his Surplice, as *Charles* 5, or *Philip* 2. in Cloysters, his *Study* was divine Meditations, History and Characters: His recreation Philosophical conclusions, and Angling; which he called his idle time not idly spent, saying, he would rather live five *May-months*, than forty *Decembers*: His Table was *exquisite*, where two youths attended, upon whom he made the observations that were to furnish his designed discourse of Education: His Histories and Observations remarkable, his Apophthegms sage and quick.

1. Being in a Popish Chappel, a merry Priest that knew him, sent a Paper to him, with this question; *Where was your Religion before* Luther? Under

der which he writ; *Where yours is not, in the written word of God.* K. Charls

2. Being asked, whether a Papist could be saved? He replyed; *You may be saved without knowing that:* look to your self.

3. Hearing one rayl against *Arminius* & Popery, he answered, *Sir, he that understands amisse, concludeth worse: --- If you had studied Popery so much as I have, and knew* Arminius *so well as I did, how learned, how strict, and how rare a man he was, you would not fall so foul on his person, nor thinke that the further you go from the Church of* Rome, *the nearer you are to God.*

4. One pitched upon for Embassador, came to *Eaton*, and requested from him some Experimental rule for his prudent and safe carriage in his Negotiation; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible *Aphorism:* That *to be in safety himself, & serviceable to his Country, he should alwayes, and upon all occasions speak the truth; For* (said he) *you shall never be believed; and by this meanes your truth will secure your self, if you shall ever be called to any account: and it will also put your Adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a losse in all their disquisitions and undertakings.*

5. And when he made his Will two years before he died, out of policy to let the King understand his Debts and Arrears (to which end he bestowed in that Will on his Majesty, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*'s Papers of Negotiation in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes: on the Queen, *Dioscorides* in *Tuscany*, with the Herbs naturally coloured: on the Prince, the Queen of *Bohemia's* picture: on my Lord of *Canterbury*,

K. Charls. terbury, the picture of *Divine love:* to my Lord of *London*, high Treaſurer, *Heraclitus* and *Democritus*; and to Secretary *Windebanke* old *Baſtano*'s four Seaſons) he directed that this onely ſhould be written on his plain Marble:

Hic jacet hujus ſententiæ primus auctor;
Diſputandi Pruritus ſit Eccleſiarum Scabies:
Nomen alias quære:

7. Going yearly to *Bocton* for the connaturalneſs of that Ayr, and to *Wincheſter* or *Oxford* for Recreation, he would ſay to his friends; How uſeful was "that advice of a holy Monk, who perſwaded his "friend to perform his cuſtomary devotion in a "conſtant place, where his former thoughts might "meet him; for (ſaid he) at my being at that "School, ſeeing the place where I ſate when "I was a boy, occaſioned me to remember my "youthful thoughts; ſweet thoughts indeed, that "promiſed my growing years numerous pleaſures, "without mixture of cares, and thoſe to be en-"joyed when time (which I thought ſlow-paced) "changed my youth to man-hood; and now there "are a ſucceſſion of Boys uſing the ſame recreation, "and queſtionleſs poſſeſſed with the ſame thoughts. "Thus one generation ſucceeds another both in "their Lives, Recreations, Hopes, Fears, and "Deaths.

8. There are four things that recommend Sir *Henry Wotton* to poſterity: 1. That King *Charles* took great pleaſure in correſponding with him in *Letters*. 2. That my Lord *Bacon* took great pains in collecting his Apophthegmes. 3. That Sir *Richard*

chard Baker, who ſubmitted moſt of his Writings to his Cenſure, ſaid of him; That the Kingdome yielded not a *fitter man to match the Capriciouſneſſe of the Italian wits.* And 4. That his work of Architecture is tranſlated into *Latine*, printed with *Vitruvius*, and this Elogy prefixed: K. *Charls.*

Henricus Wottonus *Anglo-Cantianus* Tho: *optimi viri Filius Natu minimus a ſereniſſimo* Jacobo I. Magnæ Britanniæ, *&c. Rege in Equeſtrem titulum aſcitus, ejuſdemque ter ad Remp: Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, ſemel ad Confœderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Julienſi Negotio; bis ad* Carolum Emanuelem *Subaudiæ ducem: Semel ad unitos ſuperioris* Germaniæ *Principes in Conventu* Heilbronnenſi. *Poſtremo ad Archducem* Leopoldum, *Ducem* Wirtenbergenſem, *Civitates Imperiales Argentinam, Ulmamque, & ipſum* Romanorum *Imperatorem* Ferdinandum II. *Legatus* Extraordinarius *Tandem hoc Dedicit.*

Animas ſapientiores fieri quieſcendo.

Obſervations on the Lives of the Lord Wilmot, *and Sir* Tho. Roe.

THeſe honourable perſons are united not ſo much in their own *relation* or *character*, as in my *unhappineſſe*, who was promiſed Obſervations on the life of the firſt, but never *had* them; and *had* ſome on the life of the ſecond, but *loſt* them.

K. *Charls.* 1. My Lord *Wilmot* I finde *acting* like a *Statesman*, when *Commissary* in the expedition *against* the *Scots*; and *speaking* like a *Soldier*, when a Member of the Parliament that was *for* them: in the first capacity speaking with my Lord *Conway*, he saw the King would be overcome by the *English at home*, *if he overcame not the Scots abroad.* In the second, whispering with some Army-Officers, he said; *If the Scots Army were paid in the North, the King's Army would be paid in the South.*— A wise and brave speech, that had almost rallied all the Army against the Parliament, as soon as that Parliament had rallied their multitude against the *King*; but that *treachery* got easily into the *bosome* of that brave Prince, that had nothing but *honesty* in his *heart*.

Yet since he could not awe the counsels of the faction in the City, he went to suppresse their Rebellion in the Field; being voted a Traytor by the Rebels, because he endeavoured they should not be so. What he performed in the Wars, all the Kingdome knows; what he did at *Oxford*, the King's Letters intimate; what he negotiated in *Germany*, acted in *Scotland*, endeavoured at *Worcester*, and other places for the King's Majesties escape and restauration, posterity shall celebrate while he lives, as renownedly in History, as he doth nobly in his son the most hopeful Earl of *Rochester*.

2. Sir *Thomas Roe*—understood the dispositions of men so exactly, could suit their humours so fitly, observe opportunities and seasons of actions so punctually, keep correspondence so warily, wade through difficulties so handsomely, wave the

the pinch of a buſineſſe ſo dexterouſly, contrive Intereſts ſo ſuitably, that he was adviſed with concerning the moſt important Affairs of the Kingdoms he reſided in abroad, and admitted of the Privy-Councel while he lived at home—Where his ſpeech againſt the debaſing of the Coyn at the Council-Table will laſt as long as there is *reaſon of State* in the world; His ſettlement of Trade as long as this is an Iſland; and his Eaſtern MSS. as long as there are Books to furniſh Libraries, or Libraries to preſerve Books. Three of the nobleſt *Engliſh* actions beyond Sea are theſe. 1. That Sir *Thomas Roe* pardoned the *Dutch* Merchants thrice in *Perſia* and *Turkey* at his mercy. 2. That my Lord *Wilmot*, when Embaſſador in *Germany*, refuſed the aſſiſtance of the Popes Nuncio, or *Turkiſh* Aga; judging his great Maſter, when at loweſt, above thoſe ſuſpected Auxiliaries. 3. That my Lord *Culpeper* having offered him in *Muſcovy* all the *Engliſh* goods there, refuſed them, declaring his Royal Maſter a Father of his Country, though kept out of it by Traytors; and a merciful Prince to his People, when caſt off by the Rebels.

K. *Charls*

Obſerva-

Observations on the Life of Arch-Bishop Juxon.

WIlliam *Juxon*, born at *Chichester* in *Sussex*, was bred Fellow in St. *John's* College in *Oxford*, where he proceeded Batchelor of Law; very young, but very able for that Degree: afterwards becoming Doctor in the same Faculty, and President of the Colledge, was one in whom Nature had not omitted, but Grace had ordered the Tetrarch of humours, being admirably Master of his Pen and Passion. For his Abilities, he was successively preferred by King *Charles* the first, Bishop of *Hereford* and *London*, and for some years Lord Treasurer of *England*: wherein he had Religion to be honest, and no self-interest to be corrupt. A troublesome place in those times, being expected he should make much Brick (though not altogether without, yet) with very little straw allowed unto him: Large then the Expences, low the Revenues of the Exchequer. Yet those Coffers he found empty, he left filling, and had left full, had Peace been preserved in the Land, and he continued in his Place. Such the mildeness of his temper, that Petitioners for money (when it was not to be had) departed well pleased with his Denials, they were so civilly languaged. It may justly seem a wonder, that whereas few spake well of Bishops at that time, and Lord Treasurers at all Times are liable to the complaints of

of diſcontented people; though both Offices met in this man, yet with *Demetrius* he was well reported of all men, and of the truth it ſelf. He lived to ſee much ſhame and contempt undeſervedly poured on his Function, and all the while poſſeſſed his own ſoul in patience. K. *Charls*

Nor was it the leaſt part of this Prelat's honour, that amongſt the many worthy Biſhops of our Land, King *Charles* the firſt ſelected him for his Confeſſor at his Martyrdome, when he honoured him with this teſtimony; *That good man.* He formerly had had experience [in the caſe of the Earl of *Straffford*] that this Biſhop's Conſcience was bottom'd on piety, not policy, the reaſon that from him he received the Sacrament, good comfort and counſell juſt before he was murthered. I ſay, juſt before the Royal Martyr was murthered; a Fact ſo foul, that it alone may confute the Errour of the *Pelagians*, maintaining that all ſin cometh by imitation, the Univerſe not formerly affording ſuch a Precedent, as if thoſe Regicides had purpoſely deſigned to diſprove the obſervation of *Solomon, that there is no new thing under the Sun.*

King *Charles* the ſecond preferred him Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* 1660. He died in the year of our Lord, 1663. and with great ſolemnity was buried in St. *John*'s Colledge in *Oxford*, - - to which he was a great Benefactor, though a greater to *Pauls* and *Lambeth*; and greateſt of all to the Church which his eminence adorned, and his *temper ſecured* in thoſe times, wherein roughneſſe enraged that humour, which delay and moderation broke: a diſcreet yielding to the multitude is the ſecureſt way of *Conqueſt*: They that hold together by

K. *Charls* by oppoſition, languiſh and moulder away by indulgence: In his duty, this good man went along with *Conſcience*. in Government, with Time and Law. He had the happineſſe, that K. *James* admired in a States-man of his time, to do all things *ſuavibus modis*: He referred his Maſter in the Earl of *Strafford*'s caſe, as he did himſelf in all caſes, to his own Conſcience for matter of fact, and to the Judges for matter of Law; who according to their Oath ought to carry themſelves indifferently between the King and his Subjects.—The King was not more happy in this faithful ſervant, than he was in his followers, among whom there was no uncivil Auſterity to diſoblige the Subjects, nor baſe Corruption to incenſe them. They need not keep ſtate, they had ſo much real power; nor extort, they had ſo much allowed advantage. His care was his ſervants, and their care his buſineſſe: His preferments were his burthen rather than his honour; advanced by him, rather than advancing him—and therefore he was more ready to lay them down, than others to take them up: Witneſſe his Treaſurers Place; which when he parted with (like thoſe that ſcatter their Jewels in the way, that they may debar the violence of greedy purſuers) no leſſe than four durſt undertake; when his ſingle ſelf ſufficed for the two greateſt troubles of this Nation, the Treaſurer-ſhip of *England*, and the Biſhoprick of *London*.

Religion was the inclination and compoſure as well as care of his ſoul; which he uſed not as the artifice of pretence or power, but as the ornament and comfort of a private breaſt, never affecting a pompous piety, nor a magnificent vertue, but approving

proving himſelf in ſecret to that God who would reward him openly. His devotion was as much above other mens, as his Calling; his meditations equall with his cares; and his thoughts *even* and free between his Affairs and his Contemplations, which were his pleaſures, as well as his duty, the uniform temper and pulſe of his Chriſtian ſoul. Neither was his Religion that of a man onely, but that of a Biſhop too, that made his Piety as univerſal as his Province, by ſuch aſſiſtances of power, as brought carnal men, if not to an *obedience*, yet to ſuch a degree of *reverence*, that if they did not honour, they might not deſpiſe it. His juſtice was as his Religion, clear and uniform; Firſt, the ornament of his heart, then the honour of his action. Neither was Juſtice leavened with rigour or ſeverity, but ſweetned with clemency and goodneſſe; that was never angry but for the publick, and not then ſo much at the perſon, as the offence: So ambitious of that great glory of Moderation, that he kept it up in ſpight of the times malignity, wherein he ſaw all change without himſelf, while he remained the ſelf-ſame ſtill within the Idea of *ſobriety* and *temperance*, vertues that he put off onely with his life: Neither was this a defect of ſpirit, but the temper of it; that though it never provoked troubles, yet it never feared them: His minde was always *great*, though his *fortune* not ſo: Great to ſuffer, though not always able to act: ſo good his temper, and ſo admirable his humility, that none ever went diſcontented from him: --- Never courting, but always winning people, having a paſſage to their hearts through their brain; and making them firſt admire, and then love him. He K. *Charls*

was

K. *Charls* was slow, not of *speech*, as a *defect*; but to speak, or of discretion; because when speaking, he plentifully paid the *Principal* and *Interest* of his Auditors expectation.

In a word, his government as a Bishop was gentle, benigne, and paternal: His management of the Treasury was such, that he served his Prince faithfully, satisfied all his friends, and silenced all his enemies; of which he had enough as a Bishop, Greatnesse is so invidious and suspected; though none as a man, goodnesse is so meek and inoffensive. The *most* thought the worse of Dr. *Juxon* for the Bishops sake, the *best* thought the better of the Bishop for Dr. *Juxon*'s sake.

Observations on the Life of John Lord Culpeper.

I Finde nothing promoting him to his first preferment of Chancellor of the Exchequer, but his *pure merit*; nor any thing advancing him to his after-honours, but his steady *Loyalty*;— which when others stuck to *London* (in compliance with that Maxime; *In all Divisions keep your self to the Metropolis, the chief City being for the most part preserved, who-ever prevaileth, in a Civil Commotion, abounding in Money and Friends, the readiest Commodities to purchase* Quiet) carryed him after a persecuted Soveraign for twenty years together, by the strong obligation of a well-principled Conscience, and the well-weighed obser-

tion

tion of the natural Affection of all "*Engliſhmen* to their lawful Soveraign; from whom, though "the Arts and Impulſes of ſeditious Demagogues "may a while eſtrange and divorce their mindes, "yet their Genius will irreſiſtibly at laſt force them "to their firſt love. K. *Charls.*

It was the reſolution of a great States-man; *That if the Crown of* England *were placed but on an Hedge-ſtake, he would be on that ſide the Crown was.* His firſt ſervice was to diſcover his Soveraign to his deluded People, worthy not onely of their obedience, but their lives and fortunes. His next was, to lay open his Enemies in all their *Intrigues* and *Reſerves*, being moſt happy in all the Treaties he was engaged in, in diſcerning the bottome of his own Parties Intereſt, and their Adverſaries pretenſions diſcoveries! that prevailed on all that was either noble or but ingenuous in the Nation, eſpecially whither my Lord came with his indefatigable Induſtry, his obliging Converſe, and potent Eloquence, excepting *London* it's ſelf, whither he was ſent from *Nottingham*, with the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, and Sir *William Wedale* Knight, the very day the King ſet up his Standard there. The Principle he went upon was, *That the Faction at* Weſtminſter *was no Parliament*; A Principle moſt ſafe on all hands: For which and the reſt of his judicious Sentiments, he hath the honour to be enrolled among thoſe that Traytors durſt not pardon; which he could not chooſe but ſmile at, knowing (as he uſed to ſay) "*That* "*Treaſon is alwayes within five years weary of its* "*ſelf, the People being more impatient of their own* "*Libertiniſme, than of the ſtricteſt and moſt heavy*

"*govern-*

K. Charls "government. His way of Intelligence from London by Mistresse E. P. friend to J. M. puts me in minde of a passage in Queen Elizabeths Reign who being presented with an Overture out of Spain, so secretly managed by the Councel there as the first news of its approach came with its self the Messengers (out of fear of a surprizal) dispensing the Ceremonies commonly used in the behalf of Embassadors (something strange, considering the haughtinesse of that Nation) did much inflame the Lord Treasurer's desire to know the farthest extent "of the Negotiation, as conducing "to a present advantage, that such an Answer might "be made as should in some proportion quadrate "with the demand of the Catholique King, at that "time standing upon Termes little different from "those of an Enemy. And being informed from "the ordinary Espials he kept about his Person, "that the attempt was something difficult, if not "impossible; the Don out of distrust still carrying "his Instructions in his bosome: *Burleigh* caused "such a Jesuite to be apprehended, as by reason "of former miscarriages could not expect mercy; "and imparts his desires to him under as large "promises if he brought them about, as threats "to be revenged on him and his Associates, if he "found himself abused. All which, though with "some reluctancy he undertook, and performed, "through the mediation of a *fair Lady* that first "took away his Commission, and then again layd "it under his pillow whilest he slept.

His early endeavours for Peace by Addresses to *London*, *Scotland*, *Cornwal*, speak his integrity and his prudence. Every inconsiderable person may be

be powerful at disturbances: but to forme Peace, requires much wisdome and great vertues) and his observations upon the division of the great Faction to two parties, *Independent*, and *Presbyterian*. His care and watchfulness; none of their clashes escaping his reach, which was ready to accommodate as occasion served their respective Interests, in their New-models and alterations; making as good use of Fears and Jealousies between them, as they had done between the King and his People. These and other his services recommended him to the attendance of his most excellent Majesty when Prince, in the perfecting of the Western Association, when it was thought fit to put the happiness and hope of the Kingdom in two bottomes, with whom he continued with a constant fidelity in all difficulties, performing several Embassies during their banishment with honour (particularly one to the Emperour, who had great respects for his Master, and an aweful regard of his Cause) till it pleased God to bring his Majesty by his and others counsel to his Father's Throne; which he just saw, and dyed Master of the Rolls, *June* 1660. From one of whose Relations I have these Notes and Postils, containing some of the policy of the late Times, from 1642. to 1659.— which I set down nakedly, as I finde them; not supposing they are his, but that they were among his Papers. K. *Charls.*

1. It is against the experience of the wisest Princes of *France* and *England*, to leave their chief City in times of tumult; — yet it was necessary for the King to do so, as well to break the fury of the worst people there by distance and time, as to dis-abuse the best abroad by his presence and time: —and in-

K. *Charls* deed it had been a ſhame for him to have periſhed in a tumult.

2. It was urged, that the King ſhould not delay any longer the War, --but beſides that nothing could perſwade his gracious Majeſty to a War, but pure neceſſity; It's uſually obſerved, that if Bouteſeus make not the feud irreconcileable by a deſperate action, Rebels cool, conſider, break, ſuſpect, fear, and fall off to nothing.

3. The repulſe of *Hotham* did the King excellent ſervice, by alarming all the Loyal in the Kingdome with their deſigned plot.

4. Eſpecially when the Country ſaw the King ſo unwilling to engage, that he diſcharged their guards ſeveral times.

5. It was thought unfit to ſend to the Faction from *Nottingham*, until it was rejoyned that men of underſtanding and fidelity are uſually employed to thoſe perſons againſt whom a War is to be managed, to diſcover their deſign, humour, forces, ſuccours, and what-ever might ſuccour or ſtrengthen them; which none but they who were ſecured with the priviledg of Agents might do; and none were judged fitter than they that were beſt acquainted with the knowing Ladies, and the talkative Lords.

6. It was offered that Intelligence ſhould be written to ſatisfie the people, and make the vulgar pretences ridiculous: But *quære*, whether it is poſſible for the *Arcana Imperii* to remain always under ſo exact a diſcipline as may admit a thorow-inſpection of the multitude without danger.

7. When it was urged as the fundamental Principle the King ſhould proceed upon, that the Faction at *Weſtminſter* was no Parliament, the King being

being firme to his promiſe (as there was not a juſter man alive) not to diſſolve them without their leave — it was judged that ſelf-preſervation being the firſt principle in nature, that conceſſion which wiſdome ſaw then, and experience ſince, ſo contrary to that principle, was rather to be repented of, than performed. K. *Charls.*

8. It is a very great advantage to the King's Cauſe, that his Meſſages of Peace were ſent alwayes after his Victories; and his Enemies after their deſeats: And that his Declarations were natural, eaſie, as grounded upon obvious principles of Scripture, Law, and Reaſon; and theirs harſh, forced, and wilde, as grounded onely upon Pretenees and Fancies.

9. It's a probable opinion, that it is in vain to treat with the Rebels, who can never *truſt* the King with their guilty heads.

10. It is in vain to yield them any thing, ſince all Conceſſions have no other iſſue than either or both of theſe two inconveniences. 1. That they make the Faction ſo inſolent, that the King ſhould not be able to deny nor grant them any thing. 2. That they juſtified former proceedings, and layd the blame upon the King for not granting that ſooner, which he thinks fit to grant now. Beſides, it's more fit Propoſitions come to the King, than from him.

11. It may be wondered that the King doth not cut off the chief of the Rebels, as they fall into his hands, according to the uſual Maxime in that caſe; but that his inclination to clemency is inexpreſſible -- and that the principle he goeth upon is ſure, though deep, *viz.* That ſo much are Man-kinde

K. *Charls.* in general, and the *English* in particular obliged by fair usages, that the generality of this Nation returned nine times in 1300 years after long intervals of Usurpation, out of gratitude as well as duty unto their Allegiance to the posterity of *good*, *pious*, *merciful*, but *unhappy* Princes.

12. When it was urged against the King's going to *London* upon the *succesſe* in the *West*, that the City would pour out fresh men upon him, as at *Brainford*; It was replied, that the City & Country were not under such strong delusions as then, but were more sensible of the miseries they had been trepanned into. Besides, there was a more miraculous power of conversion went along with the King's presence where ever he came, convincing all he conversed with.

13. Whether the King beng so wise and able, it were not convenient to contrive it so, that the people might see how well he acted by himself,—provided he had sufficient security?

14. Whether it being dangerous that the Rebels should seize (as God forbid they should) on the whole Court at once, it were not convenient that his Majesty and the Prince did part, that the Kingdome might know its *hope* as well as its *happiness*; and that their interest when separated, might be more spreading than when together?

15. It was judged prudence to let the succesſe wherein their souls were unequal, overthrow the Faction by mutual Jealousies and Animosities, till it dissipated all pretences, and the people saw none oppressed them in their Estates, Liberties, Consciences, more than the pretended Patrons of them all. An Indempnity without regard to any Faction, being

ing most likely to render the misled as jealous for the King, as they had been against him. K. *Charls*

16. It were to be wished that the Parliament did draw into entire Propositions their design, that his Majesty and his People might make a clearer judgement of it in order to an accommodation.

17. His Majesty must be secured of the *Militia*, and against tumults, and all persons invested in their first right without any controversie.---As to other matters, a full debate may settle them, with such explanations and qualifications as may satisfie all parties.

18. It's thought his Majesty may concur with the Parliament about the *Presbyterian* Government for three years, the time allowed by themselves; and that at the three years end the very Kingdome will throw it off as inconsistent with the *English* temper, and unsuitable with the *British* Monarchy: -- And so likewise in other things which look plausible in the general, but are unpracticable in the particular.

19. Though many things are necessary to avoid jealousies, which are inconvenient, yet they may be allowed, upon the respect of the likelihood that all things will in time return to their proper chanel---onely a general Act of indemnity is the best bond of Peace, whereby the numerous discontents of many persons and families otherwise exposed to ruine, might not become Fuel to new disorders, or Seeds to future troubles, with particular regards to the priviledges of the City, notwithstanding *non-user*, *mis-user*, *abuser*, and the interest of the Army,---an indulgence that would help the world to see clearly the Kings intentions in matter of future government.

20. No

K. *Charls.* 20. No Act to passe till the Peace be concluded, lest what his Majesty *grants*, may be an argument to urge what he must *deny*; so that he cannot treat in *Honour*, *Freedome*, or *Safety*.

21. Time is the best cure of Faction.

22. When the Treaty is broken off, so that neither side could reassume it without a seeming yielding, it should be renewed upon the Queens motion, provided always that her name was not used or intimated till the Rebels willingness to *complyance were preassured*.

But stay, I am fallen upon mine own *knowing* time, wherein I am fitter to read others Observations, than to write my own: and it becomes me rather to be instructed, than to instruct. Industry and Curiosity bid me begin this *Collection* where Sir *W. F.* Sir *R. N.* Sir *J. H.* Characters end: and modesty enjoyns me to *finish* it, where my Contemporaries own knowledge *begins*, --- with whom I shall quietly passe my time, observing how far the affairs I see or hear of agree with those I have read of. Having gained thus much (if no more) by this *Essay*; *That by looking into the Intrigues of former times, I have learned a great deal of reason to blesse GOD I was born in these*: being assured, that murmurs, discontents, complaints, whisperings, speaking evil of Dignities; the common, but unreasonable faults of this *Age*, are kept up onely because men are ignorant of the Ages foregoing: And as my Lord *Bacon* saith of the *Schoolmen* in the Church, so I say of troublesome persons in the State; that they are so, because they know nothing beyond their own *time*: whereas if the most discontented person did but compare his own dayes with those before,

before, he must confesse, that there wants nothing in the general frame of our Government (particular persons miscarriages must be always allowed) to make us most happy, but *thankfulnesse, content*, and the continuance of these blessings under our dread Soveraign, for whom it's as much our interest as our duty to pray according to St. *Chrysostoms* Liturgy, that *God would give him strength, victory, health, safety, length and tranquillity of dayes*: or in *Tertullian*'s form; *Long life, a secure government, safe Court, valiant Army, faithful Senate, good People, quiet world, & what-ever he can desire as a King, or as a man.* Or once more, in *Lactantius* his words, That *God will keep him, who is the keeper of all things in his Dominions, to his Felicity, and our Tranquillity.* K. *Charls.*

The End of the Observations upon the Lives of the Statesmen and Favourites of *England*, in the Reign of K. *Charles* I.

Books

Books printed for *Samuel Speed* at the *Rainbow* in *Fleetstreet*.

Pharamond, or the History of *France*, a new Romance, by the Author of *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*, in Folio.

The precedency of Kings, a discourse, by *James Howel* Esquire, in folio.

Actions on the Case for Deeds, by *William Shepheard* Esquire, in folio.

Declarations and Pleadings, by the Lord *Cook*, in folio.

The Body of Divinity, written in *Latine* by *Bucanus*, and rendered into *English*, in quarto.

The Golden Coast, or a Description of *Guinney*, in quarto.

FINIS.